WESTRALIAN SCOTS:
Scottish Settlement and Identity in
Western Australia, arrivals 1829-1850

Leigh S. L. Beaton, B.A (Honours)

This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Murdoch University 2004
I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary institution.

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(Leigh Beaton)
Before the end of 1850, Scottish settlers in Western Australia represented a small minority group of what was, in terms of the European population, a predominantly English colony. By comparison to the eastern Australian colonies, Western Australia attracted the least number of Scottish migrants. This thesis aims to broaden the historiography of Scottish settlement in Australia in the nineteenth century by providing insights into the lives of Westralian Scots.

While this thesis broadly documents Scottish settlement, its main focus is Scottish identity. Utilising techniques of nominal record linkage and close socio-biographical scrutiny, this study looks beyond institutional manifestations of Scottish identity to consider the ways in which Scottishness was maintained in everyday lives through work, social and religious practices. This thesis also demonstrates the multi-layered expressions of national identity by recognising Scottish identity in the Australian colonies as both Scottish and British. The duality of a Scottish and British identity made Scots more willing to identify eventually as Westralian Scots.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY
This thesis is above all testament to the efforts made by the first Scottish migrants in Western Australia to leave traces of their identity. Over the course of the past three or so years, their lives have introduced me to a different section of Western Australia’s past. Their lives and stories have informed and entertained me as well as exposing me to the various regions of Western Australia. In my travels around the state tracing identity in homesteads, families, the naming of the landscape and especially in cemeteries, I have come to really appreciate Western Australian history in a more intimate way. For this I am indebted to the Scottish individuals who are a part of this thesis.

Throughout my doctoral studies I have been aided by the kindness of many people and without them this thesis would have not been completed. I am extremely grateful for the assistance given by the staff of the J. S Battye Library of Western Australian History and the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh.

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Finally, I must acknowledge the assistance given to me by Sandra Beaton and Tony Straw in searching for Scottish individuals in cemeteries.
DEDICATION

To Granny Janet and Granda John

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(Based on map of Scotland in Withers, Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, p. 18)
MAP 2

MAIN DISTRICTS AND TOWNS OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA 1850

(Based on maps from frontpapers in Erickson, *The Drummonds of Hawthornden* and Erickson (ed) *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, 1829-1888, volumes 1-4*)
INTRODUCTION

Histories of the first British migrants arriving in Western Australia in the nineteenth century have either treated these individuals and family groups as essentially English, or where differentiations are made as to specific national origins, particular individuals are identified with little or no reference to their broader national group. First colonists appear as British migrants collectively or as English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish individuals and what this creates is understandings of shared experiences as an entire group and then particular lives. The inherent gap here is that little is known of the shared experiences of English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish settlers as distinct national groups. Recent historical investigations into Irish experiences in Western Australia have recognised a need to account for differences in settler experiences.¹ While scholarship on the Irish extends understandings of colonial lives, little is still known of the English, Welsh and Scottish and their patterns of migration, settlement and identity in the colony.

It is into this historical gap that this study falls. In many ways it is also a reaction to the view of colonial Western Australia as essentially English. In the nineteenth century, Western Australia was a predominantly English colony, in terms of white settlement; in the first major population return pertaining to the Swan River settlement of 1832, English settlers accounted for over seventy per cent of the white population.² Though there are no records for the population by birthplace in 1850, it seems likely based upon the census of 1859 that by mid-century English-born settlers accounted for at least forty per cent of the

¹ For example: Bob Reece (ed) The Irish in Western Australia, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 2000.

² A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, Australian Joint Copying Project microform (hereafter ACJP), J. S Battye Library of Western Australian History (hereafter BLWAH), Perth, C.O 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156.
population. While English migrants have not been accounted for in relation to regional or local identities, histories of early white settlement have stressed the English nature of the colony, to the exclusion of other British national groups. That the first white settlers in Western Australia were predominantly English cannot be denied but not all of the settlers were English. Before the end of 1850, nearly two hundred Scottish people arrived in Western Australia, of whom close to seventy per cent lived out their lives in their new home in the Antipodes. Even as a small minority group, Scottish migrants were influential in the establishment of white settlements around Western Australia. Their presence as free settlers offers alternative understandings of early white settlement from Scottish perspectives.

Scottish Migration

Scots migrating to Western Australia were part of a nineteenth century trend taking Scots to various corners of the world, what Jeanette M. Brock calls a 'culture of emigration'. This trend was one that to a lesser extent existed since the seventeenth century. As Gordon Donaldson writes in *The Scots Overseas*, ‘during many centuries there has not been a decade when Scotland has not exported some of her people. They have gone from every part of the homeland,

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3 Western Australian Census of 1859, (March 1860) Government Press, Perth. This census includes thirty-four per cent Western Australian-born individuals, the majority from English families.

4 *Returns Relative to the Settlement on the Swan River, Viz.* A Return of the Number of Vessels that have cleared out from the Port of London for the Settlement formed on the Swan River; A Return of all Persons appointed to Place and to Situations at the Swan River, (1830), Government Printer, BLWAH, Perth; *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; 1837 Census of Western Australia, Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence (hereafter CSR), SROWA, Perth, CSR 58/37-80; Rica Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians*, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 1988; *Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890*, SROWA microfiche passenger index, Perth.

they have settled in all parts of the world'. In the seventeenth century, Scots were sent to Colonial America as Cromwellian prisoners, Covenanters and banished criminals, while other Scots travelled to France, Denmark, Poland and Russia as Scottish soldiers. Scottish migrations of the eighteenth century took Jacobite prisoners to Colonial America along with free settlers wanting to improve their lot in America, while aristocratic sons went to India. As Edward J. Cowan and Richard Finlay outlined in *Scotland Since 1688: The Struggle for a Nation*, by the mid-nineteenth century, ‘Scots were to be found in greater or lesser numbers in virtually every part of the globe from Arctic to Australasia, from South America to South Africa, India and China’. To a large extent Scots were, as Eric Richards argues, ‘often guided by an agrarian myth which encouraged ideas of agricultural sufficiency on virgin colonial acres’.

In 1899, R. G. Balfour’s *Presbyterianism in the Colonies* stimulated interest in Scottish settlement in Australia and in 1939 A. D. Gibb released *Scottish Empire*, in which he emphasised the importance of the connection between Scotland and Australia. However, since the publication of Gordon Donaldson’s *The Scottish Overseas* in 1966, historical scholarship over the past

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7 David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America 1607-1785*, University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia, 1994, p. 5.


9 Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, p. 6.


forty years has devoted considerable attention to Scots in Australia, inspired to a large extent by increased interest in Scottish migration around the globe. In 1985 R. A. Cage edited *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise 1750-1914*, a collection of historical essays on Scottish migration and featured a chapter by Eric Richards titled ‘Australia and the Scottish Connection, 1788-1914’. This text as a whole is particularly useful in outlining contributions made by Scots in colonial destinations. In 1988, Marjory Harper focused extensively on the ‘Australasian Emigrant’ in *Emigration from North-East Scotland: Volume One, Willing Exiles*. The importance of this work is also evident in its analysis of the role of publicity and migration schemes in encouraging Scots to migrate to colonial destinations. T. M Devine’s *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society*, published in 1992, includes a chapter by Ian Donnachie titled ‘The Making of ‘Scots on the Make’: Scottish Settlement and Enterprise in Australia, 1830-1900.’ While the overall value of this edited text is the emphasis placed on not only migration and its effects on Scottish society, Donnachie’s chapter deals with the construction of the image of the enterprising Scot, using Australia as a specific example.

Australian historiography since the 1960s has shown an increased interest in the connection between Scotland and Australia. Margaret Kiddle’s 1961 publication *Men of Yesterday: A Social History of the Western District of Victoria 1834-1890* emphasises the importance of Scots as squatters and

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landholders in early Victoria, and generated interest in the influence of Scots in colonial Australia. Arguably the most significant historical research on Scots in Australia before the 1980s is David S. MacMillan’s *Scotland and Australia 1788-1850: Emigration, Commerce and Investment* (1967). Drawing on extensive research, MacMillan outlines Scottish interest and migration to Australia before 1850 and the role played by Scottish shipping and mercantile companies in establishing Scottish settlements in Australia.

In the 1980s an increase in historical writings specifically on Scottish in Australia generated interest in Scottish regional settlements. In 1983 Malcolm D. Prentis published *The Scots in Australia: A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*, based largely upon his doctoral research. In 1984 Don Watson’s *Caledonia Australis: Scottish Highlanders on the frontier of Australia*, a study of Highlanders in Gippsland, Victoria, raised important issues about the irony of Highlanders, a displaced, evicted people, coming to Australia and evicting Indigenous tribes from their land. In 1985 Eric Richards further contributed to this growing scholarship with his essay in the journal *Historical Studies*, titled ‘Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century’. Richards own publication that year, *A History of the Highland Clearances: Vol 2, Emigration, Protest, Reasons*, drew attention to Highlanders emigrating to

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Malcolm D. Prentis' work in the 1980s on Scottish migration to Australia was pivotal in raising awareness of the impact and influence of Scots in early Australia. As Prentis writes in his study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, from 1788 Scots were prominent in colonial Australia as governors, lieutenant governors, colonial secretaries and civil officers. By the 1820s, Scottish interest in Australia increased, especially with the arrival of the Scottish Church and John Dunmore Lang, and by the 1830s Scottish numbers intensified through investment and assisted emigration. In 1858 a Caledonian society was formed in Victoria, with Scottish societies existing from the 1850s in the outer districts, and in 1861 Brisbane followed suit and created its own Caledonian society. The value of Prentis' research is that it represents the first history to detail the origins of Scottish settlement in eastern Australia beyond economics by looking at church, land and cultural themes of settlement.

Along with more written on Scottish migration in the 1980s, the topic

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26 See: Prentis, The Scots in Australia.
became increasingly debated. Although widely celebrated, not all historians agreed with the views of early settlement espoused by Malcolm Prentis and earlier by David S. MacMillan. In a 1986 *Journal of Australian Studies* article titled ‘The Impact of the Scots on early Australian History’, John M. Fraser criticises an ‘orthodoxy’ in writings on Scottish migration to Australia.27 According to Fraser, Prentis and earlier writers such as David S. MacMillan were part of an orthodoxy that ‘stuck with what appears obvious and to fit the Scottish myth, namely the “individually brilliant Scot”, “clannishness” and the “Protestant work ethic”’.28 Fraser argues the ‘individually brilliant Scot’ concept ignores ‘the charismatic qualities of Scotland as a total concept’.29

It is important to recognise studies of Scottish migration to Australia have increased in the last few decades in response to wider interest in migration history in Australia, particularly Irish and British migrants. Since the 1980s Irish-Australian historians such as Patrick O’Farrell, David Fitzpatrick, and Chris McConville have extensively contributed to a growing scholarship on Irish migrant lives in Australia, all focussing on Irish experiences and the role of identity in migration and settlement.30 While the Irish and Scots have dominated, more recently, attention has also been directed to Welsh-Australians.31 James Jupp’s current publication *The English in Australia* is a long-overdue general history of the English in Australia.32

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29 Ibid, p. 60.
One striking feature of the historiography of Scots in Australia is the lack of attention given to Scots in Western Australia. Certainly, in terms of numbers, Western Australia was the 'least Scottish colony'. In the nineteenth century, as Prentis outlines, 'the basic generalisation is that New South Wales (then including Victoria and Queensland) was greatly preferred to South Australia, Van Diemen’s Land and Western Australia, in that order'. Scots in Western Australia numbered less than their compatriots in the eastern colonies but their influence in the establishment of Western Australia was disproportionate to their numbers and in some localities settlers deliberately sought to preserve their Scottish cultures. Prentis’ statement that ‘the merest handful of Scots migrated to Western Australia’, appears dismissive of Westralian Scots. Over three per cent of the population in 1851 is not a mere handful. In Prentis’ defence, without extensive Western Australian research on Scottish migration, the task of writing these Scots into the larger picture is a difficult one.

This is not to say all historical investigations into Scottish settlement in Australia, including Prentis’ general history of the Scots in Australia, have not mentioned Western Australia. Marjory Harper’s recent publication, Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus, an excellent account of various Scottish diasporas, quotes Westralian Scot, David Smythe Murray, an individual


34 Ibid, p. 87.

discussed in this study. Jim Hewitson’s *Far Off in Sunlit Places: Stories of Scots in Australia and New Zealand* tells of various Scottish experiences in Western Australia, especially the Scott family:

As your aircraft rolls out along the runway at Perth airport in Western Australia it’s worth remembering that you are trundling across what was once Block 27, South Guildford, the 100-acre farm of settler John Scott from Lanark, who had the distinction of later becoming the first farmer at Bunbury (WA).  

Local historians Rica Erickson and Ronald Richards, along with family historians including Amelia Moir, Greg Wardell-Johnson, R. W. MacPherson and H. J. Sounness have given many Scots a voice within the Western Australian past. In recognition of their work but attempting to broaden understandings beyond regions and families, this study, focussing on the lives of Scots arriving before the end of 1850, is a basis from which to develop a Scottish scholarship within Western Australian history.

**Thesis Approach**

The aim of this study is to account for Scottish lives in Western Australia specifically relating to individuals arriving before the end of 1850. Attention is directed to Scots arriving before the middle of the nineteenth century as they represent the first free Scottish migrants arriving in the colony. I have deliberately limited this study to this period because after 1850, with the introduction of convict labour, the first era of non-convict migration came to an end. The relatively small numbers of Scots migrating to Western Australia in the

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38 Ibid, p. 115.
period under investigation allows for a close socio-biographical study to be undertaken. What is most pertinent throughout this examination of Scottish lives is how Scottish identity was expressed and maintained in colonial Western Australia as a reaction to the predominance of English migrants and as a part of British colonisation. The key focus here is personal understandings of national identity and the extent to which individual Scots perpetuated a sense of Scottishness in the colony.

In reconstructing individual Scottish lives in colonial Western Australia one of the main sources of information has been the census and population returns for the inhabitants of Western Australia, pre-1851. The early census records for Western Australia, though not without inaccuracies, serve as a good means of identifying early Scottish settlers. Unlike the census from 1848 onwards, both the 1832 and 1837 census list the population of Western Australia by name. One of the main focal points in my research is naming the Scottish settlers and this has been made possible in large part through the census records of the 1830s. It is also important to outline the usefulness of the abstract of the population taken from the General Muster Book in January 1830. As with the census returns, the population of the colony is identified by name. However, where the census of 1832 lists persons in that year, the Muster Book lists can be used to identify persons who left the colony before 1832 or died before the census. Both the census returns and the Muster Book abstract details are vital in establishing the identity of Scottish persons in the colony. After 1837, the census for the entire colony only recorded inhabitants as a population figure.

39 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80.
In both census returns taken in the 1830s, the inhabitants of the colony are listed by name, age, marital status, place of birth and profession. In the 1837 census, one major difference to the earlier census is that ages were given as either under or over twelve years. An exact age in 1837 cannot be attained from the census alone. In the 1832 census, though there were slight errors in age, it is possible to estimate the age of a person. Though the age structure in the 1837 census is problematic, the census is more beneficial than the 1832 census in terms of locating where settlers were living and working. Along with the standard details of the population, major farms are listed by the names of owners and the people living and working on the land. The benefit of this is that the whereabouts of Scottish settlers in 1837 can be established along with the location of their property and whether or not they stayed in family groups or worked with other Scots. For example, in 1837 Neil and Mary McLashum of Perthshire, Scotland were residing on Mr Eliot’s farm with fellow Scot from Midlothian, J. McKnoe.41

Aside from the census returns of 1832 and 1837, the population returns taken in districts around Western Australia were important in identifying Scottish settlers not recorded in the census of 1832 and 1837.42 In the census records, the main focus was on the Perth, Fremantle and Swan district (with the inclusion of the Canning district and Pinjarra), to the exclusion of King George’s Sound (Albany). Therefore, a population return for Albany had to be referred to in order to trace Scots in that region. In the population return for Albany in 1836, the

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40 *Returns Relative to the Settlement on the Swan River* (1830).

41 *1837 Census of Western Australia*, CSR 58/37-80.

42 After the 1837 census, the next official census of the colony was 1848. Regional population returns were not regularly taken, Albany’s return was taken in 1836 and Toodyay’s later still in 1848.
Scottish settlers are listed by name, age, profession and place of birth. The Albany 1836 return is vital for establishing if Scottish people settled in the south-west region and locating persons appearing on early population returns but not recorded on the 1837 census, due to having moved south.

The early population and census returns of Western Australia were not without errors. Of those recorded, there were discrepancies between birthplaces. In the Muster Book, the Drummond family was recorded as having all been born in Perthshire, Scotland. However, in later returns it is clear that James Drummond, the head of the family, was the only Scot among a family all born in Ireland. In fact, not all members of a family were recorded in the census. In the case of John Dewar, three of his children were overlooked in the 1832 census. The population returns were also problematic. In the Albany return of 1836, Scottish settlers were only recorded as having been born in Scotland. No county or parish is included thus making it difficult to trace birthplaces in Scotland.

Aside from some errors and problems, the early population returns remain important in naming the Scottish settlers. In A Woman of Good Character, Charlotte MacDonald argues in relation to assisted female migrants to New Zealand in the nineteenth century, that ‘naming is one way in which the people can be brought more fully into view’. In recovering the lives of Scottish men, women and children, I have named each settler (where possible), regaining a sense of individuality previously lacking. As Richard Reid espouses in relation to migration studies, ‘it was men and women, not statistics, that did the

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emigrating'.

Together with census and district population returns, the records of the Colonial Secretary's Office provided valuable information on individual migrants. As government records concerned with documenting settlement in Western Australia in the nineteenth century, the inward correspondence of the Colonial Secretary's Office provides insights into Scottish lives through coroner's inquests, requests for land and land settlements, petitions to the government and regular reports on major districts around the colony from the local magistrates. Letters to the Colonial Secretary from individual settlers, written on a variety of issues, generally provided important details. As with population records, the records of the Colonial Secretary's Office were complemented with and substantiated against other sources such as church records, arrivals indexes and passenger lists.

Western Australian newspapers from the nineteenth century were another vital source in tracing Scottish lives. The Perth Gazette and The Inquirer in particular aided the reconstruction of these lives, the Gazette in circulation from 1833 and Inquirer from 1840. As the two major papers in the colony both contain invaluable information ranging from personal notices and advertisements to death notices and obituaries. With the establishment of regional newspapers later in the nineteenth century such as the Bunbury Herald and Albany Mail, more can be known of Scottish migrants in particular regions. Collectively, Western Australian newspapers provide personal information that at times is not retrievable from the archives.

In utilising census and population records along with official correspondence as major sources in piecing together lives, I have incorporated into my work the methods of nominal record linkage. According to E. A Wrigley in *Identifying People in the Past,* ‘nominal records are those in which individuals are distinguished by name, and by that token are potentially linkable to other nominal records’. Wrigley also argues that the accurate use of the records of the lives of individuals in the past can produce a deeper understanding of their habits and actions. Nominal record linkage refers to the process by which records containing information on specific individuals are placed in relation to each other in order to piece together the fragments of a person’s life. This process involves an understanding of the correct nature of discerning whether certain records relate to the same Adam Armstrong, for example. Through correct linkage of identifying items, the historical individuation of a person can be recorded.

Nominal record linkage provided a framework through which I could piece together fragmented records. For example, how can it be ascertained that ‘John Dewar’ listed on the 1832 census was the same ‘John Dewar’ on the 1837 census? In order to achieve this, other identifying items have to be connected to John Dewar. In both census returns, John’s wife is listed as ‘Jane’. In the 1832 census John is listed as a Scottish labourer with four children.

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named Mary, John, William and Ellen. In the 1837 census, John’s occupation is recorded as agricultural labourer and he is Scottish with seven children including Mary, John, William and Ellen. It can be assumed that this is the same ‘John Dewar’. However, what about the discrepancy between the number of children listed? In order to test the accuracy of the two John Dewars as being one, private records were incorporated. In a letter written by John Dewar to the Colonial Office in London, requesting permission to migrate to the Swan River, Dewar states that he would be travelling with ‘a wife, 5 sons and three daughters’. This would account for the five sons listed in the 1837 census. Yet, there were only two daughters listed. Through further research it was discovered that John’s eldest daughter, Ann, also listed on the 1832 census, separately, died in 1832.

In terms of the reconstruction of Scottish lives in Western Australia there is only so much that can be revealed through official correspondence and government records, along with other public records such as newspapers. The reconstruction of a past life is above all reliant upon the records that formed an individual’s life. What a particular individual preserves and leaves to posterity, whether or not by intention, ultimately becomes the measure of their life. In the absence of extensive state records pertaining to a particular individual, personal records assume a greater significance in the reconstruction of past lives.

Numerous Scottish lives in nineteenth century Western Australia have

49 *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156.

50 *1837 Census of Western Australia*, CSR 58/37-80.
evaded reconstruction and thus close analysis, through a lack of mention in official records and the absence of personal archives. Where a Scottish individual preserved their records and left them for posterity, often when left in the trust of ordinary people such records do not stand the test of time, even when passed on to future generations. Often, personal records are neglected and discarded when properties are cleared for and by new occupants. As a result, the personal dimensions of many Scottish lives remains in the past, lost through neglect or ignorance. It may even be the case that some individuals did not keep records of their lives and did not communicate through the written word. If not for the preservation of scattered aspects of individual lives in published and unpublished government and state records, most Scottish lives would have remained obscure from any form of reconstruction. This is also something that in general faces the historian piecing together migrant lives in nineteenth-century Western Australia. It is made more apparent, however, to the historian searching for migrants representing a small minority.

Personal archives owe their survival to what historian John Tosh outlines as 'posthumous fame, or the family piety of the heirs, or perhaps their inertia in leaving trunks and drawers undisturbed'. The use of private archives has been integral to reconstructing at least some Scottish lives. Private archives in this study refer to the personal records donated to J. S Battye Library, situated in the State Library of Western Australia, and are accessible in manuscript form or on microform reels. Private archives generally contain records ranging from letters and diaries to testimonials, birth, death and marriage certificates, wills, indentures, social invitations, financial statements and clippings from newspapers. Such archives are reflective of the diligence of family members in

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51 John Dewar to Sir George Murray, Colonial Office, 10 July 1829, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 295, piece 5, p. 379.
preserving records and donating them for posterity. They also reflect the selection process involved in making particular items available for public consumption while keeping records of an intimate or controversial nature private. Like the historian, the individuals donating private material select records based upon what they view as worthy for consideration as the archives of a past life. Even where all known material has been donated to become private archives for public viewing, there may be records that have been misplaced or lost. The value of private archives, though some may be incomplete or highly selective, is immeasurable in terms of reconstructing Scottish lives from the perspectives of Scots themselves, family members and members of their community both in Scotland and Western Australia.

The use of private archives as a main source of information brings to the foreground a main theme of my research: allowing, where possible, for the voices of the Scottish settlers to be heard. By 'voices' I am referring to the Scottish immigrants as a whole group and using the word to refer to the process of giving a history back to the settlers. I am keenly aware that not all Scottish voices of the past will be the same and hence analyse the differences in each perspective, according to class, religious convictions, age, origins in Scotland and so on. I want to recover the history of the Scots in Western Australia as they saw themselves. However, it must be recognised that only certain voices of the past will be accessible, in terms of what has survived in the archives and through family groups.

In order to focus on the Scottish voices of the Western Australian past, my research has focused on direct testimonies located in private archives. As Eric Richards writes, 'direct testimony of immigrants is extremely important to
the reconstruction of an immigrant past’. Informal records such as diaries and letters home document the lives of migrant people in Australia who are otherwise reduced to anonymity in the statistics of migration. David Fitzpatrick argues that personal letters, ‘more poignantly than any other testimony, record the struggle of the displaced to identify themselves’. Direct testimonies can tell us a great deal about the individual. As Fitzpatrick writes with regard to Irish correspondence, letters are a useful tool ‘to be linked with broader patterns of human movement’ and represent ‘the broader population of movers’.

There are a wide range of testimonies pertaining to Scottish lives in Western Australia, such as the letters of Isabella Ferguson, to and from family in Dundee, the subject of a book by Prue Joske Dearest Isabella: The Life and Letters of Isabella Ferguson 1819-1910. There are also the personal letters of men such as Robert Stewart, John Adam and Nicol Paterson. Stewart’s letters raise questions about Gaelic-speaking Scots in Western Australia and the influence of their Highland background on settlement. Aside from such letters and diaries, there are other personal effects that are just as important to reconstructing lives. The private archives of John Adam contain a testimonial from a minister at Elgin and an agreement for Adam to be indentured to Major Irwin in the colony.

The reconstruction of Scottish lives in Western Australia is mainly

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54 Ibid.

55 Fitzpatrick, Oceans of Consolation, p. 609.

56 Ibid, pp. 28-29.

57 Prue Joske, Dearest Isabella; The Life and Letters of Isabella Ferguson 1819-1910, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 1989.
possible for middle-class Scots more so than for working-class Scots. A higher proportion of Scottish migrants settling permanently in Western Australia were a part of the middle-class white population and this is reflected in the records available at the Battye Library. While all Scots known to have migrated to Western Australia before the end of 1850 are named in this thesis, recognising the middle-class basis to the sources is important for it explains why few working-class lives are animated beyond basic details.

**Thesis Structure**

Settlers from Scotland were representative of a Scottish nation with shared notions of common descent. They identified with 'a historical territory and homeland; common myths and memories; common mass culture; common legal rights and a common economy.' In the foreign environment of the Swan River colony this basic identification with national origins represented, as David Fitzpatrick writes of Irish settlers, an emigrant response to 'define and enunciate their common identity within Australia’s alien environment'. As a small minority in a predominantly English colony, Scottish settlers sought to maintain relationships with each other based on national origins.

While national origins formed the basis of initial identification in group relations, national origins alone cannot be taken as indicative of all relationships between Scottish settlers in Western Australia. National identity, a sense of national consciousness, may have been the first form of identification between Scottish migrants but the formation of particular Scottish communities around Western Australia illustrates the need to confront a variety of Scottish identities.

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As Richard J. Finlay writes, ‘facets of regional and religious identity were probably more significant in the everyday lives of most Scots than the abstract notion of national identity’. Catriona Macdonald also argues along the same lines, writing how ‘universal notions of ‘nationality’ and ‘class’ had meaning only in so far as they were resonated with an inherently local social structure and mentalité’. In Western Australia, group identities were also based on regional, religious, local, economic and familial ties. Identification between Scottish settlers thus manifested itself in the formation of Scottish communities identified through common backgrounds that were more specific than national origins.

While it is important to analyse Scottish social groups in Western Australia, Scottishness was also expressed through personal identity. Whereas social identity reflects a feeling of similarity in a given group, personal identity refers to difference within the same social group. Identity is an expression of self-definition, in social psychology terms, either as a member of a group or as a unique being, at the personal level. Stephen Worchel, writing on the psychology of social identity, states that an individual's life alternates between emphasising group identity and personal difference. Scottishness reflected individual origins and was conveyed through an individual's perception of their own distinctiveness. Personal identity was expressed in Western Australia.

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63 Ibid, p. 55.
through such things as the naming of residences, headstone inscriptions, obituaries and claims for family heritage. As Worcel writes, 'it is the individual's own context that motivates him or her to seek social situations that emphasise one identity or the other'. In order to account fully for expressions of Scottishness in Western Australia it is imperative to understand individual lives that ultimately affected the formation of relationships and Scottish communities.

Aside from Chapters 1 and 2 focussing broadly on Scottish settlement, all the chapters thereafter address the concept of Scottishness in terms of social relationships I have identified as key indicators of identity. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 focus on work, family and religion as important cultural aspects of Scottish settlement used to perpetuate Scottishness privately and in small Scottish communities in the main districts of the colony. Scottish settlers formed associations with other Scottish migrants based on, firstly, common national origins, and, then, through common economic, familial and/or religious outlooks. These small communities existed within the main districts and were a foundation for successful Scottish settlement.

While identification with other Scots in Western Australia perpetuated itself in work and religious practices, the most immediate and recognisable celebrations of Scottishness manifested in the family and, to an extent, the household. Faced with the unfamiliar surroundings of Western Australia, Scots looked inward and sought to perpetuate their Scottishness in recognition of the family as Scottish.

Chapter 6 attempts to understand Scottish experiences and identity in Western Australia by utilising Scottish correspondence, revealing personal

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expressions of Scottish identity not accessible through the public and official records of migration and settlement. Scottish correspondence cannot be taken as representative of all Scottish experiences, given that they were generally written by middle-class Scots. They do, though, provide personal insights into white settlement from Scottish perspectives and the impact migration had on families left in Scotland. The correspondence conveys the extent to which particular migrants reflected on their Scottish origins and their new home in Western Australia.

Chapter 7 extends beyond Scottish experiences alone to incorporate interactions with other individuals in Western Australia. This chapter explores the existence of shared identities between British and Irish settlers and how Scottish migrants, though seeking to maintain their identities, did not exist in isolation. The relationships Scottish migrants formed with other British settlers reveal the ways in which Scottish migrants functioned within the larger community. An important part of Scottish identity in the nineteenth century, present also in the eighteenth century, was a growing awareness of the emerging parallels between Scottishness and Britishness. In Western Australia, more so than in their lives in Great Britain, Scottish migrants directly faced having to associate with English, Irish and Welsh migrants. In a British colony they were, at least within the collective group of English, Irish and Welsh settlers, British. Certainly in the lives able to be reconstructed, Scottish migrants strongly identified with their origins but also recognised the advantages of being British in a British colony. With time, this Britishness transferred to an emerging identification as Western Australians. Recognition of Scottish identity as also including British identity is something that has not been explored in great depth in histories of Scots in Australia but more recent studies of Scottish migrants in
other parts of the British Empire have addressed this plurality of Scottish identity. Like Scots in Western Australia, Scots in India in the nineteenth century, for example, recognised ‘their two patriotism, for Scotland and for Empire, were compatible and mutually beneficial’.  

Chapter 7 also focuses on relations between Scottish colonists and the indigenous inhabitants of Western Australia. Some Scottish settlers did take an interest in the welfare of their indigenous neighbours and formed lasting friendships that cut across cultural differences. Key Scottish individuals such as Francis Armstrong and Alexander Collie were respected within Aboriginal communities, both for their understandings of indigenous culture and their attempts to educate white settlers about indigenous Western Australians. The reality of relations between Scottish and indigenous Western Australians was, however, often one of mutual suspicion and misunderstanding. With respect to their role in the establishment of white settlement in Western Australia, Scottish migrants were colonisers and their relationships with the indigenous people must be understood in this context. While Scottish relationships with the indigenous people were not entirely different to other British migrant experiences, in understanding Scottish experiences in Western Australia, these relationships should be addressed.

Scottish Identity and Everyday Lives

This thesis is an attempt to broaden our knowledge of Scottish migration to Australia in the nineteenth century by incorporating Western Australia into the

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65 Elizabeth Buettner ‘Haggis in the Raj: Private and Public Celebrations of Scottishness in Late Imperial India’ in The Scottish Historical Review, vol. 81, no. 212 (2002): p. 239. Buettner’s study of Scottishness in India focuses on St. Andrew’s dinners and their relationship to Scottish
larger picture. It traces the lives of the first Scots arriving in the Swan River colony from 1829 to 1850. The main objective of this study is to identify the ways in which Scots asserted their identities in the colony in everyday lives through work, family, religion, correspondence and in interactions within the broader British migrant community. This looks beyond institutional manifestations of Scottish identity to consider individual understandings of identity as visible in everyday lives.

This thesis does not argue that Scottish assertions of identity were unique. The emphasis is on showing how a specific migrant community established its identity and maintained it. Scottish responses to migration are part of broader trends in creating communities. Because Scots were not necessarily different from other British migrants in the ways they asserted their identity in the colony, focussing on their everyday lives has wider implications for how other migrant communities are analysed.

This thesis also demonstrates the multi-layered expressions of national identity by looking at the plurality of Scottish identity in the nineteenth century and how this transferred to Western Australia. Britishness did not exclude cultural pluralism, expressed in the colony in the presence of distinct Scottish, English, Irish and Welsh national identities. Arguably this dual identity - Scottish and British - made Scots more adaptable to a Western Australian identity. For those Scottish settlers who permanently settled in Western Australia, their identity came to represent a dialogue between their Scottish origins and their new life in Western Australia. They became Westralian Scots.
Chapter 1:

Scottish Arrivals 1829-1850

On Thursday, 22 January 1829, *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* published a short column appearing as an advertisement for interest in, 'the new settlement on the west coast of New Holland, called the 'Swan River'.' The following day, 23 January, James Affleck of Aberdeen wrote on behalf of Jonathon Pittrie and Thomas Little, to the Colonial Office in London inquiring about the new colony. Affleck had read a similar notice to that published in the *Courant*, writing:

> By what has Been Published in the Litaray Gazette Concerning your Late and Enterprising Voyage and Exploring up the Swan River ...we intend By your Permission to Solicit the favour of Going to the above mentioned Settlement as we think we Can make a Comfortable living to our Familys...

Throughout 1829 letters from Scottish individuals expressing interest in the colony were received at the Colonial Office in London. Around 400 requests from across Britain for information on the new colony were received by the Colonial Office in 1829, a number arriving in February-March in the wake of major press coverage. In March 1829, John Cleland wrote requesting details of the 'Official Regulations, the terms of Settlement in the new Colony' which would, 'greatly oblige several persons in Scotland'. On 28 March William Nairne Clark of Coupar Angus wrote, 'Several persons here intend emigrating to the new Colony in Swan River and they have requested me to apply to you for information

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2 James Affleck to the Colonial Office, 23 January 1829, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 294, piece 5, p. 74.
4 John Cleland to Colonial Office, 10 March 1829, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 295, piece 5, p. 294.
on the subject. John Cleland and William Nairne Clark both arrived in the Swan colony before 1832, Cleland in 1829 and Clark in 1831.

Between 1829 and the end of 1850 nearly 200 Scots embarked on the voyage to the Swan River. This group included the colony's first Governor, James Stirling, from Drumpellier estate in Lanarkshire. Never more than five per cent of the European population of the Swan Colony, Scottish migrants would, however, contribute to white settlement in Western Australia. Table 1.1 below shows Scottish population numbers compared to numbers of English, Irish and Welsh migrants in the 1859 census. Estimates for the British population in 1850 compare closely to those for 1859 but the 1859 figures are cited as this was the first census to record overall figures for country of birth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>% OF POPULATION</th>
<th>% OF BRITISH BORN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENGLAND</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRELAND</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCOTLAND</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALES</td>
<td>0.56%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.AUSTRALIA</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Western Australian Census of 1859.

Before the end of 1850, 194 Scottish individuals arrived in Western Australia. The exact figure for Scottish arrivals may be higher and over 200, but

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7 Pamela Statham-Drew, *James Stirling Admiral and Founding Governor of Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Crawley, 2003, p. 1. While James Stirling is mentioned at times in this thesis, Pamela Statham-Drew's biography should be consulted for more information on his life.

8 *Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River* (1830); *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; *Return for the Population For Albany* 1836, CSR 45/114-116; *1837 Census of Western Australia*, CSR 58/37-80; *Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880*, SROWA, Perth, Accession 36; Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians*, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; *Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890*.
for those identifiable by birthplace through remaining records, 194 are known to have been born in Scotland. The emphasis here is more on free settlers than individuals arriving as part of regiments but where an individual has remained in Western Australia, they are included as part of this research. The bulk of Scottish migration occurred before the end of 1832, when eighty-three individuals from Scotland arrived at the Swan. They were spurred on to an extent by the 'Swan River mania' in Britain leading to a steady flow of migrants to the colony from 1829-1830. From 1833 to 1850, Scottish migration to Western Australia never again reached the peak of the 1829-1832 period. After 1832 the remaining 107 Scottish individuals arrived at a constant rate, not exceeding ten arrivals a year, with the exception of 1842. Of the total number of Scots arriving in Western Australia, forty-one departed from Western Australia before 1850 or shortly thereafter and seventeen died before 1850, of whom seven had intended to permanently settle. In proportion to overall arrival figures, forty-one Scots departing Western Australia before 1850 may seem high. However, before the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a continual fluctuation in numbers of settlers leaving Western Australia to return to Britain or settle in the eastern Australian colonies, owing to unstable land and employment conditions and the depression of the 1840s. In the years 1832, 1833, 1836, 1837 and 1845 more individuals left the colony than arrived. Though the later lives of seventeen Scots remain unknown, at most one hundred and forty-six Scots lived out their lives in Western Australia, over seventy per cent of Scottish arrivals.

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11 Cameron, ‘The Colonization of Pre-Convict Western Australia’, appendix II, table 1, p. 374.

12 Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830); A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 183, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the
This percentage of Scots remaining in Western Australia reflects general trends for English, Irish and Welsh migrants also.\(^\text{13}\)

### Table 1.2

Scottish proportion of Western Australian population (European) 1832-1848

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>CHILDREN (under 12)</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>SCOTS</th>
<th>% TOTAL SCOTTISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>1511</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td>1511</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>730</td>
<td></td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>4.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1205</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>2354</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>2115</td>
<td>1361</td>
<td></td>
<td>3276</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>1714</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>3853</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>2818</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td></td>
<td>4622</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; *Return for the Population For Albany 1836*, CSR 45/114-116; *1837 Census of Western Australia*, CSR 58/37-80; Erickson, *Dictionary of Western Australians*, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; headstone inscriptions from Western Australian Cemeteries, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003; obituaries and death notices in *The Perth Gazette* (1836-1900), *The Inquirer* (1841-1900), *Western Mail* (1880-1910), *Albany Mail* (1880-1900) and *Albany Advertiser* (1880-1900); ‘1848 Census of Western Australia’ in *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 19 December 1848, number 163, p. 5.

As a group collectively, the Scots migrating to Western Australia were on average around twenty-five years of age and predominantly male. Adult males accounted for over sixty per cent of Scottish adult arrivals while Scottish boys represented seventy per cent of children arriving under fourteen years of age. Comparisons between Scottish sex ratios and overall ratios for Western Australia before 1850 show that the sex ratio of 6:4, in favour of Scottish males, was similar to overall figures. In the 1848 census for Western Australia, of the total European population of 4,622, sixty per cent were males.\(^\text{14}\) Before the end of 1850, seventy-nine single adult Scots arrived in the colony, aged over fourteen years. Only nine of these single adults were females, one travelling alone through employment and the other eight travelling to the colony with their

\(^{13}\) Ibid.

\(^{14}\) Ibid.
parents and siblings. That the single Scots were nearly all men was common in terms of Scottish migration to Australia before the middle of the nineteenth century.

Like the Scots in New South Wales and Victoria, Scottish women arriving before the middle of the nineteenth century in Western Australia were predominantly married women. It was not until later, in the 1850s and the latter part of the century, that a greater emphasis was placed on encouraging single female emigration to Australia. Married Scottish couples, twenty-eight in all, were joined in Western Australia by three widowers and nineteen married couples where one partner was Scottish. Of the remaining arrivals, thirty-one were children under fourteen with the same 6:4 male ratio as Scottish adults.

As Malcolm Prentis writes, Western Australia was the least favoured of all the Australian colonies by Scots in the nineteenth century. In 1851 Scots accounted for over five per cent of the population of New South Wales and over ten per cent of Victoria's population, compared to around three per cent in Western Australia. Over the period from 1846 to 1850, nearly seventeen per cent of migrant arrivals in South Australia were Scottish, with Scottish arrivals

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17 *Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River* (1830); *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; *Return for the Population For Albany 1836*, CSR 45/114-116; *1837 Census of Western Australia*, CSR 58/37-80, Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4*, 1829-1888.
in Western Australia over the same period at just over three per cent of migrant arrivals. However, in terms of overall trends of Scottish emigration to Australia before the middle of the nineteenth century, Westralian Scots shared common regional and occupational origins with their eastern counterparts.

Scottish settlers in Western Australia were predominantly from the Central Lowlands and North-east regions of Scotland. Though thirty-six per cent of Scottish arrivals remain identifiable only as having originated from Scotland, with regional specifics unknown, the origins of the remaining sixty-four per cent are known. If these 122 individuals are to be taken as representative of Scottish origins as a whole, the predominance of the Central Lowlands and the North-east is clear. Nearly forty per cent of Scottish emigrants were born in the Central Lowlands region, significantly Edinburgh and the Lothians, Glasgow and Lanark, along with substantial numbers from Fife, and just over twenty per cent from Angus, the North-east and Perthshire. The disparity between Lowland and Highland and Island origins was considerable in terms of Scottish settlement with Highland and Island Scots accounting for close to five per cent of arrivals (see Map 1). As will be discussed further, this disparity was due to the nature of settlement at the Swan River, encouraging capital enterprise and minimal cost to the government. There were no colonising bodies in the Western Australia encouraging Highland and Island migration as in the eastern colonies, and even when migrants began arriving through the assistance of the Highland and Island Emigration Society after 1852, none came to Western Australia.21


21 *Highland Emigration Society, Lists of Emigrants to Australia, 1852-1857*, National Archives of Scotland (NAS), Edinburgh, manuscript, HD4.
The predominance of Scottish Lowlanders in Western Australia reflects broader trends in Scottish migration to Australia as a whole. Scottish free migrants arriving in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland were mainly Lowlanders with, 'significant numbers also from Ayrshire and Dumfries, from Fife, Angus, Perthshire and the North-east.' \(^{22}\) In the Western District of Victoria before 1850, as outlined by Margaret Kiddle, early white settlement was dominated by Lowland Scots.\(^{23}\) Highlanders did migrate to Australia in the nineteenth century, most notably in 1837-41 and through the auspices of the Highland and Island Emigration Society from 1852-1857.\(^{24}\) These peaks in Highland and Island migration coincided with Australian colonising bodies focussing attention on the value of encouraging Highland migration to increase labour in the colonies and ease economic difficulties for the British government.\(^{25}\) As Malcolm Prentis writes, the arrival of close to 5,000 Highland and Islanders between 1852-1857 ‘represented a short-term response to a specific problem’ brought on by the Potato Famine from 1846.\(^{26}\) In direct contrast to Scottish settlement in Australia, recent research by Lucille H. Campey on Scottish settlers on Prince Edward Island, Canada, shows the opposite as the norm before 1850. Though Scottish emigrants to Prince Edward Island began arriving around 1770, through to 1850 they came predominantly from the Highland and Island regions of Scotland.\(^{27}\) Highlanders and Islanders


\(^{25}\) Richards, ‘Varieties of Scottish Emigration’, p. 476. The records for Highland and Island migration to Australia are a part of government records stored in the National Archives of Scotland under the title ‘Highland Destitution’ (HD).

\(^{26}\) Prentis, *The Scots in Australia*, p. 69.

\(^{27}\) For a map of origins see: Lucille H. Campey, *"A Very Fine Class of Immigrants": Prince Edward Island’s Scottish Pioneers, 1770-1850*, Natural Heritage Books, Toronto, 2001, p. 59.
mainly arrived in Australia in specific periods but in Prince Edward Island, they were the majority of Scottish arrivals through to 1850. The predominance of the Scottish Lowlanders in Australia, especially before 1850, lay in the appeal of Australian settlement to the 'enterprise of lowland Scottish capital and tenant farmers... and the restless quest for upward mobility and broader acres among men much constrained in contemporary Scotland'.

Lowland Scots migrated to Australia seeking opportunities to form a better future economically and socially, unlike departures by Highlanders to Upper Canada seeking haven from agricultural changes and clearances.

Migrants to Australia from the North-east region of Scotland were also influenced by the opportunity of a better future, with an emphasis placed on extensive investment in land. According to Marjory Harper, many North-eastern migrants to Australia, 'had money, and intended to invest it in agriculture, particularly in sheep farming, which until the discovery of gold remained the main incentive to settlement at the Antipodes'. The promise of greater economic opportunities also took North-eastern agricultural labourers to Australia, hoping to work for wealthy sheep farmers also from the North-east. Ultimately, Australia appealed to the more independent migrant from the lowlands and the North-east seeking a better future through choice rather than forced emigration. Histories of Scots in Australia place much less emphasis on exile than do histories of Scots in Canada, for example. The forced migration of

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Highland and Island Scots is a prominent feature of Scottish-Canadian history. Often migrants to Australia were guided by what Eric Richards describes as an agrarian myth which encouraged ideas of agricultural sufficiency on virgin colonial acres [causing] doctors, engineers, bankers and others to forsake their trades and attempt to establish an independence, often wildly inappropriate, producing wheat and wool.

Before 1850, Highland Scots generally sought direct relief and needed extensive help in order to emigrate and the apparent readiness of North American settlements to take poverty-stricken Highland Scots appealed. The difference in cost and length of the voyage to Australia, a long and for some expensive one as opposed to a shorter Atlantic trip offering 'affordable passages', no doubt played a part in the popularity of the North American colonies over Australia. The Australian settlements largely sought to appeal to Scots willing to bring capital and invest in the colonies, leading to the predominance of Lowland Scots in Australia. Lowland emigration, as outlined by T. M Devine, particularly from rural areas, 'was not induced so much by destitution or deprivation,' as was the case in the Highlands, 'as by the lure of opportunity'.

Interest in the Swan colony was based primarily on the opportunity to own cheap, available land otherwise restricted in Scotland. The colony also appealed to urban professionals and landed gentry who saw the settlement as an opportunity to invest and accumulate wealth. From its inception, the Swan


33 For example: Harper, Adventurers and Exiles, pp. 44-61; Campey, “A Very Fine Class of Immigrants”, chapters 2,3.

34 Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish Emigration', p. 493.

River colony became the first British colony to be founded for private settlement alone.\textsuperscript{38} As C. T Stannage argues, the 'object of the colony was to let money make money'.\textsuperscript{39} Settlement at the Swan River was directed towards individuals of significant capital calculating to invest in the colony. Not surprisingly, some of the first Scottish arrivals were agriculturalists, farmers and middle-class government gentlemen. Westralian Scots also shared similar occupational origins as unassisted Scottish migrants to eastern Australia, a number arriving as farm labourers and labourers.\textsuperscript{40}

In terms of overall occupation figures, nearly half of Scottish migrants arriving at the Swan River were indentured servants, tradesmen and labourers, at least half bound by indentures. With their respective families they accounted for around forty per cent of Scottish arrivals. Agriculturalists and farmers represented eighteen per cent of Scottish migrants (a small percentage were retired officers) followed by nine per cent as professionals, seven per cent civil servants and a small number of mariners, merchants and gentlemen. Scots also arrived as part of the 21st Regiment but only a few remained in the colony as settlers. James Blyth of Wellington and later the Swan district is one example. In terms of female migration, if not travelling as servants, women were only listed as wives and daughters.\textsuperscript{41}


\textsuperscript{38} Statham, 'Swan River Colony,' p. 181.

\textsuperscript{39} Stannage, \textit{The People of Perth: A Social History of Western Australia's Capital City}, Perth City Council, Perth, 1979, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{40} Prentis, \textit{The Scots in Australia}, pp. 24, 64.

\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River} (1830), \textit{A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832}, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156, \textit{Return for the Population For Albany} 1836, CSR 45/114-16, 1837 Census of Western Australia,CSR 58/37-80, Erickson, \textit{Dictionary of Western Australians}, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888.
Scottish occupations on arrival were consistent with occupational backgrounds for other British migrants arriving in the colony before the end of 1850. According to Tom Stannage, ‘[o]f the 1500 or so settlers who came to Swan River before the end of 1830, half were labourers and servants and their families’ bound by indenture contracts.42 This trend continued from 1830 to 1832, the bulk of migrants arriving in Western Australia during these years, including most of the Scottish migrants. Like the Scots, around one-fifth of English, Irish and Welsh migrants were agriculturalists and farmers, followed by mariners (fishermen), merchants, publicans and gentlemen. As was the case with Scottish women, unless migrating as servants, English, Irish and Welsh women were recorded as wives and daughters.43

While it is possible to offer a general view of Scottish arrivals in Western Australia in terms of their regional and occupational origins, what is less identifiable are the reasons influencing their departure. Unlike Scottish individuals taking advantage of opportunities for assisted government passages to New South Wales, Westralian Scots had to make a decision, shared with other British settlers intending to settle at the Swan, without direct assistance beyond private emigration schemes. The settlement was designed to be of limited cost to the British government and not involve assisted passages. This was publicised in the regulations published in January 1829 which stated the government would not 'intend to incur any expense, in conveying Settlers to the new Colony... and will not feel bound to defray the expense (cost) of supplying

42 Stannage, The People of Perth, p. 17
43 Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830), A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156, A Return of the Colony of Western Australia on the 1st of January 1836, AJCP, C.O. 18, reel 301, piece, 16, pp. 78-97; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-16, 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80, Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888.
them with Provisions, or other Necessaries, after their arrival there'. In New South Wales from 1832 to 1850, Scottish assisted migrants accounted for a significant proportion of all assisted migration. They reached a peak from 1837-1840 when Scottish proportions of assisted immigration rose as high as forty-four per cent. Alongside this, the numbers for Irish assisted migrants was also high but Scottish migration was encouraged over the Irish. Colonial authorities in New South Wales worried about the numbers of Irish arriving but the need for labour often overrode this colonial prejudice. As a whole, Scottish assisted migration to Australia from 1832 to 1850 has been estimated at around fourteen per cent of total emigration, relative only to New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Van Diemen's Land. For Scottish individuals with significant capital, the denial of assisted passages was not problematic. In the period from 1837-1842 alone, 500 unassisted Scots arrived in the Australian colony. However, for Scottish individuals requiring an assisted passage, their decision to migrate to Western Australia involved finding funds to pay the passage or signing a servitude indenture.

The decision to leave Scotland and migrate to the Swan River colony would have been difficult for many individuals. It is not possible to reconstruct the decision-making process for all Scottish migrants to Western Australia. Where it is possible to reconstruct individual reasons influencing the decision to settle at the Swan, such insights provide meaning to perhaps the most illusive


45 Prentis, The Scots in Australia, p. 61.
46 O’Farrell, The Irish In Australia: 1788 to the present, pp. 65-66.
48 MacMillan, Scotland and Australia 1788-1850, p. 302.
part of the migration process. What is most evident in analysing the reasons behind departure was the plurality of influences. For some individuals it was the 'push' from Scotland that proved a greater influence, while for others it was the 'pull', the lure of greater opportunities in Western Australia. Chain migration was another important influence on individual decisions. In Western Australia before 1850, chain migration was more representative of family migration than migration from specific localities in Scotland. Indeed, with the cost of migration and settlement placed solely on the intending colonist, the success of the family in Western Australia was an important pre-requisite to emigration. It is important to recognise, however, that although the decision to leave Scotland was influenced through push and pull factors, it was often based on personal decisions more particular to the individual than to outside influences.

Individual perceptions of the lack of opportunity in Scotland and the transformation of Scottish society encouraged many Scots to migrate to the Swan. As Eric Richards writes, 'The roots of lowland emigration were in the accelerated transformation after about 1760, and in the cumulative demographic increase with which it coincided'.49 In the half-century before the establishment of the Swan River colony, the lowlands of Scotland experienced an agrarian transformation that fundamentally altered agricultural work and the rural landscape. The consolidation of farm holdings from 1760-1815 under single tenancy, as opposed to smaller holdings, brought about not only the commercialisation of agriculture but also the creation of landless groups, previously not experienced in Scotland, ultimately leading to the elimination of the subtenantry.50 By the 1831 census, rural Lowland counties reached their

49 Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish Emigration,' p. 476.

population peak, placing constraints on the rural economies. Though urbanisation and industrialisation were transforming the major towns of Scotland into major market and industrial centres, two-thirds of Scots still lived in the countryside as late as 1830, leading to a higher proportion of Scots directly affected by the agricultural changes. As T. M Devine argues:

By 1830, most of those who worked in Lowland agriculture were landless men and women servants whose lives were often as much subject to the pressures of labour discipline and enhanced productivity as were those who toiled in the workshops and factories of the larger towns.

That Scots arriving in Western Australia were largely from the rural Lowlands reflects responses to agricultural changes and the perception of greater opportunities at the Swan River. For individuals involved in Lowland agriculture, the pull of the Swan River colony was as significant as the push from Scotland. In November 1837, Robert Stewart, formerly of Blair Athol, informed his brother James that the prospects of land ownership being were much higher in Western Australia than in Scotland.

A key feature of the agricultural changes within Scotland before 1830 was the increased mobility of the Lowland population and overall population movement to the larger towns. An important part of the decision to migrate to the Swan was prior mobility, for individuals who were accustomed to moving to other areas in Scotland and even England were more likely to make the move to Western Australia. According to Eric Richards, considerable attention must be given to internal mobility within Scotland as influencing emigration as 'local

51 Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 111.
52 Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 110.
migration was frequently a prelude, even a pre-requisite, for overseas emigration’. In the 1851 census of Scotland, a third of the population had moved counties or migrated from a rural to an urban environment. Though we can surmise, based upon the mobility of the Scottish population in general, that a significant number of the Westralian Scots were mobile prior to leaving Britain, it is difficult to quantify in real terms. Scottish emigrants to Western Australia were only recorded in census and population returns by birthplace and not last place of residence. However, the migratory background of particular Westralian Scots is reconstructed through tracking movements prior to departure and details given in letters written to the Colonial Office in London. From what is established through private archival material and reconstructions, at least forty Scottish settlers had migrated within Scotland and the British Isles prior to arriving in Western Australia.

In July 1829 John Dewar wrote to the Colonial Office in London expressing his intentions to settle at the Swan River and in a description of his background stated that from his 'earliest infancy [he] was brought up to husbandry and agriculture'. Born in Alloa, John Dewar had by the time of his departure from England migrated around Britain and 'tended to some of the most respectable Landholders and farmers both in England and Scotland'. It is unclear whether John's wife, Jane, was also born in Scotland, as she was recognised as both English and Scottish in the early census of Western

54 Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish Emigration,' p. 475.
56 John Dewar to Sir George Murray, Colonial Office, 10 July 1829, AJCP C.O 18, reel 295, piece 5, p. 379.
57 Ibid.
Given that the four eldest Dewar children were born in Scotland, it is most likely that John had married Jane in Scotland. The birthplaces of the Dewar children also serve as an important indicator of the mobility of the Dewar family. Ann, Alexander, Janet and Robert, the four eldest children, were all born in Scotland while the four youngest children were born in London. John and Jane Dewar can be placed in Edinburgh around 1812 when their eldest child, Ann, was born there. It is unknown where the other three Scottish children were born, since their birthplaces are only given as Scotland. Between 1818 and 1820, the Dewars departed Scotland for London, as indicated by Robert's birth in Scotland in 1818 and the birth of the next child, Ralph, in London in 1820.

From Alloa in the central lowlands of Scotland, John Dewar migrated around Scotland on what may have been seasonal agricultural work. By 1820 he migrated with his family south to the London area where he continued in the same line of work. By 1828 the Dewars had suffered a 'multiplicity of Losses in London' and could only offer £20 towards the £40 passage to the Swan River. John Dewar described himself as a 'reduced Man with a large family of a Wife 5 Sons & three Daughters' and was looking to the Swan River to increase his opportunities and the welfare of his family. John and Jane Dewar may indeed have viewed emigration to the Swan as the next step in their already mobile lives. Interestingly, the mobility of the Dewar family continued in Western Australia. After initially settling in Augusta with their English employer Frederick

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58 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832. AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80.

59 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832. AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80.

60 Ibid.

61 John Dewar to Sir George Murray, 10 July 1829, C.O 18, reel 295, piece 5, p. 379.

62 Ibid.
Turner, the Dewars were then resident in Perth by June 1832 and the Swan district in 1837. John and Jane Dewar finally settled and lived out their lives in the upper Swan region of Western Australia.\(^63\)

Tracing the background of Scottish settlers through birthplace, employment, place of marriage and birthplaces of children is an important part in the reconstruction of the mobility of Scottish migrants. The Armstrong family provides a pertinent example of mobility through utilising key identifiers. Adam Armstrong, the patriarch of the Western Australian branch of the Armstrong family, was born in Dalkeith in 1788 and grew up in the same region, Midlothian, before he married Margaret Gow in Edinburgh in 1810. In 1813 they were still in the Midlothian region where they christened their first child, Francis Fraser, at St. Cuthbert's Church in Edinburgh.\(^64\) By 1816 the Armstongs were living in Cheshire where their second child, George, was born followed by John, born in London in 1819.\(^65\) The fourth child, Adam, is recorded as having been born in Scotland,\(^66\) which seems to indicate that after the birth of John in London, Adam and Margaret moved back to Scotland. This stay was apparently brief given that Laura and Christopher were born in Wales in 1821 and 1823.\(^67\) The mobility of the Armstongs is clear in their movements from Edinburgh to Cheshire and

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\(^63\) Ibid; List of servants for James Turner, CSR 6, p. 88; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Headstone inscriptions for John and Jane Dewar, All Saints Churchyard, Author's photographic evidence, 2001.

\(^64\) Birth details for Adam Armstrong, marriage certificate for Adam and Margaret Armstrong and christening for Francis Armstrong reproduced on-line, 'Scots Origins', General Register Office of Scotland, viewed 2 January 2002 <www.scotsorigins.com>; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156.

\(^65\) A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156.

\(^66\) Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C, p. 64; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80.

\(^67\) A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156.
London, to Scotland again and then to Wales before migrating to the Swan River. Indeed, the death of Margaret Armstrong between 1823 and 1829 may have precipitated the final migration.68

Brock has argued that movement to England, Wales and Ireland, though within the British Isles, was more like migration to overseas settlements as it involved leaving the country of birth.69 Therefore, it can be seen that the Dewars and Armstrongs had in fact experienced out-migration prior to their departure for the Swan River. At the same time, it is important to recognise that the nature of migration to other areas of Britain and Ireland was vastly different from migration to Western Australia that involved movement to a distant continent after a three-four month voyage.

In March 1831, Alexander Anderson wrote to the Colonial Office in London of his intentions to emigrate and, like John Dewar, gave a detailed background of his previous work and residences and made explicit his movements within Scotland. Writing from Kirkfield House in Lanark, Anderson described how in Fife he worked in 'extensive farming, upon the most approved system' and later in Lanarkshire 'held an improving Farm'.70 Anderson's wife, Cecilia, and nine of their ten children were listed on the 1832 Western Australian census as having also been born in Fife, the youngest child born there around 1826 indicating that they had moved to Lanark after 1826.71 Alexander

68 Ibid; Erickson, *Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C*, p. 64.
71 *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*, AJCP, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156.
and Cecilia’s son, Henry, migrated to the Swan prior to 1831 but moved on to Tasmania before the arrival of his family. Unlike the Dewars, the Andersons did not remain in Western Australia, leaving the colony in 1837 for Tasmania and later moving to Port Phillip (Victoria). In 1854 Alexander and Cecilia Anderson returned to Scotland where they both died, Alexander in 1856 and Cecilia in 1872.

William and Margaret Forrest, a couple arriving in Western Australia as servants in 1842, also represent an example of mobility within Scotland as a precursor to overseas migration. William Forrest was born in 'Bervie, near Stonehaven, Kincardineshire' in 1819, the only son of James Forrest. In 1840 William married Margaret Hill at Colton Church, Glasgow and in September the same year their first child, Mary, was born in Glasgow. The Forrests still resided in Glasgow in February 1842 when Mary died and was buried in Colton churchyard. When the Forrests left Britain on the Trusty and arrived in Western Australia in December 1842, they were engaged as servants to a couple leaving from Dundee, John and Isabella Ferguson. The Fergusons advertised in a Dundee newspaper for servants to go with them to Australind on the south-west coast of Western Australia and either the Forrests were in Dundee at the time of the advertisement or Margaret’s family sent the advertisement to her in

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72 Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C, p. 47; Alexander Anderson to Colonial Office, 30 March 1831, C.O 18, reel 297, piece 8, p. 18.

73 Notice in The Perth Gazette, 14 May 1836, p. 691; Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890; Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C, p. 47. Page numbers appear on Western Australian newspapers in the nineteenth century infrequently. Where page numbers are printed in issues, they are cited in references.

74 Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C, p. 39.

75 Headstone inscription for William Forrest, Picton Churchyard, Bunbury, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.

76 Forrest family, Family Bible, BLWAH Private Archives microform, Perth, Acc. 967A.
Glasgow. Like William Forrest, Margaret also left her place of birth, Dundee, and moved to Glasgow.\textsuperscript{77}

Circumstances in Scotland, whether through changes to the rural lowlands, the growing trend of movement to the urban centres and prior mobility within the British Isles were not the only influences on the decision to leave for Western Australia. The connection between Scotland and Western Australia before the end of 1850 was also facilitated through chain migration that brought out family members and formed connections between individuals from the same region of Scotland. The arrival of family and people associated with a particular area was an important part of the process by which colonists maintained continuity with their Scottish origins and attempted to settle in the foreign environment of Western Australia. Family chain migration saw the arrival in Western Australia of twenty-eight Scottish individuals rejoining their relatives already resident in the colony.

In terms of chain migration along family lines, the most prominent was the connection between the Cheyne, Muir and Moir families. George and Grace Cheyne were instrumental in bringing out sixteen members of the Muir and Moir families to the Plantagenet district before the end of 1850. Chain migration of family members to the Toodyay and Victoria Plains region of Western Australia also existed pre-1850. In April 1839, brothers John and Donald MacPherson, from Loch Insh in Inverness-shire, arrived at Fremantle travelling steerage on the Hindoo.\textsuperscript{78} In 1841 their cousin, Ewen MacKintosh, also arrived in the colony. A fellow passenger, Englishman William Wade, described him as 'a big, very big

\textsuperscript{77} Joske, Dearest Isabella, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{78} R. W MacPherson, 'The MacPhersons and the MacKnoes of Western Australia: A personal Family History', unpublished, copied by author, 1996, chapter 3, p. 1; 'Shipping Intelligence' in The Perth Gazette, Saturday 20 April 1839, p. 66.
man, in full Highland costume... as broad as two ordinary men'. By 1845 the MacPhersons and MacKintosh became influential, independent flockmasters. Having served their indentures, they came to be renowned as the 'Scotch Shepherds' of the Victoria Plains. They were later joined in the Toodyay district by Duncan MacPherson, brother to John and Donald, and his wife, Mary, son, Aneas, all from the Parish of Alvie in Inverness-shire, and infant son, Lachlan, born in South Australia.

Like the Cheynes, Muir and Moirs of the Plantagenet district, the MacPhersons and MacKintosh united with family members to maintain family ties in Western Australia. The success of family members in the colony was a strong motive behind chain migration to Western Australia, and it was not only the Fifeshire Scots of the Plantagenet and the Inverness Scots of the Victoria Plains who attracted family migration inspired by success. The prosperity of James and Mary Sinclair at Toodyay in the 1840s encouraged Mary's brother, Charles Glass and his wife, Catherine, to emigrate to Toodyay in 1849. James Dempster's sister, Anna and her husband, George Skinner, also came to the colony through a desire to maintain family ties and inspired by the success of James Dempster. William Skinner, George's brother, travelled with the Skinners in 1843 and, like his brother and sister-in-law, was closely associated with James Dempster in the Beverley district and even while the Dempster


81 Ibid; Headstone inscriptions, Culham Cemetery, Toodyay district, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.

82 Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, Toodyay Shire Council, Toodyay, 1974, p. 49.

83 Erickson, *The Dempsters*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 1978, p. 38.
family was at Rottnest. The arrival of the Skinners again shows that Scottish emigrants did not only arrive with members of one family unit, but also members of their extended family. This was likewise the case with the Muir family who travelled to Western Australia with Elizabeth Trail, Elizabeth Muir's elderly mother.

While at one level family migration involved a desire to reaffirm family connections in Western Australia, chain migration represented an economic as well as kindred pursuit. George Cheyne recognised the value of encouraging, possibly funding, family to migrate and work for him in the Plantagenet area. Cheyne not only engaged the Muir and Moir families in running his Cape Riche property but also left the Muirs and Moirs to run his merchant business in Albany. The Fifeshire families, later in the nineteenth century, ran successful businesses on Stirling Terrace and Earl Street in Albany under their respective family names. For family members emigrating to the colony, the success of family members in Western Australia afforded a safe economic base from which to start.

As Gordon Forth writes on Anglo-Irish identity in nineteenth-century Australia, chain migration created 'close-knit, temporary associations', forming 'a basis from which newly arrived migrants could gain experience and acquire local knowledge before branching out on their own'. Scottish individuals migrating to Western Australia, like the Anglo-Irish, formed a basis from which family and

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84 Erickson, *Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 4, R-Z*, p. 2833.

regional compatriots could begin settlement in Western Australia, as illustrated in migration to the Plantagenet, Toodyay and the Victoria Plains. However, though chain migration did act for some as a temporary basis from which to expand, as in the case of George and Anna Skinner, for other Scottish migrants the family basis provided an opportunity to maintain family connections and increase success in the colony. This is most apparent in family identity, explored in chapter 4.

Understanding the decisions to leave Scotland, whether through changing conditions in Scotland, perceived increased opportunities at the Swan River, prior mobility or encouragement from family in the colony, is an important part of gaining insights into the mentality of the migrant. The decision to settle permanently was as important as the decision to leave Scotland, a decision affecting all migrants and not just those leaving Scotland. For some Scottish migrants initial settlement in Western Australia was followed by a decision to migrate to other colonies in Australia or return to Britain. Overall, however, permanent settlement in the Swan colony surpassed departures and established Scottish communities in Western Australia. Again, this was a feature of English and Irish settlement in Western Australia also. Even though the number of arrivals and departures continually fluctuated before 1850, more British migrants remained in the colony as a whole than actually left.87

87 Cameron, ‘The Colonization of Pre-Convict Western Australia’, appendix II, table 1, p. 374; Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830), AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156, A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 301, piece, 16, pp. 78-97; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-16, 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80, Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888.
For forty-two Scottish individuals, permanent settlement in Western Australia was not the preferred option and the decision to leave resulted in what can be categorised as temporary migration. The reasons for leaving the colony were varied, influenced by individual circumstances, and so it is difficult to generalise about the nature of temporary settlement. Of the forty-two individuals who left Western Australia, including Governor Stirling, twenty-five are known to have migrated to the eastern Australian settlements. Among those leaving were the Andersons from Fife and later Lanark. Alexander Anderson expected to unite again with son, Henry, at the Swan River, as indicated in his letter to the Colonial Office.\(^{88}\) However, Henry Anderson departed the colony in March 1831, months prior to the arrival of the Andersons in December 1831.\(^{89}\) That the Andersons migrated to Tasmania in 1837 suggests that their intentions to settle in Western Australia were outweighed by their desire to join Henry in Tasmania.\(^{90}\) Robert M. Lyon and Alexander Cheyne had already preceded the Andersons' move to Tasmania, departing in 1835.\(^{91}\) After a failed marriage and the deaths of his two young children from dysentery, William Nairne Clark declared his intention to leave the colony in 1844 and finally departed for Tasmania in 1848.\(^{92}\)

Not all of the Scots departing from Western Australia for the eastern Australian colonies travelled to Tasmania. Elizabeth Andrews and Robert Ferres both left the Swan to settle in South Australia, Andrews in 1846 and Ferres in

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\(^{88}\) Alexander Anderson to Lord Goderich, 30 March 1831, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 297, piece 8, p. 18.

\(^{89}\) Erickson, *Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C*, p. 47; *Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890*.


\(^{92}\) 'Caution' in *The Perth Gazette*, Saturday 15 December 1838, front page; Notice of intention to leave in *The Inquirer*, 12 June 1844.
1863. Though an exact date cannot be placed on the departure of Robert and Ann Stewart, shortly after 1850 they left Western Australia for Victoria, where they were eventually buried together at Kyneton Cemetery. Four other Scottish individuals even emigrated beyond Australia; to the Mauritius Islands (John Cleland and Donald H. McLeod), Barbados (Robert Neill) and India (James Mylne).

For three Scots the loss of a partner influenced their decision to leave Western Australia. After Caroline Broun's husband, Colonial Secretary Peter Broun, died in November 1846, she returned to Scotland two years later where she died in 1881. Mary McGlashen's death in Bunbury in 1841 may have contributed to Neil McGlashen's decision to depart from the colony in 1853. Robert Thompson's departure from Western Australia quickly followed the death of his wife, Caroline, in November 1863. At age seventy-two in 1863, Robert would have most likely remained in Western Australia had Caroline not died. Left alone, he was more inclined to join his son in South Australia, where he later died in 1865.

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93 Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes A-C and D-J*, pp. 52, 1040.
99 'Died' in *The Inquirer*, 13 November 1863.
100 Erickson, *Dictionary of Western Australians, volume R-Z*, p. 3055.
Permanent migration to the Swan colony accounted for the settlement of 122 individuals who lived out their lives in Western Australia. This figure, however, only represents individuals identified as having died in Western Australia. At most 145 Scots could have permanently settled, if seventeen are included whose deaths have not been recorded and later circumstances remain unknown. Not including the individuals whose lives have escaped an accurate reconstruction, the lives of the other 122 individuals provide valuable insights into why a large proportion of Scottish migrants remained in Western Australia. What is most evident is that family migration to the colony, whether travelling as a family or through chain migration, played a significant role in determining whether Scottish individuals settled permanently.

Of the 122 Scottish individuals who settled permanently in Western Australia, seventy-two migrated as part of a family unit, including five families with four or more children. Family migration accounted for the arrival of the Armstrong and Dewar families, as previously mentioned, along with two unrelated Ferguson families, the Gaven Forrests, the MacPhersons, the MacKnoes, the Moir and Muir families, the Scotts, the Sinclairs and the Young family. Peter Ambrose, James Drummond, Frederick Slade, John Farquhar and Bernard Smith also arrived with families, although they alone were born in Scotland. As will be discussed, these families played an integral part in the establishment of white settlement in Western Australia and the creation of Scottish communities.

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101 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890; headstone inscriptions, Picton cemetery, All Saint's Churchyard, East Perth Cemetery, Culham Cemetery, Middleton Road Cemetery Albany, Nardie Cemetery and Fremantle Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003; death
The predominance of family units influencing individuals to remain in Western Australia does not completely explain why 122 individuals settled while another forty-two left the Swan colony. Comparatively, the Scots who remained in the colony predominantly came from more humble backgrounds. At least half of the individuals departing from the colony had been members of the gentry and middle classes prior to arriving in Western Australia. It could be surmised that the Scots who migrated east or returned to Britain had the means to seek opportunities elsewhere and did so. It could also be speculated that the Scots who remained in Western Australia perceived their gains in the colony in terms relative to their previous situations. While others simply could not afford to go back to Scotland. One example already shown was the success of the MacPhersons and Ewen MacKintosh in the Victoria Plains. The Dewar family offer another example. Having left London after great losses and travelling to the Swan River as indentured servants, the Dewar family later rose to significance in the Gingin district as the earliest settlers there and were integral to its establishment.102

Age may also have also played a substantial part in permanent emigration. Based upon age on arrival, the average age of individuals settling permanently was just over thirty years, while the average age of Scots leaving the colony was only slightly less at around twenty-nine years.103 However, whereas only two temporary migrants were aged forty or over, twelve permanent migrants were forty or over on arrival in the colony. John and Jane Dewar, John Farquhar, Gaven Forrest, John and Elizabeth Moir, Andrew and Elizabeth Muir, notices in The Perth Gazette, The Inquirer, Western Mail, Albany Mail and Albany Advertiser.

102 Hazel Udell, Gingin 1830 to 1960, Shire of Gingin, Gingin, 1980.

103 Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830); A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, headstone inscriptions, Author's photographic
Elizabeth Trail, William Nairn and Caroline Thompson were all aged over forty and came to the colony with their families. As older migrants, and with families averaging five children, these particular Scottish migrants may have viewed leaving Western Australia as less of an option. Unlike Thomas Middlemas, Robert Bell, Alexander Cheyne and Robert M. Lyon who were either single, under forty or both when they left the colony,104 these twelve Scots were responsible for families and were aware of their increasing age. As a whole, British migrants arriving in Western Australia were not particularly youthful and a large number were responsible for families.105

By the middle of the nineteenth century Western Australia's free European population of 5,734 was small by comparison to the population of New South Wales (including Port Phillip) estimated at 266,900.106 In 1850 Western Australia's population accounted for just over one per cent of the total population of Australia.107 Nevertheless, Scottish migrants in Western Australia generally reflected overall characteristics of Scottish unassisted immigration to Australia before 1850. Like their eastern compatriots, Westralian Scots were predominantly from the rural Lowlands and North-east regions of Scotland and in terms of occupations were mainly indentured servants, tradesmen and

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104 Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830); A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832; Cheyne, Diaries, 1833-1855, Acc. 285A; Arrivals at Fremantle, SROWA microfiche, Perth.

105 Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830), A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156, A Return of the Colony of Western Australia on the 1st of January 1836, AJCP, C.O. 18, reel 301, piece, 16, pp. 78-97; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-16, 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80, Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888.


labourers, agriculturalists and farmers, with smaller numbers arriving as gentlemen, merchants and professionals.

Important influences on the decision to emigrate to the Swan River were prior mobility and chain migration. Of the 194 individuals who arrived in the colony, at least forty can be identified as having migrated within Scotland or emigrated to England, Wales and Ireland prior to departing for the Swan. For some Scots, like the Dewars and the Armstrongs, emigration to the Swan River proved to be the next viable option in what were exceptionally mobile lives. Chain migration saw the arrival of twenty-eight Scottish individuals re-uniting with family already settled in the colony. Most Scots emigrating arrived as family units or as married couples. Though there were a number of single male migrants, they largely arrived through private schemes, such as attracted the MacPhersons and Ewen MacKintosh and also labourers to Albany before 1836.108

Though it is valuable to analyse the Scottish migrants collectively to convey an understanding of Scottish migration to Western Australia pre-1851, a close, socio-biographical study of individual Scottish lives imparts personal experiences that can be related to some key themes such as regional settlement, work, family and religion. Assertions of Scottishness became an important part of their everyday lives and in many ways combining with other Scots conditioned their success and permanent settlement in the colony.

Chapter 2:

Scottish Settlement in Western Australia

When the first Scottish migrants arrived in Western Australia in 1829, at some point they had to arrange a meeting with administrators in the colony's capital, Perth. Alexander Collie, formerly of Aberdeen and later the colonial surgeon, took particular pride in the Scottish naming of the capital, writing to his brother, George, in June 1829:

This town, city, and by and by metropolis is to honour our beautiful Perth by borrowing its name, for the reason that Perth is honoured by being the birthplace of Sir George Murray, Colonial Secretary, and ostensible father of this Infant Colony.¹

While James Stirling, then lieutenant-governor, named Perth merely following orders by Sir George Murray, as Pamela Statham-Drew asserts 'Being a Scot himself, he would have had no objections to using the name of one of Scotland's oldest and proudest towns'.² Not all settlers or their families in Great Britain shared this enthusiasm. George Leake, father to William Leake who arrived in Perth in 1829, wrote to the Colonial Office complaining of James Stirling's 'imprudence on calling the Capital of S. R. by the insignificant name of Perth'.³ Leake described the Swan River as a place 'where Scotch interests will only prevail' and argued Stirling should have established the colony 'before he gave birth to his Scotch prejudices and feelings'.⁴ Even if other settlers did not share their sentiments, arriving in a capital named for Perth in Scotland and

¹ Alexander Collie to George Collie, 9 June 1829 in Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
² Statham-Drew, James Stirling, p. 139.
³ William Leake to Colonial Office, June 1830, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 7, p. 322-324.
administered by a Scottish lieutenant-governor, Scots nevertheless welcomed this familiarity when initially arriving in the colony.

After arriving in the colony, Scottish migrants had to make important decisions as to where they were to settle in the colony and establish their lives. Understanding patterns of Scottish settlement in colonial Western Australia is important for it shows where Scots settled, why they settled in particular regions and the effects of settlement on identity. As will be shown here, and in future chapters, regions with a higher proportion of Scottish settlers were those most likely to leave traces of significant Scottish community networks based on work, family and/or religious ties. But even in areas where Scottish numbers were small, there was still a tendency for Scots to settle near and interact with one another.

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According to Malcolm D. Prentis, the majority of Scottish migrants in Australia by the middle of the nineteenth century settled in urban, commercial and industrial areas, such as Sydney, Hobart, Adelaide and Melbourne. Though Scottish migrants in other colonies reflected a greater bias towards rural settlement than other migrants, they were generally urban-dwellers. Prentis has made this assessment in terms of Scottish settlement in Australia as a whole, with much larger numbers of Scots arriving in the eastern colonies. Looking specifically at Western Australia, the move to urban areas occurred towards the latter part of the nineteenth century. By 1848 forty per cent of the white


population of Western Australia were living in the townships of Perth and Fremantle or within the vicinity of each. Only thirty per cent of Scots migrants settled around Perth and Fremantle while close to seventy per cent settled in rural areas in the central and southern regions of Western Australia. In 1850, Scottish migrants accounted for one per cent of the white population of Perthshire while in rural settlements such as Toodyay they were over five per cent of the white population. In Western Australia, Scottish migrants were predominantly based in rural areas.

The dispersal of Scottish migrants to rural districts around Western Australia was in part made as a reaction to the limited land available in the fertile areas around Perth and Fremantle. As Michael J. Bourke writes, the reports of an early expedition by James Stirling in 1827 'encouraged the emigration to Western Australia in 1829 and 1830 of a far greater number of settlers than the Swan and Canning Rivers were capable of supporting'. Fertile land from the banks of the Swan and Canning rivers never stretched more than two miles, while land further inland was sandy and infertile. By 1830 nearly all of the riverside land of value from the Swan to Fremantle had been granted to settlers. Settlers arriving early in 1830 were faced with a crisis of land

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6 ‘1848 Census’ in Western Australian Government Gazette, 19 December 1848, p. 8.

7 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; ‘The Colony of Western Australia, 1850: Population’ in Blue Book of Statistics, p. 134; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; headstone inscriptions, Picton cemetery, All Saint's Churchyard, Busselton Pioneer cemetery, East Perth Cemetery, Culham Cemetery, St. John's churchyard Pinjarra, Middleton Road Cemetery Albany, Nardie Cemetery and Fremantle Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003; Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle; Garden, Albany: A Panorama of the Sound from 1827; pp. 36-109; Richards, The Murray District of Western Australia; Udell, Gingin 1830-1960; Rodger Jennings, Busselton: ‘outstation on the Yasse, Shire of Busselton, Busselton, 1983; Bourke, On the Swan.

8 Bourke, On the Swan, p. 23.

9 Bourke, On the Swan, pp. 23, 35.
availability that was not alleviated until land further in the interior of the colony could be made available for settlement. Due in large part to the scarcity of land around Perth and Fremantle, Scottish migrants, along with other migrants arriving post-1829, had to settle further inland to secure sufficient land. It should also be recognised that although the lack of available land at the Swan district encouraged Scottish individuals to settle in rural areas beyond the major townships, settlement was also influenced by chain migration, work and encouragement from government and migration schemes, that will be explored in subsequent chapters.

A number of generalisations can be made about settlement patterns and proportions of Scots settling in particular districts. Thirty-two per cent of Scots inhabited the Swan district that included the townships and the surrounding areas along the Swan and Canning rivers. Within the Swan district the majority of Scots lived in the townships of Perth and Fremantle and in rural areas of middle and upper Swan and the Canning region. The Swan district attracted a large number of Scots from the professional classes and members of the gentry, as would be expected given that Perth and Fremantle were major centres in Western Australia for the government and various educational, religious and legal institutions. Swan Scots included Governor James Stirling, his nephew, Andrew Stirling, Colonial Secretary Peter Broun, wife Caroline and son McBryde, doctors, Alexander Collie and John Ferguson, the Ferguson family, advocate John Ferres and wife, Janet, and their child, Ellen, teachers John Cleland and Bernard

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10 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; headstone inscriptions, All Saint’s Churchyard, East Perth Cemetery and Fremantle Cemetery, Author’s photographic evidence, 2001-2003; The Perth Gazette (1836-1900), The Inquirer (1841-1900); See map in Udell, Gingin, p. 49; Bourke, On the Swan, p. 3.
Smith and Gentlemen Walter Boyd Andrews, his Scottish wife, Elizabeth, and Robert M. Lyon. (Appendix E)

The region with the next largest numbers of Scots was the Plantagenet district in the southern region of the colony and including the township of Albany and later Mount Barker. This area attracted over twenty-eight per cent of Scottish arrivals. After these districts, Scots settled in the districts of Toodyay, Wellington, York and in smaller numbers at the Murray and Sussex districts (table 2.1).

Table 2.1
Proportion of Scottish Arrivals Settling in Main Districts 1829-1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>% OF SCOTTISH ARRIVALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERTH (SWAN)</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLANTAGENET</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOODYAY</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELLINGTON</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YORK</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MURRAY</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUSSEX</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN SETTLEMENT</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; 1859 York Census; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; headstone inscriptions, Picton cemetery, All Saint's Churchyard, Busselton Pioneer cemetery, East Perth Cemetery, Culham Cemetery, St. John's churchyard Pinjarra, Middleton Road Cemetery Albany, Nardie Cemetery and Fremantle Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003; Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle; Garden, Albany: A Panorama of the Sound from 1827; pp. 36-109; Richards, The Murray District of Western Australia: A History; Udell, Gingin 1830-1960; Rodger Jennings, Busselton: ‘outstation on the Vasse, Shire of Busselton, Busselton, 1983; Bourke, On the Swan.

Relative to overall numbers of regional white populations, Scots were vastly underrepresented in the Swan district, accounting for only one per cent of the Swan population. In 1850, Scottish migrants were proportionately greatest in numbers in the Plantagenet at between eleven and fourteen per cent of the
population,11 followed by the Toodyay and Murray districts with under ten per cent of their populations born in Scotland.12 In the Wellington and Sussex districts, from Bunbury and Australind south of Busselton and Augusta, Scottish settlers made up around three and four per cent of the white populations, while at York they were only one per cent of the European population.13 (Appendix E)

In terms of the settlement patterns for other British migrants in Western Australia, the Scots were not alone in favouring rural areas. Before 1850, Irish migrants, though represented in the urban areas of the Swan district, scattered out to rural settlements such as York and Toodyay.14 Like the Scots, Irish migrants were widely dispersed through the main districts of the colony and the rural image of Irish settlement that permeates Australia in the nineteenth century15 was also present in Western Australia. Comparison can be made

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11 ‘The Colony of Western Australia, 1850: Population’ in Blue Book of Statistics, p. 134; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116: Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; headstone inscriptions, Middleton Road Cemetery Albany, Author’s photographic evidence, 2002; The Perth Gazette (1836-1900), The Inquirer (1841-1900), Albany Mail (1880-1900) and Albany Advertiser (1880-1900).

12 Ibid; headstone inscriptions, Culham Cemetery, St. John's churchyard Pinjarra, Nardie Cemetery, Author’s photographic evidence, 2002.

13 ‘The Colony of Western Australia, 1850: Population’ in Blue Book of Statistics, p. 134; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80, 1859 York Census; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; headstone inscriptions, Picton cemetery, Busselton Pioneer cemetery, Author’s photographic evidence, 2001-2003; The Perth Gazette (1836-1900), The Inquirer (1841-1900), Western Mail (1880-1910).

14 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832. AJCP, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; 1859 York Census; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; Headstone inscriptions, Picton Cemetery, All Saint’s Churchyard, Busselton Pioneer Cemetery, East Perth Cemetery, Culham Cemetery, Toodyay Public Cemetery, St. John’s churchyard Pinjarra, Middleton Road Cemetery Albany, St. Werburgh’s Churchyard, Mount Barker, Nardie Cemetery and Fremantle Cemetery, Author’s photographic evidence, 2001-2003; Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle; Garden, Albany: A Panorama of the Sound from 1827; Richards, The Murray District of Western Australia; Jennings, Busselton: ‘outstation on the Vasse; The Perth Gazette (1836-1900), The Inquirer (1841-1900), Western Mail (1880-1910); Albany Advertiser (1890-1920); Albany Mail (1890-1920); The Bunbury Herald (1870-1900).

between English, Irish and Scottish settlement in Western Australia and colonial Victoria. According to Richard Broome, in Victoria ‘there was a tendency for the Scots to cluster on the frontier, the Irish in the settled districts and the English in the urban areas’. In Western Australia, English migrants dominated the urban areas of Perth and Fremantle, the Irish moved to settled districts and the Scots showed more of a tendency to cluster in frontier rural areas of Toodyay and the Plantagenet.

Before the end of 1850 the Plantagenet district stands at the forefront of Scottish settlement. Of the 194 Scots arriving in Western Australia before 1851, fifty-four settled in the Plantagenet district. Of the fifty-four Plantagenet Scots, thirty-one lived out their lives in the area along with another thirteen estimated to have remained in the area but whose lives are not completely documented. That at most forty-four Scottish people remained in the Plantagenet district, living out their lives there, may seem a very small number of people but in relation to the small Plantagenet population of 308 in 1850, the Scots were a significant proportion of the population. In a colony where Scottish people

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17 *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*. AJCP, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156; *Return for the Population For Albany 1836*, CSR 45/114-116; *1837 Census of Western Australia*, CSR 58/37-80; *Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880*, 1859 *York Census*; Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians*, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; Headstone inscriptions, Picton Cemetery, All Saint's Churchyard, Busselton Pioneer Cemetery, East Perth Cemetery, Culham Cemetery, Toodyay Public Cemetery, St. John's churchyard Pinjarra, Middleton Road Cemetery Albany, St. Werdburgh's Churchyard, Mount Barker, Nardie Cemetery and Fremantle Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003; Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*; Garden, *Albany: A Panorama of the Sound from 1827*; Richards, *The Murray District of Western Australia*; Jennings, Busselton: 'outstation on the Vasse; *The Perth Gazette* (1836-1900), *The Inquirer* (1841-1900), *Western Mail* (1880-1910); *Albany Advertiser* (1890-1920); *Albany Mail* (1890-1920); *The Bunbury Herald* (1870-1900).

18 ‘The Colony of Western Australia, 1850’ in *Blue Book of Statistics*, p. 134; *Return for the Population For Albany 1836*, CSR 45/114-116; *Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence, 1829-1990*; Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians*; headstone inscriptions, Middleton Road Cemetery Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2002; Garden, *Albany: A
accounted for no more than three per cent of the overall population, Plantagenet
Scots accounted for between eleven and fourteen per cent of the population.

From 1829 to the end of 1832, eighty-three Scottish men and women
arrived in Western Australia, accounting for five per cent of the population at the
time.19 Only nine of these first Scots settled in the Plantagenet area.20 Unlike the
Swan River, the township of King George’s Sound, later known as Albany, was
established on Christmas Day, 1826, as a penal settlement for New South
Wales.21 Though Albany and its surrounding region was considered as a possible
main port for Western Australia, James Stirling’s expedition to the Swan River in
1827 ended any expectations of Albany as the prime place of settlement.22
From 1826 to 1831 Albany remained an outpost for the New South Wales
government and was not proclaimed part of the Swan River settlement until 7
March 1831.23 Therefore, it is not surprising that only nine Scots travelled to
Albany before 1832. As a former penal settlement it only began attracting
attention from free settlers late in 1831. After 1832, however, the Plantagenet
district came to possess the highest concentration of Scottish migrants in
Western Australia.

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19 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 298,
piece 10, pp. 112-156; Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of
Western Australians, 1829-1888, volumes 1-4.

20 Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; Colonial Secretary’s Inward
Correspondence; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, 1829-1888, volumes
1-4.

21 Garden, Albany: A Panorama of the Sound from 1827, p. 8.

22 Ibid, p. 18.

23 Garden, Albany: A Panorama of the Sound from 1827, p. 35.
Settlement in the Plantagenet district reflected strong family connections and the need for labourers to find employment. Of the fifty-four Scots settling in the district, twenty were members of the Cheyne, Muir and Moir families from Fife, including Alexander, Bruce and George Cheyne, brothers all born in Edinburgh.\(^{24}\) A further sixteen Plantagenet Scots were labourers, agricultural labourers and servants. Duncan Arcott, Thomas Gillan, two Daniel Greys, Andrew Gordon, Thomas MacMahon, John Sinclair and Charles Wilson were all listed on the 1836 population return for Albany as labourers, builders and apprentices.\(^{25}\) Roderick Cowden was also involved in labour as a whaling worker for Hugh McKenzie in the 1840s.\(^{26}\) The population return also included John and Mary Young and their children, Agnes and David, later in 1837 associated with agricultural labour.\(^{27}\) John Craigie of Perth, Scotland and William and Mary Sounness were all agricultural labourers in the 1840s, Craigie later becoming a publican in Albany.\(^{28}\)

The presence of a third of Scottish settlers from labouring backgrounds was most likely a reaction to early concerns from 1831 about the shortage of labour in the Plantagenet. Community concerns, along with personal ones, prompted George Cheyne to apply to Governor Stirling for permission to bring out fifty Scottish labourers who would be given government support if needed.\(^{29}\)

\(^{24}\) Notes on Cheyne family in W. H Graham, *Family Papers, 1852-1906*, BLWAH microform, Perth, Acc. 1233A.

\(^{25}\) *Return for the Population For Albany 1836*, CSR 45/114-116

\(^{26}\) Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C*, p. 689.

\(^{27}\) Les and Norma Adams, 'The Young family tree of Albany and Young’s Siding', unpublished manuscript, Albany, 1998, no page numbers.


\(^{29}\) George Cheyne to Governor Stirling, 19 November 1831, SROWA, Perth, CSR 18/203.
Though it is unclear whether Cheyne's fifty labourers from Scotland did indeed arrive in Albany in 1832 as planned, the role of George Cheyne can not be overlooked in explaining the higher numbers of Scots in the south of the colony. Cheyne's campaign may have attracted the attention of Scottish labourers, though not securing as many as fifty. However, regardless of this connection between the Scots labourers in the district and Cheyne's petition, Cheyne nearly secured as many agricultural labourers through invitations to family to emigrate. By the end of 1850 the Cheynes were aided in farming and business concerns by sixteen members of the Muir and Moir families.

Along with the need for labour and the desire to invite family to the Plantagenet there were those attracted to Albany and the surrounding area through business interests. Hugh MacDonald arrived at the Swan River in 1829, listed as a farmer, and later on the 1836 Albany return listed him as a merchant. Thomas Lyell Symers recognised the importance of settlement in the Plantagenet through business aspirations that were more easily achieved at Albany than at Perth or Fremantle. Thomas Symers, the son of a minister, was born in Brechin, Scotland (Angus region) and in his mid-teens joined the East India Service. In 1823, while in India, he built his own vessel, the Caledonia. By 1835 he settled in Albany where he explored trade between Western Australia and India. In the late 1830s, Symers inaugurated a regular trade route

30 Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830)
31 Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116
33 Ibid, p. 75.
from Albany to Hobart and India, taking both cargo and passengers and boosting trade to and from Albany.\(^{34}\)

As a whole, Plantagenet Scots reflected overall trends in the origins of Scottish migrants to Western Australia as they were predominantly from the eastern and central Lowlands (mid-east Lothian and Fifeshire), and to a lesser degree from North-east Scotland.\(^{35}\) Of the Plantagenet Scots, twenty-two came from the Fifeshire region of Scotland, largely the Muir and Moir families but also the Young family.\(^{36}\) Patrick Taylor and Thomas Symers both came from the Angus region in the north-east of Scotland, Taylor from Montrose and Symers from Brechin, which were in close proximity to each other.\(^{37}\) Plantagenet Scots, from what can be known of their origins, largely came from rural areas in Scotland and indeed Scottish settlement in the south of the colony reflected this rural background. William and Mary Sounness came from a farming district of Haddington in East Lothian\(^{38}\) and then worked as agricultural labourers on Patrick Taylor's property and then a Symers' family property before 1860.\(^{39}\)

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\(^{34}\) Ibid, p. 81.

\(^{35}\) Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830); Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4; Glover, 'Captain Symers at Albany', p. 75; Amelia Moir and Greg Wardell-Johnson, The Continuing Moir Saga: A Genealogical Record of an Albany Family, Wardell Publishing, Albany, 1995. This relates to birthplaces established for thirty-four of the Plantagenet Scots.

\(^{36}\) Adams, 'The Young family tree of Albany and Young's Siding', no page numbers; Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830); Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116.

\(^{37}\) Headstone inscription for Patrick Taylor, Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2002; Glover, 'Captain Symers at Albany,' p. 74.


\(^{39}\) Ibid; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 3, R-Z, p. 2897.
William and Mary Sounness then moved to a rural area outside of Mount Barker where they lived out their lives in Western Australia.40

Scottish migrants in the Plantagenet often balanced their rural residences with town allotments, though some resided only on rural properties. Patrick Taylor, though he resided on his farm Candyup later in his life, was the original owner of what is now known as the 'Patrick Taylor Cottage', between Duke Street and Stirling Terrace.41 The Young family also resided in the Albany township after John Young took up a slaughtering license in 1844 for a shop on York Street, a street where they also owned a large house.42 While Plantagenet Scots were predominantly rurally based, the presence of the growing port town of Albany offered them the opportunity of owning town allotments that were scarce in Perth and Fremantle.

As local historian and Albany resident Bonnie Hicks wrote in Aspects of Old Albany, 'Scottish names have always been prominent in Albany's affairs'.43 Research into the early days of white settlement in the Plantagenet district reveals the disproportionate influence Scottish individuals had in the region and, as Bonnie Hicks argues, their names are synonymous with Albany's affairs. Individuals such as George Cheyne, Hugh MacDonald, Thomas Lyall Symers and the Young, Muir, Moir and Sounness families are revered as an important part of the Plantagenet's history.

40 Headstone inscriptions for William and Mary Sounness, Mount Barker, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.

41 Garden, Albany: A Panorama of the Sound Since 1829, p. 100; Patrick Taylor Cottage, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.

42 'Slaughtering Licenses, 1844', Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence, CSR 139/12; Adams, 'The Young family tree of Albany and Young’s Siding', no page numbers.

43 Bonnie Hicks, Aspects of Old Albany, Albany Printer, Albany, 1991, p. 84.
After the Plantagenet district, the next highest concentration of Scottish settlers was in the Toodyay district, which in 1850 included the Victoria Plains. Before 1850, thirty-four Scottish individuals settled in the Toodyay district and by 1850 the nineteen Scots known to have lived out their lives there accounted for over five per cent of a relatively small population of 336. Like the Scots in the Plantagenet, those at Toodyay were linked through family migration. Of the thirty-four arriving and settling at Toodyay, thirteen were members of the Anderson family from Lanark, five were members of the MacPherson family from Alvie, Inverness, including a cousin, Ewen MacKintosh, and those remaining included Charles and Jane Glass who emigrated to the district to join Charles' sister, Jane, her husband, James Sinclair, and their Scottish-born son, James.

Some of the Scottish families in fact married into other Scottish families in the district. Ewen MacKintosh married into the Drummond family, headed by Lothians-born Scot, James Drummond, through his marriage to Euphemia Drummond. Donald MacPherson then connected the Toodyay Inverness Scots to another Scottish family in Toodyay, the McKnoes, when he married Janet McKnoe. Before the end of 1853, the MacPhersons and MacKintosh families were related through marriage to the Drummond and McKnoe families. In the Toodyay district, of the twenty-one Scots known to have remained in the region,

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44 ‘The Colony of Western Australia, 1850,’ Blue Book of Statistics, p. 134; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4; headstone inscriptions, Culham Cemetery and Nardie Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2002; Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle; The Perth Gazette (1836-1900), The Inquirer (1841-1900).


sixteen were closely associated either through family chain migration, inter-marriage between Scottish families or both. These family associations were to create a close-knit Scottish community that came to own some of the most extensive land in the district while also forming community groups such as the Toodyay Presbyterian Committee, investigated further in later chapters.47

Like the Scottish settlers at the Plantagenet, Toodyay Scots settled through family connections and combined Scottish families through marriage in the district. However, unlike the Plantagenet that attracted Scottish labourers, the Toodyay region attracted Scottish shepherds. A total of ten Scottish settlers in the Toodyay district initially came to the region as shepherds and shepherding families. They included the MacPhersons and MacKintosh from Inverness, James and Mary Sinclair, a shepherding couple brought from Scotland in 1840 by resident pastoralist Lionel Lukin,48 and the Davidson brothers who were later to work with the MacPhersons.49 As Rica Erickson writes in her history of the Toodyay region, through the failure of immigration to attract a constant supply of labour to the colony, shepherds were by the 1840s in high demand. The agricultural base of settlement in Toodyay depended extensively on shepherds and in this area they were in demand to take charge of sheep runs for flockmasters, like James Drummond who employed Ewen MacKintosh as a shepherd.50 Scots at Toodyay, more so than their Plantagenet compatriots, were predominantly rural settlers, taking properties outside the township of Toodyay (later to be re-named Newcastle from 1860 to 1910).

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47 Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, pp. 86, 213.
49 MacPherson, 'The MacPhersons and the McKnoes in Western Australia', chapter 3, p. 5.
There were key similarities between these two districts that may explain their popularity with Scottish migrants. In the Plantagenet and Toodyay regions family chain migration was an important factor in establishing connections within the larger community. At the Plantagenet, twenty individuals emigrated via the family migrations of the Cheyne, Muir and Moir families, while in Toodyay, ten individuals settled through family migration. Family migration to the York district brought out three members of the Skinner family to join James Dempster at Northam, but nowhere outside of the Plantagenet or Toodyay was it as significant or influential. Yet family migration alone cannot explain Scottish interest in the Plantagenet and Toodyay regions. Scottish migrants settled in the Plantagenet partly through the demand for labourers there and many residents, like George Cheyne, preferred Scottish labourers. In the Toodyay district, the need for shepherds brought out ten Scottish shepherds and, for two, their wives and child. As a notice in *The Perth Gazette* illustrated, of all British shepherds engaged through emigration schemes to provide labour in the colony, it was the, ‘fine looking Scotch shepherds’ that inspired the most attention. Admittedly, family connections played an important role in encouraging two of the Toodyay shepherds, Ewen MacKintosh and Duncan MacPherson, to emigrate after their siblings and cousins.

While the chain migration of family members and particular labour needs formed the basis of settlement in the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts, at the Wellington and Sussex districts, ten of the twenty Scottish migrants settling there came through the auspices of the Western Australian Company. Founded in London in 1840, the Directors of the Western Australian Company envisaged

51 *Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1900*, Erickson, *The Dempsters*, p. 38.
making a profit from land sales at Australind. This town which they named, lay outside of Bunbury in the Leschenault area and was to serve as a valuable trading post between Australia and India.\textsuperscript{53} From 1840 to 1842, British emigrants set sail for Australia to establish a settlement for the company at Australind. Though the company dissolved in 1843,\textsuperscript{54} it brought to Western Australia key Scottish individuals to the Wellington and Sussex districts.

William and Margaret Forrest, Gaven and Mary Forrest (no relation to the William Forrests), their children, James and Mary Forrest and Mary's children, Agnes and Robert Lockhart, Elizabeth Henderson and Alexander McAndrew all arrived aboard the \textit{Trusty} in December 1842 as indentured servants to John and Isabella Ferguson.\textsuperscript{55} After the completion of their indentures, they all remained in the Wellington and Sussex regions, primarily around Bunbury (Wellington) and Busselton (Sussex). William and Mary Forrest settled at Leschenault Mill,\textsuperscript{56} Gaven and Mary Forrest and their four children settled around Busselton as leading publicans and Sussex farmers\textsuperscript{57} and Alexander McAndrew bought the Ferguson's 'Wedderburn' property in 1855, after it was briefly owned by William and Margaret Forrest.\textsuperscript{58} As will be explored in more detail in subsequent chapters, these Scottish migrants along with William Ramsay, William Scott, Henry Ker and John and Helen Scott and their family, formed close working and

\textsuperscript{52} 'Emigration to Australia', \textit{The Perth Gazette}, 20 April 1839, p. 63.


\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, p. 400.

\textsuperscript{55} 'Shipping Intelligence' in \textit{The Perth Gazette}, 10 September 1842; Joske, \textit{Dearest Isabella}, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{56} Forrest family, \textit{Family Bible}, Acc. 967A; headstone inscriptions for William and Margaret Forrest, Picton cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.

\textsuperscript{57} Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians}, pp. 1094-1095; 'Died' in \textit{The Inquirer}, 12 August 1863; headstone inscriptions for Robert and Agnes Lockhart, Busselton Pioneer Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.
personal relationships. John and Helen Scott, their children, John and Robert, and Helen’s son, Daniel McGregor, all from Lanark, were in fact the first white settlers to establish at Bunbury, initially as managers of James Stirling’s property.\textsuperscript{59}

Like the Scots in the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts, and the south-west region, Scots in the Murray district settled through family and work connections. In 1850, though only eight Scots had settled permanently in the Murray district, they actually accounted for five per cent of the white population of 155.\textsuperscript{60} One example of family migration in the Murray was the Armstrong family. Adam Armstrong, after leaving his property in 'Dalkeith', moved to the Murray district in the late 1830s and in 1840 was joined there by his sister, Elizabeth. When Adam departed Britain in 1830, Elizabeth Armstrong had been anxious as to the health of her brother in the colony and finally emigrated to the colony n 1842.\textsuperscript{61} In terms of work associations, two of the eight Murray Scots settled through work. John Fairbairn and John McLarty arrived in the colony in 1839 as servants to Francis Singleton, a settler with an interest in emigration schemes and increasing his labour force at the Murray.\textsuperscript{62} As with the other districts, Scots at the Murray predominantly settled on rural properties, such as

\textsuperscript{58} Joske, \textit{Dearest Isabella}, p. 56.


\textsuperscript{60} 'The Colony of Western Australia, 1850,' \textit{Blue Book of Statistics}, p. 134; Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians}, volumes 1-4; headstone inscriptions, St. John’s churchyard, Pinjarra, Author's photographic evidence, 2002; Richards, \textit{The Murray District}.

\textsuperscript{61} ‘To be Sold or Let’ in \textit{The Perth Gazette}, Saturday, 15 December 1838, front page; Scott Armstrong unpublished letter to Daily Mail, 8 August 1961, BLWAH. Perth, PR 2878; Elizabeth Armstrong to Colonial Department, 2 September 1830, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 296, piece 7, p. 267; Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians}, volume A-C, pp. 65-67.

'Blythewood' (John McLarty), now a National Trust protected building outside of the township of Pinjarra, 'Burnside' (David Smythe Murray), and 'Creaton' (George Bouglas and Nicol Paterson).  

In the York district Scots were only one per cent of the 1850 population. Of the ten Scottish individuals who settled in York before 1850, seven remained in the district permanently. Donald Hume McLeod left York for Mauritius in 1837, Francis Byrne, a retired officer from Edinburgh, departed from the colony in 1838 and John Adam, the only Elgin Scot in the colony, died in an accident near Northam in 1847. Of the ten Scots that had settled in the York district, only four appear to have been closely associated, members of the same family. In the 1840s Anne Skinner joined her brother, James Dempster, at Northam after emigrating with her husband, George, and his brother, William. Anne and George Skinner did not, however, remain in York, moving to the Swan district in the late 1840s.

Though the York district did have its own family migration connections through the Dempster and Skinner families, it did not attract the same family migration numbers as the Plantagenet or Toodyay districts. Nor did the York district have similar work connections as were present at the Plantagenet, 

64 'The Colony of Western Australia, 1850,' Blue Book of Statistics, p. 134; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4; Erickson, The Dempsters; Garden, Northam: An Avon Valley History, Northam Shire Council, Northam, 1992.
67 'Accident' in The Inquirer, 2 June 1847; Death notice in The Inquirer, 16 June 1847.
68 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, p. 2833; The Dempsters, p. 38.
Toodyay, Wellington and Sussex districts. Furthermore, at York there were no Scottish individuals like the Cheynes, MacPhersons, James Drummond or the Scotts of Bunbury who promoted migration and formed close associations with other Scots in their particular regions. Perhaps what is most apparent in relation to York was the individualistic nature of settlement there. John Adam had no prior connections with Scottish migrants, and from what can be discerned, George Martin and Walkinshaw Cowan settled in the York district through personal choices unrelated to family, work or Scottish connections.

In Western Australia, the Scottish migrants showed a greater preference for rural settlement outside of the main townships of Perth and Fremantle. While the Swan district accounted for more Scottish arrivals than the other regions, a trend reflected in terms of the general population also, more Scots settled in the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts than in the other areas. This was not the general trend for the white population as a whole with the York and Wellington districts the most populated after the Swan region. However, in both comparisons, the Murray and Sussex districts were the least favoured. To an extent the differences between Scottish settlement and general population distribution can be explained in terms of Scots being predominantly from rural origins, given the predominantly urban background of the English migrants in the Swan district – sixty per cent of the white population lived there in 1850. But what set the popular districts of the Plantagenet and Toodyay apart in terms of

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Scottish settlement was a higher number of Scots settling through family migration and encouragement from other Scots. The absence of this general trend may explain the low proportion of Scots at York. The role played by Scottish individuals in the Toodyay and Plantagenet districts should not be overlooked as they were responsible for bringing Scots to the regions and also creating communities based on Scottish origins encouraging those Scots already in the districts to remain.

Class divisions existed between regions of Scottish settlement. The Swan district, and Perth in particular, attracted more Scots from the middle and upper class than the other major regions of the colony. As the capital and centre of government and business, Perth appealed to influential, landed Scots like the Colonial Secretary Peter Broun and his wife Caroline, Gentleman Walter Andrews and his wife Elizabeth and James Stirling’s nephew Andrew Stirling. These Scots were part of what Tom Stannage labels an ‘investing class’ present in Perth from the 1830s, part of a ‘socio-political elite’ made up of Government officials. While there was hostility between the investing class and propertied individuals, both groups formed an important part of Perth society to the exclusion of working-class migrants, the labouring poor. The Swan district centred on wealthy, landed individuals in the first decades of colonisation and wealthy Scots joined with their English, Irish and to an extent, Welsh neighbours to form an elite circle.

While the other major districts of the colony also attracted wealthy Scottish individuals (David Murray at Pinjarra, James Drummond at Toodyay and

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Patrick Taylor of Albany) Scottish servants, labourers, shepherds and small farmers settled outside of Perth and Fremantle, predominantly in the rural areas around the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts. Arriving in the colony without landed titles in Scotland or wealth to invest in the colony these Scots were excluded from colonial gentry society in Perth. This they shared with other working-class British migrants. So they moved, Scots and British migrants as a whole, outside of the Swan district to rural regions where they could increase their influence in the smaller communities.

In the chapters following, Scottish communities and assertions of identity within the districts, based on work, religion and family, form a central part of the overall discussion of Scottish experiences in Western Australia. While the formation of Scottish communities and assertions of difference were not unique to the Scots, this discussion is important in showing the ways in which Scots asserted their identity in Western Australia. The Plantagenet and Toodyay districts dominate the discussion, but with higher concentrations of Scots, this would be expected. Areas with higher concentrations of particular migrant groups have historically been shown to exert a more noticeable sense of community, as was the case with nineteenth-century Irish migrants in the south-west of New South Wales and Killarney in Victoria, for example.\(^{73}\) In these main districts, Scottish migrants combined to create work communities that by the middle of the century provided them with considerable influence in a colony based on land, influence and capital. A large number of Scots may have been excluded from Perth society but their influence in the other major centres such as Albany and Toodyay was enough to rival their Swan district compatriots.

Chapter 3:

Scottish Work Communities

The Scots migrating to Western Australia came from varying occupational backgrounds and circumstances but most shared the same vision of settlement in the Swan River colony as providing opportunities ill-afforded at home. The Scottish free settlers arriving prior to the era of convict transportation in Western Australia, which spanned the years 1850 to 1868, were lured more by the pull of greater opportunities than forced to leave Scotland in poverty. From indentured servants to members of the professional middle classes, Westralian Scots sought to increase their social status through, for example, opportunities to own land, to rise from common labourer to publican or to become influential in pioneering shipping and mercantile businesses in the colony. Family and associates in Scotland and in the rest of Great Britain held great expectations for these Scots, representing emigration to Western Australia as affording a chance for illustrious success. John Adam's mother in Elgin expressed such views, writing to John, formerly a farm labourer and ploughman, 'I have no doubt if you will become your own Master'.

'The Scot on the make' has long been a popular conception of Scottish migrants, whether in the United States, Canada or Australia and New Zealand. As a label it relates to understandings of Scottish successes in the British colonies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and relates specifically to an image of industrious Scots succeeding in all facets of work. According to John M. Fraser, what has been taken as 'clannishness' can be interpreted more

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1 Elizabeth Adam to John Adam, 5 August 1838 in Adam, Letters, 1836-1848, Acc. 2681A.
accurately as ‘the common economic aim of “making good” achieved through combining with those you knew and trusted.’ In this sense, Scottish associations in colonial Australia were part of ‘individual economic aims that required a rational degree of mutuality’. Scots succeeded in Australia by creating close economic associations with other Scots. Westralian Scots came to exemplify this image of the successful Scottish migrant.

Scottish work associations in Western Australia reveal how combining with other Scots through work is also related to maintaining Scottish identity. Scottish success lay primarily in the formation of Scottish partnerships but the presence of small Scottish work communities shows how Scots identified with one another and maintained a sense of Scottishness through work. Scottish economic networks within the main districts of Western Australia aided Scots in re-affirming their identity while also providing them with an economic base for success.

In the nineteenth century, according to Donnachie, ‘Scottish entrepreneurship was highly dynamic and wide-ranging in such varied activities as pastoralism... shipping, mercantile endeavour, mining, engineering and manufacture’. In the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts of Western Australia, 

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3 Fraser, ‘The Impact of Scots in early Australian History,’ p. 60.

4 Ibid.

5 ‘Encouraging to Emigrants’ in The Inquirer, 8 November 1843; Perth Gazette, 2 August 1850.


and to a lesser degree in the Wellington and Swan districts, Scottish entrepreneurship revealed itself in all of these activities. These communities included influential entrepreneurs, but their success lay in relationships with Scots as a whole and consolidating interests to influence particular regional economies.

Scottish work communities in Western Australia can be located within a general trend in the other Australian colonies, especially in the formation of migrant groups based on partnerships and economic networks. Where relevant, Scottish work communities in Western Australia are related to Scottish associations in the other Australian colonies in the nineteenth century. What these other Australian examples show is that Scottish work communities in Western Australia are part of a broader trend among nineteenth-century migrant communities. Scottish work associations are highlighted in histories of Scots in Australia, but they usually detail how Scots combined to create a successful economic basis in the colonies. The connection to Scottish identity is mostly implied. This study proposes that Scottish partnerships and work communities were an integral part of Scottish migrant identity.

According to Kerby A. Miller, writing on Irish ethnic identity in the United States, identity is the shared cultural construction people adopt in their relationships with one another. Work communities and the relationships binding them together provide opportunities for small groups to construct and maintain their national identities. Analysis of migrant communities in the United States has shown how clusters of migrants from the same origins come together and dominate particular areas through the formation of businesses and
industries. Familiarity is the basis of these communities. In Western Australia, through their relationships with one another, Scottish migrants maintained their identity and adopted recognition of their common national origins through the creation of work communities. Like ethnic groups in the United States and other Scottish networks in the eastern Australian colonies, Scottish communities in Western Australia provided support and assistance, and in clustering together in businesses, partnerships and in industries, Scots were able to form economic ties that gave them the grounding for success in the colony.

Economic success and integration within Scottish working communities is a prominent feature of Scottish settlement in Western Australia but there were also Scots not finding success in the colony or not part of these communities. For a number of Scottish settlers the opportunities for betterment were not achieved and some settlers faced years of hard work and hardship before achieving their goal. Though they represent a minority of the whole, there were Scottish settlers whose aspirations for social mobility failed to eventuate. Some individuals remained in Western Australia but most who did not succeed migrated to eastern Australia or returned to Britain in search of new opportunities. As Ian Donnachie argues, these individuals are often overlooked in light of the image of the successful, entrepreneurial Scot. Though many Scottish settlers came to exemplify the Victorian ideal of the 'self-made man' (and in Victorian times 'man' only), Scottish failures are also important to histories of Scottish immigration.

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11 Ibid, p. 91.
Occupational Groups

Of the close to 200 Scots arriving in Western Australia before the end of 1850, over a quarter, fifty-two, began life in the colony as indentured servants. While settlement at the Swan River colony was directed towards individuals with capital, grants of land and respectability were based on the numbers of servants brought to the colony as well as other material assets. The colony was established on class relationships ‘defined by legal contracts, government directives, and social experience’ and indentured servants were expected ‘to form a helot class round whose frail frames the new society would be constructed’. This was the basis of the class system establishing the Swan River colony: members of the gentry needed indentured servants to secure large tracts of land and the working-class poor needed an indenture to secure them a passage to the colony and accrue capital through selling their labour.

For at least a quarter of Scottish migrants, servitude was a means to an end. While not all Scottish servants were completely impoverished, their lack of enough capital to secure land left them with little alternative but to enter into servitude. Contracts of servitude/indentures provided poor, working-class Scots with an opportunity to sell their labour in the hopes of a new life and better opportunities. For all early migrants to Western Australia, the indenture system was an important part of the migration process. Indentured servants received an initial free passage, the cost of which had to be paid back through work in the colony, and were guaranteed work and residence on arrival. As Stannage writes of servants in general in Western Australia, ‘[e]nslavement overseas seemed
preferable’ to ‘the ills of the old world’.13

Swan district Scot, John Dewar, for example, wrote to the Colonial Office of his desire to emigrate to the Swan through assistance from an employer. Having only £20 to offer after a 'multiplicity of Losses in London' he was 'a reduced Man with a large family of a Wife 5 Sons & three Daughters'.14 John Dewar's indenture to Englishman John Turner, along with the other members of his family, was thus a means by which he and his large family could get to the colony and eventually set out on their own. John Adam also viewed his indenture as a means to get to the colony, then once established after the indenture period achieve his goal of becoming a Baillif.15 All Scottish servants arriving in Western Australia did not remain as servants throughout their lives in the colony, most completing their indentures within a few years of arrival and setting out on their own as farmers, pastoralists and businesspeople.

Though it is difficult to trace surviving copies of indentures for Scottish individuals arriving pre-1850, one indenture has survived in full and outlines the terms under which one particular servant travelled to Western Australia. A similar example of an indenture for Englishman Richard Smith and his family in 1829 is given in Tom Stannage’s history of Perth.16 In 1837, John Adam of Elgin signed an indenture to Frederick Chidley Irwin, a gentleman already resident in the Swan River colony (Appendix F). According to Alexander Collie, Irwin had

12 Stannage, The People of Perth, p. 17.
13 Stannage, The People of Perth, p. 17.
14 John Dewar to Sir George Murray, Colonial Office, 10 July 1829, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 295, piece 5, p. 379.
15 James Adam to John Adam, 4 April 1838 in Adam, Letters, 1836-1848, Acc. 2681A.
16 Stannage, The People of Perth, p. 18.
close connections to Aberdeen and was continually anxious to return for short trips.\textsuperscript{17} Frederick Irwin, while back in Aberdeen in the 1830s, may have travelled to the north of Scotland and personally encouraged John Adam or appealed to people in the Elgin area to emigrate. He may also have had Scottish connections; individuals doing his work for him in Scotland, as Yule did in 1831. Regardless, in 1837 Adam became bound to Irwin through an agreement outlining the length of his indenture, his standing as an agricultural servant or shepherd and bore the names of two witnesses to the signing of the terms. Interestingly, the indenture, though ascribing the average wage for an agricultural labourer in the colony, sets out that John Adam would be offered a higher wage when placed in charge of agriculture or sheep. And in doing so Major Irwin elected to appoint two impartial persons (one chosen by each party) to serve as arbitrators in case of any disagreement. For all intents and purposes the indenture appears to be a fair and well-considered document of engagement. By the early 1840s, John Adam was living on a farm in the Northam area, prompting his mother to write requesting information about 'the extent of your farm what stock you have and what rent you pay and what kind of house you have'.\textsuperscript{18}

Though other indentured servants, like Adam, travelled to the colony alone, within the group of Scottish servants three groups are discernible as having come under the auspices of three particular individuals or married couples. As previously mentioned, Dr John Ferguson and his wife, Isabella, brought out ten Scots to be indentured to the Ferguson family at Australind through the auspices of the Western Australian Company. Earlier, at the start of

\textsuperscript{17} Alexander Collie to George Collie, 19 April 1829 and 26 September 1833 in Collie, \textit{Letters}, Acc. 333A.
the 1830s, two other groups of Scots travelled together as indentured servants under the employ of individuals seeking to set up as agriculturalists in Western Australia. In 1830 Thomas Peel was instrumental in bringing four Scottish labourers to the colony: Peter Ambrose, John Farquhar, Joseph McKnoe and George Bouglas. The following year, 1831, saw the arrival of another group of Scottish servants, this time in the brig Drummore and indentured to English gentleman T. N. Yule. He, along with fellow ex-officers of the India army, Ninian Lowis and Richmond Houghton, were assigned vast tracts of land in the Swan district, 29,000 acres yet to be selected in 1831. Yule made arrangements for four families to be brought from Britain to work this land. This group included Joseph Burges, an Englishman whose wife died on the voyage, and three Scottish families. They were the Ferguson family from Falkirk (Alexander, Christiana, Mary, Thomas and James), Margaret and James Thomson and James and Mary Miller. Frederick Irwin in fact regarded Yule’s establishment as one of the finest in the colony and this he explained in part as due to the Scottish servants:

"His people are Scotch, and by their trustworthiness and sobriety added to the industry and skill in their occupations, and above all their attention to their"

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18 Elizabeth Adam to John Adam, 26 September 1842 in Adam, Letters, 1836-1848, Acc. 2681A. It is unclear whether Adam rented or owned the land he farmed in Northam.

19 Thomas Peel, List, 1830 February 13, BLWAH Private Archives, Acc. 184A; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156.


21 Mrs Ferguson is often cited incorrectly as ‘Christina’. ‘Christiana’ is used throughout the text as it is also in genealogical research on the Ferguson family. See: Alexander Ferguson family information at ‘Search Family Tree’, RootsWeb.com, viewed 21 January 2004.

22 Alexander Ferguson family information at ‘Search Family Tree’, RootsWeb.com, viewed 21 January 2004; Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C, p. 394, volume 2, D-J, p. 1031 and volume 3, K-Q, pp. 2163 and 3056; Erickson, ‘T N Yule, Esq: A Gentleman of Misfortune’, p. 64. Joseph Burges did not stay with the other Yule servants and later moved to York where he was recorded resident in 1859.
children’s education and their observance of the Sabbath, they uphold the high character generally acceded to the Scottish peasant both at home and abroad.23

Most of the fifty-two servants arriving were dispersed on arrival to work for individual masters around the Swan district. However, those arriving with John and Isabella Ferguson and Thomas Yule formed cohesive groups. This network of Scots emigrating together to Australind and Middle Swan may have been an important basis for their later close working relationships together. Whereas other Scottish servants were brought to the colony individually with other British servants or worked as one Scottish family amongst other non-Scottish families, servants under Yule and the Fergusons arrived as Scottish groups.

The Australind Scots also formed relationships with former Scottish servants in the Wellington district. William and Margaret Forrest later developed a close relationship with the Scott family at Bunbury. John and Helen Scott originally arrived in the colony from Lanark as farm servants to H. G Smith and from the late 1830s they became the managers of James Stirling’s property in Bunbury.24 Though it is unclear when the Forrests and the Scotts began their relationship in the Wellington district, it may have commenced in 1847 with the birth of John Forrest, later the first Premier of Western Australia, and delivered by midwife, Helen Scott.25 The Scott family came to form close connections not only with the Forrests but also with other Scottish families around the Wellington district.

24 Ibid; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 4, R-Z, p. 2753.
Thomas Yule’s Scottish servants worked near one another for at least a
decade after arriving in 1831. In the 1840s William Wade, an Irish-born settler,
worked for Samuel Moore on ‘Oakover’, a Middle Swan property. Through
Wade’s later recollections of his life, we can trace the presence of this small
group of Scots working and living on and near this Middle Swan property. Wade
worked with married labourers including ‘James Miller, A Scotchman’ and ‘an
elderly Scotchman, named McKecknie’. McKecknie was not originally
indentured to Yule and so is an addition to the group. Nevertheless, the Millers
continued to work on the property near the Alexander Fergusons. Yet while Wade
refers to James Miller as a labourer, the Fergusons were not a part of the labour
force, having a house nearby. Though not working together, a decade later
Yule’s Scottish servants lived near one another.

Some Scottish settlers did in fact show a preference for utilising the
labour of Scottish indentured servants. Had George Cheyne’s plans turned out
as hoped in the early 1830s, there would have been a further fifty Scottish
servants in the colony. As it is, there is not enough evidence to suggest Cheyne’s
venture succeeded in bringing out any Scottish servants. In 1831 Cheyne wrote
to Governor Stirling and the Colonial Secretary:

From the conviction that we only require the introduction of Labourers to avail
ourselves of the advantages which nature has bestowed on this Country It is my
intention to endeavour to engage the undermentioned Artificers & Labourers
from Scotland.

If your Excellency approves of my plan it might greatly facilitate my
views if you could let me have a guarantee that the men I shall engage would be
employed by Government if I am unable to find work for them on the terms

26 Wade, Reminiscences and correspondence, Acc. 949A.
27 Ibid. Wade refers to Sandy Ferguson (Scottish shortened version of Alexander) and Mrs
Ferguson using the word ‘laddies’.
which I shall engage them of which I hand you a copy. It is not from any doubt I entertain of being able to employ the men that I make this request but I wish to afford men who I shall the means of endeavouring to have them homes the fullest assurance that they will be protected & in contract fulfilled & in no way can this be done so effectually respectably as by your Excellency support I have the

Your Excellencys
Most obedient humble Sir
Geo. Cheyne

2 Masons who if probable understand the burning of lime
the Stone being Granite. The Masons should be such as have been accustomed to that description of Stone.

2 House Carpenters

6 Ships Carpenters

1 Smith & good general Workman

1 Plasterer who if probable understands the splitting of (illegible)

8 Gardeners

25 good farming Servants who have a general knowledge of farming and the management of Stock then who can hatch will receive £1 pr annum more than the others

2 Masons Labourers

6 Sawyers 5/ per hundred feet lodging & rations

Not only did Cheyne propose to engage the fifty labourers to alleviate the shortage of labour in the Plantagenet region, he specifically wanted to engage Scottish labourers. Governor Stirling did approve the scheme but it seems unlikely that Cheyne’s scheme eventuated. Part of the reason his scheme may have failed is in Western Australia there were no Scottish-Australian migration companies to support such a plan, aside from private emigration schemes targeting labourers. In the 1830s the Scottish-Australian firm ‘Gilchrist and Alexander’ brought out over 900 Scots to Sydney and Port Phillip. Western Australia simply did not have a Scottish population to support such a company nor a large enough population as a whole. Cheyne’s proposal was the only one put forward by a Scottish migrant in the colony. While Thomas Yule showed a preference for Scottish servants and Frederick Irwin seemed impressed enough by Yule’s group to encourage John Adam to migrate, there were no specific Scottish companies bringing out migrants. Later when there was a demand for

28 George Cheyne to Governor Stirling, 19 November 1831, CSR 18/203.
29 Note on back of letter, George Cheyne to Governor Stirling, 19 November 1831, CSR 18/203.
more shepherds and agricultural servants, Englishman Daniel Scott outlined plans to introduce a Scottish workforce. As will be outlined later in the chapter, Scottish shepherds in particular were celebrated in colonial Western Australia.

Nevertheless, Cheyne's plan does illustrate one Scottish migrant's preference for Scottish labourers. In Western Australia, important Scottish work and business networks appeared in the Plantagenet region and George Cheyne's letter serves as the earliest example of this preference among Scots for working with other Scots in the Plantagenet.

Though they did not emigrate together, a group of Scottish indentured shepherds worked together to form a formidable network in the Toodyay and Victoria Plains region. Known as the Scotch Shepherds, Donald and John MacPherson, along with their cousin, Ewen MacKintosh, and the Davidson brothers were, by the middle of the nineteenth century, in charge of the largest sheep runs in the colony, matching the flockmasters they had previously worked for. This group later included other Scottish individuals from the Toodyay region, most notably Alexander and Christiana Ferguson, originally indentured to T. N Yule. As will be explored further in this chapter, the Toodyay shepherds and other associated Scots became one of the most influential groups in the colony.

After indentured servants and shepherds, the next largest group of Scots to emigrate to Western Australia were tradesmen and labourers, accounting for

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30 Prentis, *The Scots in Australia*, p. 60.

31 ‘Scotch Shepherds’ in *The Inquirer*, 17 November 1847.

32 Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, p. 58.

33 Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 2, D-J*, p. 766.
around ten per cent of arrivals.\textsuperscript{34} Within this group of nineteen male individuals, three Scottish wives and two children under fourteen years of age, over half settled in the Plantagenet district, mainly in the township of Albany.\textsuperscript{35} It is unclear if any of the Scottish labourers arriving in Albany were persuaded by Cheyne’s early efforts, but at least two of the labourers formed a partnership. In 1837 John Sinclair, a thirty year-old builder, became involved in a partnership with fellow Scot, Andrew Gordon, another thirty year-old builder.\textsuperscript{36} In November 1841 Gordon and Sinclair’s offer to build St. John’s Anglican Church on York Street in Albany was accepted and work began the same year.\textsuperscript{37} Gordon and Sinclair’s partnership dissolved about 1845 when John Sinclair embarked on employment in the whaling industry around the coast of Albany.\textsuperscript{38}

Agriculturalists represent the next significant Scottish occupational group arriving in the colony. Though they accounted for nearly ten per cent of Scottish arrivals, seven of twenty individuals were children under fourteen years travelling with their agriculturist parents.\textsuperscript{39} Furthermore, twelve were members of the Anderson family from Lanark.\textsuperscript{40} Therefore, in terms of agriculturalists, we

\textsuperscript{34} Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River, (1830); A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80, Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890.

\textsuperscript{35} Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116.


\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{38} John Sinclair to the Colonial Secretary, 21 February 1845, CSR 139/16.

\textsuperscript{39} Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830); A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888.

\textsuperscript{40} Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830); A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156.
are dealing with eight key individuals along with their children. Scottish agriculturalists arrived in the colony with considerable wealth compared to indentured servants and labourers. William Nairn, formerly a Major in the 46th Regiment, illustrates this, writing to the Colonial Secretary of having arrived in the colony with ‘Capital to the Amount of Thirteen hundred pounds, twelve hundred in cash and tools of different description worth one hundred exclusive of freight’.41 Whereas William Nairn brought £1200 in cash to the colony, John Dewar, an agricultural servant, had at most £20 pounds to offer. Other Scottish agriculturalists came from wealthy families rather than acquiring wealth like William Nairn had after his military experience. David Smythe Murray, a member of the Murray family of Lintrose in Cupar Angus, already had wealth and position in Scotland. For Murray, settlement in Western Australia was a means to extend the wealth of the Murray family and acquire prestige in the new colony.42 Interestingly, of the agriculturalists arriving in the colony, only four remained in Western Australia. Robert Lyon, the Andersons and Francis Byrne all departed from the colony in the 1830s to try their fortunes in eastern Australia and Mauritius.43 Why these Scottish agriculturalists left and others remained may have had as much to do with good fortune as it did financial support from Scotland.

Western Australia also attracted a number of Scottish professionals, merchants and gentlemen from the middle classes. This group of twelve men, four Scottish wives and three Scottish children, accounted for around ten per cent of Scottish emigrants in Western Australia. They included doctors John

41 William Nairn to Colonial Secretary, 27 July 1832, CSR 23/111.
42 Inventory of Writs from Lintrose House, Forfarshire, NAS, GD 68; Richards, The Murray District, p. 324.
Ferguson and Alexander Collie, Walkinshaw Cowan, Andrew Stirling and Robert Neill, all clerks, advocate John Ferres, William Nairne Clark, a member of the Notary Public, merchants George Cheyne and John McLeod and Walter Andrews, Patrick Taylor and John Cheyne, all listed as gentlemen and yeomen. Within this group, only Alexander Collie and the Ferres family seem to have formed an association, possibly from Collie having encouraged them to come out from Aberdeen, his own place of origin. Patrick Taylor and the Cheynes also came to know one another well in Albany.

A number of Scottish seamen and mariners arrived in Western Australia before 1850, accounting for around six per cent of arrivals. All in this occupational group were single males with half settling around the Albany region. This group included Thomas Lyell Symers, James Dempster and Roderick Cowden. Little is known of the life of Roderick Cowden who arrived in Albany some time between 1837 and December 1843, when he married Mary Ann Crawford, most recently of Sydney but originally from Aberdeen. Roderick Cowden was later known to have worked as a whaler for Hugh McKenzie out at Doubtful Island Bay in the Plantagenet region. As mentioned previously, in the

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44 *Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River (1830); A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; *Return for the Population For Albany 1836*, CSR 45/114-116; *1837 Census of Western Australia*, CSR 58/37-80; Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians*, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888.

45 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 9 November 1829 in Collie, *Letters 1828-2835*, Acc. 333A.


47 Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians*, volume 1, A-C, p. 689. Little is known of Mary Ann Crawford before her marriage to Cowden but it appears she came to Albany with her family. There is no record of her family beyond a statement of her arrival in Cowden’s entry in the *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians* cited above.

late 1830s Thomas Symers inaugurated a regular trade route from Albany to Hobart and India, taking both cargo and passengers and boosting trade to and from Albany.49 James MacLean Dempster, originally from Dumfriesshire, came to Western Australia in 1830 as a crew member aboard the *Eagle*. From 1836 to 1843 Dempster spent much of his time at sea as the captain of the *Eagle* and the *Heroine*, while his family remained in the colony. James Dempster later owned 'Buckland' homestead in Northam.50

In terms of occupations, Scots migrating to Western Australia represent similar trends to other Australian colonies before the middle of the nineteenth century. Malcolm Prentis shows that in New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria unassisted immigrants included settlers, agriculturalists, merchants, businessmen and professional men. Assisted immigrants tended to include shepherds, skilled workers and agricultural workers. The main difference between Western Australia and the eastern Australian colonies is proportionally more Highlanders settled in New South Wales and Victoria than in Western Australia and Scottish-Australian companies supported a large influx of Scots.51 In terms of Western Australian comparisons, Scottish occupations reflected general trends for the rest of the British population, as indicated in chapter 1.

**Work Communities - Plantagenet District**

In associating with one another through agriculture, business and in local government, Scots formed binding economic and political ties that moulded

49 Glover, ‘Captain Symers at Albany’, pp. 75, 81.


their success in the colony. Work communities also served to re-shape Scottish identity as a shared collective identity within Western Australia through Scots associating with one another based on national origins. The process of coming together in migrant work communities was not unique to the Scots in Western Australia or in any other Australian colony in the nineteenth century, but analysing the creation of these communities, especially in areas with higher concentrations of Scots, highlights the ways in which Scots asserted their identity in Western Australia through work communities.

The Plantagenet district stands at the forefront of Scottish settlement in terms of work relationships and ties between settlers based on economic affairs. Given the high proportion of Scottish settlers in the Plantagenet, it is not surprising that Scottish work ties were most prevalent in the region around Albany and Mount Barker. By 1850, the Plantagenet district was estimated to have a white population of 308. Including thirty-six Scottish migrants known to have remained in Albany as late as 1850 and another nine Scots only possible residents, the Scottish percentage of the white population was between eleven and fourteen per cent. Of the thirty-six known to have resided in the district in 1850, of whom thirty-four lived out their lives there, all but one formed work relationships with one another. The exception was Bruce Cheyne, brother of George Cheyne of Albany, whose life remains largely unknown aside from his living in Albany and his death recorded by the Reverend John Wollaston in

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52 ‘The Colony of Western Australia, 1850: Population’ in Blue Book of Statistics, p. 134; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; Erickson, Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4; headstone inscriptions, Middleton Road Cemetery Albany, Author’s photographic evidence, 2002; death notices in Albany Mail and Albany Advertiser.
The remaining thirty-five Scots connected through work represent one of the most influential groups of settlers in Western Australia.

Given the small population of the area, it might be argued that Scottish settlers would have come into contact with each other regardless of working preferences. To an extent this is true, but the lives of Plantagenet Scots reveal strong preferences for working with other Scots. Scots did form relationships with other Plantagenet settlers, but when it came to maintaining strong economic ties, nationality proved more influential. While the nature of work associations varied, Scots were inextricably linked to one another.

After Albany, the main town of the Plantagenet district, was formally declared a part of the Swan River Settlement in March 1831, George and Grace Cheyne were among the first colonists to settle there. From what can be established, they were also the first Scottish migrants to settle in the district. That the Cheynes hold this accolade is fitting given their impact on the region from 1831. In 1860 they suddenly retired to Scotland with George aged seventy and Grace aged sixty-three. The Cheynes were instrumental in shaping the economic capacity of the Plantagenet region, along with taking a central role in creating economic relationships with other Plantagenet Scots.

By 1837, George Cheyne was closely associated with fellow Scots, Thomas Lyell Symers and Peter Belches in and around the Albany region. In the

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1836 population return for Albany, all three represented a growing middle-class mercantile base in the Plantagenet. Cheyne was listed as a merchant, Belches as the Harbour Master and although Symers was listed as a yeoman, his business interests were based on his shipping trade around Australia and Calcutta. Cheyne, though not physically taking to the sea, was the brother of Captain Alexander Cheyne, who was resident in Albany in 1834 and came to know Symers. Though all three gentlemen were of the same national origins, this was complemented by their middle-class background and mercantile interests, making them an influential force in the running of Albany’s affairs. As early as April 1837, Thomas Lyell Symers placed George Cheyne in charge of his personal and business affairs in Albany while absent from Albany through trade business. In a letter to Cheyne in April 1837, Thomas Symers requested Cheyne to draw up a summary of his accounts and asked if his cattle were doing well, indicating that they were under the watchful eye of Cheyne. Cheyne's association with Peter Belches most likely commenced in Western Australia in the mid-1830s and lasted until 1858, when Belches left the colony. Cheyne and Belches were both Albany magistrates in 1837. In 1840 the two formed a partnership for land in the Plantagenet, and in 1852 came together again to prospect for gold in the Stirling Ranges.

When George Cheyne turned his attention to whaling in the 1830s, it...
seems likely he did so with support from friends and associates, Thomas Symers and Peter Belches. In 1836 George Cheyne became the first known Scot to establish whaling stations, one situated at Doubtful Island Bay outside of Albany and another at Cape Riche. For Cheyne, his venture into the bay-whaling industry around the Plantagenet offered greater opportunities to increase his influence in Albany as a merchant through his various purchases from visiting whaling ships.\textsuperscript{62} The impact of Cheyne on the history of whaling in the early Plantagenet district can not be overlooked. As Les Johnson writes, few ‘matched the Scot George Cheyne at least in leaving his name on the map’, and today the Plantagenet map still bears the name of Cheyne based on his involvement in whaling at ‘Cheyne ledge, Cheyne head, Cheynes beach, Cheyne island, Cheyne bay, Cheyne inlet and Cheyne point’.\textsuperscript{63} Cheyne’s whaling stations at Doubtful Island Bay and Cape Riche created associations between Scots working as whalers in the region.

In the 1840s Scottish names in the Plantagenet district were synonymous with the whaling industry. In the Western Australian census of 1848, forty-three individuals in the Plantagenet were involved in non-agricultural labor, ‘including mariners, boatmen, fishermen’, amongst other employment such as carting.\textsuperscript{64} Of those forty-three Plantagenet settlers, eight were Scottish individuals involved in the whaling industry, including George Cheyne, Andrew and Robert Muir and Roderick Henry Cowden, operating out of Doubtful Island Bay and Cape Riche, John Sinclair and Hugh MacDonald at Torbay, John Craigie

\textsuperscript{62} Stephens, ‘Builders of Albany: George McCartney Cheyne,’ p. 79.
\textsuperscript{64} ‘1848 Census’ in \textit{Government Gazette}, 30 January 1849, p. 2.
and Thomas Symers.\textsuperscript{65} After the cessation of his partnership with fellow Scot, Andrew Gordon, a partnership instrumental in the building of St. John's Church in Albany, John Sinclair turned his attention to whaling in the 1840s.\textsuperscript{66} By the late 1840s, Sinclair and Fifeshire Scot, Hugh MacDonald, were operating out of Torbay and would have most likely come into contact with Thomas L. Symers through his trading in whale oil and bones along the southern coast and especially at Torbay.\textsuperscript{67} At Doubtful Island Bay, Roderick Cowden was employed by Hugh McKenzie, the son of a Scotsman, Hugh McKenzie Senior, emigrating from Newfoundland around 1840.\textsuperscript{68}

Scottish commercial partnerships formed in the whaling and sandalwood industries around the Plantagenet district can be compared to similar partnerships in New South Wales towards the middle of the nineteenth century. Just as whaling and sandalwood were primary industries for the Plantagenet and influenced by a number of Scots, in the East Maitland district of New South Wales Scots were prominent in influencing the coal mining industry, an industry important to the survival of the region.\textsuperscript{69}

Scotsmen linked through the whaling industry also associated in merchant and publican interests in Albany. George Cheyne and Hugh MacDonald were both listed on the 1836 population return for Albany as merchants and later involved in the Sandalwood industry together in Albany in

\textsuperscript{65} John Sinclair to the Colonial Secretary, 21 February 1845, CSR 139/16; Garden, \textit{Albany: A Panorama of the Sound from 1827}, p. 77; Glover, ‘Captain Symers at Albany’, p. 86; Stephens, ‘Builders of Albany: George McCartney Cheyne,’ pp. 72-73.

\textsuperscript{66} John Sinclair to the Colonial Secretary, 21 February 1845, CSR 139/16.

\textsuperscript{67} Glover, ‘Captain Symers at Albany’, p. 86.

the 1840s.\(^\text{70}\) In late 1843 Hugh MacDonald, John Craige and John Sinclair held publicans’ licenses in Albany, and for MacDonald and Sinclair this interaction as publicans may have instigated their whaling relationship at Torbay in the late 1840s.\(^\text{71}\) Work associations often involved more than one venture in making good in the colony, especially in the Albany area. Relationships founded initially through national origins were maintained through economic familiarity.

Scottish working relationships in the Plantagenet district were also evident in town committees. Town Trusts originated under 1838 Legislative Acts for local government setting up a locally-elected Central Roads Trust assisted by district committees. Only those with 1,000 acres or more land could vote in the Central Roads Trust. By 1847 the elected Central Board was abolished. Of the Trusts created by the 1838 legislative enactments, Town Trusts were a more enduring system. Any town in the colony could set up a Town Trust with support from inhabitants, and owners of town allotments would elect a Committee of Directors. Town Trust members were responsible for public works maintenance and construction and could enforce regulations about private allotments, buildings, fences, roads, bridges and pathways, for example. They were there to ensure the upkeep of the town.\(^\text{72}\) Town Trust members were part of a rising middle class in the colony able to use their ownership of town allotments to secure a political voice within their local communities.

From 1840 to 1850 Scots featured in the main trusts established to

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\(^{69}\) Prentis, *The Scottish in Australia*, p. 117.

\(^{70}\) *Return for the Population For Albany 1836*, CSR 45/114-116; Garden, *Albany: A Panorama of the Sound from 1827*.

\(^{71}\) ‘Return of Licenses granted at Albany at the Annual Licensing Meeting held on the 30th December 1843’ in *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 23 February 1844, p. 1.
improve the town of Albany. These Scots, owners of town allotments already connected through work associations and personal ties, could elect one another to form a representative town body. In this way their work connections extended to increasing their influence in Albany through a Town Trust. In May 1840, Peter Belches, Patrick Taylor and George Cheyne headed a group, along with an English settler, John Hassel, to collect small debts from inhabitants in the Plantagenet district. While Patrick Taylor was not involved directly in the same mercantile interests as George Cheyne, he had helped Cheyne out early in the 1830s with money towards loans for land Cheyne was purchasing. This initial help created a friendship between the Scots that may have influenced their taking the positions on the Town Trust Committee in 1840. In February 1844 another committee 'to provide for the improvement of Towns' was headed in Albany by six gentlemen including Peter Belches, Hugh MacDonald, John Sinclair and Andrew Gordon. Then in 1849 Thomas Lyell Symers, with Hugh MacDonald as treasurer, chaired a similar committee. Included in its committee of five individuals were John Robertson and Hugh MacDonald. Little is known of John Robertson and his wife, Jane, and indeed this reference serves as the only testament available to their lives in Albany, aside from their headstones in Middleton Road Cemetery.

In the colony as a whole, Town Trusts allowed propertied Scots opportunities to extend work associations to local government. Town Trusts and

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75 Notice in *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 23 February 1844, p. 1.
77 Headstone inscriptions, Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.
public meetings also gave Scots opportunities to get politically involved in the establishment and growth of the colony by focussing on their own region within it. This is something Westralian Scots shared with Scots in eastern Australia and to an extent education could attribute for this disproportionate influence. According to Cliff Cumming, Scots in the Port Phillip district of Victoria were actively involved in trusts and public meetings and used this political role to articulate their vision for the colony. In the first few decades of colonisation, Scots featured in public meetings. In 1856, Scots George Skinner and Nicol Paterson took part in a public meeting in Fremantle to protest against new legislative taxation measures. But it was in town trusts in the main districts, such as the Plantagenet, that Scots closely associated with one another. While comprising less than fourteen per cent of the white population of the Plantagenet, Scots dominated the trusts.

It is no coincidence some Scottish individuals associated with the same Scots in several areas of work in the Plantagenet. They represented Scottish communities based on both common national origins and economic desires. Scottish individuals in the region predominantly worked with other Scots or left their affairs in the trust of Scottish individuals. When Thomas Symers temporarily left the colony to trade in Calcutta, he left his affairs in the trust of George Cheyne. George Cheyne and Peter Belches bought land together, worked on a debt committee and later went prospecting for gold. Peter Belches was also associated on another committee with Hugh MacDonald and John Sinclair who were also publicans and later worked together at Torbay in the whaling industry. MacDonald also formed a Town Trust Committee with Thomas Symers who he


79 'Public Meeting' in The Perth Gazette, 4 July 1856, p. 2.
would have known from his whaling at Torbay.

Scots in the Plantagenet also preferred to hire Scottish labourers to work on farms. Patrick Taylor, the wealthy Scot from Montrose, preferred to enlist the work of other Scots. In 1834 John and Mary Young, formerly of Fife in Scotland and both aged thirty-seven, arrived in Albany aboard the Buffalo with their two children, Agnes, aged ten, and David, aged eight. Their association with Patrick Taylor began in Great Britain and continued in Western Australia, when they were employed by Taylor to work on the Taylor property out at Candyup. After the Young family removed from Candyup to work in Albany, Patrick Taylor hired William and Mary Sounness to work on his property. William and Mary Sounness arrived in Western Australia in August 1841 from the farming district of Haddington in East Lothian and it was about this time that Taylor employed William Sounness as the manager at Candyup. After working for Taylor, William Sounness then managed Kendenup Estate, first owned by Stewart Symers, son of Thomas, and then later the English-born Hassell family.

The working relationships between Taylor and the Youngs and William and Mary Sounness represent a different form of relationship to that of, for example, the associations Taylor had with Peter Belches and Thomas Symers. Through Patrick Taylor's working relationships with other Scots, the varied nature of working experiences is clear. Not all Scots were associated together under the

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80 Headstone inscription for Patrick Taylor, Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.

81 Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 4, R-Z*, p. 3415.

82 Adams, 'The Young family tree of Albany and Young’s Siding', no page numbers; *Return for the Population For Albany 1836*, CSR 45/114-116.

same working terms. While Taylor's preference for Scottish labourers and managers on his property is important, just as relevant is the position the Youngs and William and Mary Sounness took in relation to Taylor. They, unlike the middle-class mercantile Scots, were working for Patrick Taylor. Yet this work also gave them the opportunity to set out on their own in the Plantagenet after they had acquired enough wealth to purchase land or enough influence to set up shops in Albany. By the 1840s John and Mary Young were living in a large house in York Street and in 1844 John obtained a slaughtering license for a shop in York Street. ⁸⁴

The Youngs also came to associate with other Scots in the Plantagenet beyond their employment to Patrick Taylor. In 1846 John and Mary held in trust a property for their daughter, Agnes, who was to marry John Howson that year, to be used in her lifetime and passed on to her heirs. The trustees of the property were David Young, Henry Tulley and Hugh MacDonald. ⁸⁵ In forming a private association with the Youngs, MacDonald was again associating himself with Scottish individuals.

As previously noted in relation to his petition for fifty Scottish labourers, George Cheyne was another Plantagenet Scot showing a marked preference for hiring Scottish individuals to run his properties and mercantile interests. Through the Cheynes alone, sixteen members of the Muir and Moir families arrived in Albany before the end of 1850. George Cheyne's preoccupation with forming economic ties with other Scots in the Plantagenet region was also conveyed through his encouragement to members of his extended family to

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⁸⁴ Adams, *The Young family tree of Albany and Young's Siding*, no page numbers; Slaughtering Licenses, 1844, CSR 139/12.
⁸⁵ Adams, *The Young family tree of Albany and Young's Siding*, no page numbers.
migrate to Western Australia to work for him in and around Albany. While George Cheyne kept up his entrepreneurial relationships with Symers and Belches, he left the running of his properties and businesses in the Plantagenet to the various members of his wife's family. It should be recognised that, while George Cheyne is often credited with inviting the Muirs and Moirs to the colony, the role of Grace Cheyne was just as important. It was Grace's sister and nephew's families that George was seeking to work for him in Western Australia. Grace Cheyne was perhaps more instrumental in getting the Muirs and Moirs to migrate and settle in the Plantagenet.

Family connections and economic considerations were a much-welcomed combination, given there could be no greater familiarity than with one's own family. George and Grace Cheyne were fortunate that they were able to enlist the help of sixteen members of their family before the end of 1850, aiding in the establishment of their economic base in the Plantagenet. Family migration was partly connected to the need to make rational economic decisions. That George Cheyne's brothers, Alexander and Bruce, and two nephews, John and George, were for a time resident in Albany in the 1830s may represent Cheyne's first attempt at enlisting the work of his family.86 As will be shown in relation to work in other districts, family working associations were an important means for Scottish settlers to expand their economic interests and secure work.

As a large group, Plantagenet Scots were influential in the establishment of commercial interests in the region, especially at Albany that, as a major port for the Swan River settlement, was based economically in trade and commerce

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rather than agriculture. George Cheyne, Hugh MacDonald, John Sinclair, John Craigie, Andrew and Robert Muir, Roderick Cowden and Thomas Symers were among the first group of Plantagenet settlers to pioneer the whaling industry along the southern coast of Western Australia. George Cheyne especially can be regarded as instrumental in establishing bay whaling and sealing in the Albany vicinity, 'Cheyne's Beach' becoming a well-known whaling area. While George Cheyne was influential in creating the bay whaling industry, trade with other Australian colonies and settlements in India was inaugurated by Thomas Symers. Symers’ regular trade route from Albany to Hobart and India increased Albany's trade in a period when the southern district most needed an economic boost.

In the 1840s, Scottish publicans, merchants and shop-keepers formed a significant part of Albany's growing commercial base. From 1844, three of the four main public houses in Albany town were managed by Scotsmen: Hugh MacDonald at 'Sherratt's Family Hotel', John Craigie at 'Albany Hotel' and John Sinclair at 'Commercial Tavern'. Andrew Muir's shop on Earl Street, a family business managed by his son, Robert, had by 1865 become a prominent general store in Albany. While Robert managed the business, the shop's staff were all Muir wives and daughters. Importantly, though this was work for Muir women within a family business, it represented a move from the home as the only area of work. As late as the 1880s, the store of 'A. Muir & Sons' was still taking precedence in local advertising on the front page of the Albany Advertiser, as it happens just under another advertisement for relatives 'John Moir & Co' on

88 Glover, 'Captain Symers at Albany,' p. 81.
89 'Return of Licenses granted at Albany at the Annual Licensing Meeting held on the 30th December 1843' in *Government Gazette*, 23 February 1844, p. 1.
Stirling Terrace.\textsuperscript{91} There is evidence to suggest that one of the stores was previously run by George Cheyne. In 1842, a notice in the \textit{Western Australian Government Gazette} listed George Cheyne of Albany as in possession of a retail license.\textsuperscript{92} If either of the Muir and Moir stores were descended from Cheyne's early retail store, they represented a business that had been an important commercial store from the 1840s well into the latter part of the nineteenth century. Neither store exists today under the original names but, given that Albany was notorious for fluctuating economic circumstances, their success in the nineteenth century was testament not only to well-run family businesses but also to the combined economic forces of the Fifeshire Cheyne, Muir and Moir families.

**Toodyay District**

In the Toodyay district, and later the Victoria Plains area to the north of the town of Toodyay (renamed Newcastle after 1860), Scottish settlers accounted for close to seven per cent of a white population of 336 in 1850.\textsuperscript{93} One particular group of Scottish migrants stood at the forefront of agriculture and grazing in the district around the middle of the nineteenth century. They were John, Donald and Duncan MacPherson; the Davidson brothers, James Drummond, Alexander Ferguson and Scottish wives Jessie MacPherson (Mrs Donald MacPherson), Mary MacPherson (Mrs Duncan MacPherson), Christiana Ferguson (Mrs Alexander Ferguson) and four children, Thomas, James and Mary Ferguson and Aneas MacPherson (son of Duncan). Like the Cheynes, Muirs and Moirs of the

\textsuperscript{91} ‘John Moir & Co’ and ‘A. Muir & Sons’ advertisements, \textit{Albany Advertiser}, 23 September 1883, front page.

\textsuperscript{92} Notice in \textit{Western Australian Government Gazette}, 19 March 1842, p. 3.

Plantagenet, the cohesiveness of this group was initially founded in the family ties between the MacPhersons and Ewen MacKintosh and John Davidson and his unnamed brother. James Drummond’s connection to the group, though initially made through MacKintosh’s employment with the Drummond family in the early 1840s, was later expressed through a partnership between James Drummond and Ewen MacKintosh and also MacKintosh’s marriage to Drummond’s daughter, Euphemia. The Fergusons and the Davidsons also came to be linked later through work and marriage when John Davidson married Alexander and Christiana’s Western Australian-born daughter, Elizabeth. This group represents another example of Scottish work communities based on the recognition that family partnerships could also serve an important economic purpose in the colony.

In April 1839, brothers John and Donald MacPherson from Alvie, Invernesshire, arrived at Fremantle on the Hindoo, two of the thirty-eight steerage travellers not named in the shipping intelligence. Their arrival in Western Australia was much anticipated, evident in an article in The Perth Gazette in April 1839. It described the departure of Scottish shepherds to Western Australia, as reported in the Liverpool Albion newspaper:

On Tuesday last the novel spectacle was presented of three fine ships sailing together down the Mersey... In one of the ships, for Swan River, we saw many elegantly [sic] ladies as they alighted from their carriages, and on board the Hindoo, in which they embarked, were several fine looking Scotch shepherds, all with their sheep dogs.

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94 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 3, K-Q, p. 2012; Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle, p. 86.

95 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 3, D-J, p. 766.

96 MacPherson, 'The MacPhersons and the MacKnoes of Western Australia', chapter 1, p. 1; 'Shipping Intelligence' in The Perth Gazette, 20 April 1839, p. 66.

97 'Emigration to Australia' in The Perth Gazette, 20 April 1839, p. 63.
The MacPherson brothers were brought to the colony as indentured shepherds to John Scully, an Irishman, and began working for Scully at ‘The Byeen’, a farm in the Toodyay district. In 1841 their cousin, Ewen MacKintosh, also arrived in the colony on board the Ganges. MacKintosh came to Western Australia through the auspices of a private emigration scheme advertising for British labourers and shepherds to be engaged to individuals in the Swan River colony. Though the scheme would have attracted the interest of MacKintosh through its widespread advertisement across Great Britain, the Inverness-shire shepherd may have viewed the scheme as an opportunity to work with his cousins in Western Australia. On arrival in Toodyay, Ewen MacKintosh was engaged as a shepherd to the Drummond family, headed by James Drummond senior, once the Government Botanist in Western Australia and originally from the Edinburgh region and later Perthshire in Scotland.

In 1843, The Inquirer newspaper, established in 1840 in Perth, ran a small column in which it applauded the success of a group of Scottish shepherds. It reads:

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98 Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle, p. 35.
99 Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle, p. 37.
100 Ibid, p. 45.
ENCOURAGING TO EMIGRANTS - Four Scotch shepherds, no one of whom has yet been five years in the colony, are now about to hire land and set up as sheep-farmers on their own account. These men were all brought in by private individuals on the bounty system, have long paid up the whole of their passage-money, and are now possessed of a joint flock of 600 sheep, purchased entirely with money laid by out of their wages. We consider this a good example of the success that awaits the steady and industrious immigrant to this colony.102

While the four Scottish shepherds are not named, they were John and Donald MacPherson, Ewen MacKintosh and most likely John Davidson, all of Toodyay. That only one Davidson brother would have been accounted for in the Inquirer report is indicative of the lack of information known about John Davidson's brother. Both Rica Erickson, in her history of Toodyay, and R. W MacPherson, in his family history of the MacPhersons and MacKnoes, refer only to the' Davidson brothers103 and where a brother is referred to specifically, it is John Davidson who is named.104 Most likely, John was the more prominent and better known of the brothers. There were other Scottish shepherds in the colony before the 1843 Inquirer column, but they had not formed a group about to set up as sheep farmers. John Adam, originally indentured to Frederick Irwin, became a farmer around Northam in the York district and Neil and Mary McGlashen, indentured shepherds from York, were in the Wellington district as small land-holders in 1843.105 Rica Erickson, in her history of Toodyay, describes John and Donald MacPherson, Ewen MacKintosh and the Davidson brothers as the most influential group of shepherds in the early 1840s, coming to compete with their former masters for grazing land.

102 ‘Encouraging to Emigrants’ in The Inquirer, 8 November 1843.
103 Ibid; MacPherson, The MacPhersons and the MacKnoes of Western Australia, chapter 1, p. 5.
104 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 3, D-J, p. 766.
The 1843 *Inquirer* column was an important statement in terms of outlining the success of the Scottish shepherds as an example to other immigrants in the colony and holding their achievements as a standard from which to judge success in the colony. The shepherds had not been in the colony any longer than five years and yet they were already being heralded as exemplifying the ‘success that awaits the steady and industrious immigrant to this colony’. Individuals in Western Australia actually targeted Scottish shepherds and agricultural servants as potential migrants for the colony. In 1839-1840, a private emigration scheme, headed by Irishman John Schoales and approved by the Western Australian Agricultural Society, recruited migrant labourers from Scotland and Great Britain as a whole. These labourers were brought to the colony aboard the Ganges, chartered by John Schoales. In 1847, English-born Daniel Scott advertised in the *Inquirer* his intentions to ‘introduce on his return voyage from England, 60 to 80 Scotch shepherds and agricultural servants’. Scottish shepherds were seen in these decades as vital to the establishment of the pastoral industry and the success of individuals like the Toodyay Scots increased this demand.

It is important to recognise here that there were no similar advertisements for Irish migrant groups in Western Australia. What the early notices for Scottish shepherds display is the popularity of the image of the industrious Scot in Western Australia. Patrick O’Farrell argues that the colonies wanted English and Scottish migrants and Irish migration was generally

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106 ‘Encouraging to Emigrants’ in *The Inquirer*, 8 November 1843.

107 Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, pp. 37, 45; *The Inquirer*, 17 March 1841, 3 November 1841.

108 ‘Scotch Shepherds’ in *The Inquirer*, 17 November 1847.
unwelcome. In Western Australia, to be a Scottish shepherd or agricultural labourer was to be among a celebrated and admired group in colonial society.

By 1845 the MacPhersons, MacKintosh and the Davidson brothers were influential, independent flockmasters, both in Toodyay and within the colony as a whole. By 1849 they had taken on the title of 'D. MacPherson & Co' and were granted a license to depasture 20,000 acres of land in the Toodyay district, followed up by another license again for 20,000 acres in 1851. William Wade who migrated with MacKintosh, later recalled the success of this Scottish group, writing that Donald MacPherson became, 'one of the greatest, if not the greatest flockmaster in Western Australia'. Wade's reference to Donald MacPherson alone may be symbolic of MacPherson's role as the leader of the Scottish group, given that his name headed 'D. MacPherson & Co'. Whether Ewen MacKintosh was still a part of the group is unknown, given that he was granted land under his own name in 1851. Nevertheless, MacKintosh was still associated with the Scottish group that in the late 1840s also included Falkirk-born Scot, Alexander Ferguson. Ferguson, by then a blacksmith, lived in Toodyay with his wife, Christiana, also from Falkirk, and their three Scottish-born children, James, Mary and Thomas. In the 1840s they settled permanently in the Toodyay district and associated with the Scottish pastoralist group. Whether Alexander Ferguson was a part of 'D. MacPherson & Co' remains unclear, although Rica


113 *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156.

114 *1837 Census of Western Australia*, CSR 58/37-80; Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of*
Erickson's local research links the Fergusons with this group in the 1840s. What is clear is that the Fergusons became linked to the Scottish group through the marriage of Elizabeth Ferguson to John Davidson.\(^{115}\) This marriage may have originated through Alexander Ferguson's involvement with the Scottish former shepherds, leading to Elizabeth's romantic interest in John Davidson.

In 1851, Ewen MacKintosh began a partnership with James Drummond senior, his father-in-law since 1849 and original employer upon his arrival in Western Australia. MacKintosh and Drummond, in their partnership, expanded beyond the Toodyay district, taking on a license for depasturing 16,000 acres in the Champion Bay region, surrounding the town of Geraldton in the north-west of the colony.\(^{116}\) It was common in the Australian colonies at this time for Scots to form land partnerships together. Like Cheyne and Bleches and Mackintosh and Drummond in Albany and Toodyay, Scots in the eastern colonies formed similar partnerships. In the middle of the nineteenth century, for example, Scots George Russell and Niel Black took on a lease together of 785 acres at Moonee Ponds.\(^{117}\)

By 1851, 'D. MacPherson & Co', Ewen MacKintosh and the partnership of Drummond and MacKintosh were collectively running at least 43,000 acres from the area of the Victoria Plains to Champion Bay. After 1851 their interests were spreading to outer districts, and the extent of the land issued to them for depasturing indicates the influence that they commanded in their work as pastoralists. This is further exemplified in the lands under lease or license

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\(^{113}\) Ferguson family, *Family history, [19-?]*, BLWAH Private Archives manuscript, Acc. 5042A.


\(^{117}\) Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday*, p. 141.
reported for the 'Melbourne District, attached to the Toodyay Residency' in 1853. Of the 762,650 acres leased, 134,550 acres were run by James Drummond, John Davidson, D. MacPherson and Ewen MacKintosh, holding four licensees out of a total of fourteen for the district. That this group of Toodyay Scots ran just under a fifth of all the land leased in the Melbourne region is even more remarkable given Scottish migrants in the Toodyay district accounted for close to seven per cent of the total white population.

By 1850, thirteen of the twenty-one Scottish individuals settled permanently in Toodyay were directly connected through working associations. This group may have further included the Morayshire/Nairnshire-born Sinclairs, along with Mary Sinclair's brother and sister-in-law, Charles and Jane Glass. In 1852, James Sinclair and Charles Glass signed a petition in support of Governor Fitzgerald's proposals to increase government wages, along with fellow Scots John and Donald MacPherson, Ewen MacKintosh, Alexander and James Ferguson and Alexander Warren.

The Toodyay Scots, in terms of work, were successful due in large part to a network based on common descent, both through national identification and family origins. That network brought together Donald, John and Duncan MacPherson, Ewen MacKintosh, the Davidson brothers, Alexander Ferguson and James Drummond. Of all the districts in Western Australia, the Scottish community at Toodyay was the most publicly recognised Scottish working association by the middle of the nineteenth century, and one which stood as an example of the success that could be achieved in the colony. Ultimately, its

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118 'List of Crown Lands under lease or license' in *The Perth Gazette*, 1 July 1853.

119 Letter to His Excellency in *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 13 January 1852, pp. 2-3.
success lay in its foundations as a Scottish community based on a rationale of economic security through familiarity.

Another factor bringing together Toodyay Scots as a cohesive pastoralist community were their origins as indentured Scottish shepherds. As Rica Erickson writes, shepherding was ‘a skilled occupation and most of the best shepherds in the colony learnt their craft in the wilds of Scotland, or the moors and downs of England’.\textsuperscript{120} The MacPhersons, MacKintosh, Davidsons and the Sinclairs all had knowledge of shepherding in Scotland prior to emigrating and so came together through this common bond. A shared knowledge of the skills required to succeed in the colony as shepherds, and later as sheep farmers and pastoralists, fuelled the desire to form a working group.

There are similarities between this Toodyay Scottish shepherding group and another Scottish group in the Western District of Victoria. As mentioned, all of Niel Black’s workers on his ‘Glenmoriston’ property in the Western District were Highland shepherds. On Black’s property these Highlanders came together through recognition of Highland origins and similar work experiences. They had not come from urban areas of Scotland and were better equipped for bush life and for shepherding. From the 1840s on, Highlanders gathered together in and around the ‘Glenmoriston’ property as a cohesive group. Like the group of Scots in Toodyay, there including Northern Scots, the ‘Glenmoriston’ group were successful through their cohesiveness. In the 1840s the ‘Glenmoriston’ Highlanders had their own stock and according to Niel Black would be masters

\textsuperscript{120} Erickson, \textit{Old Toodyay and Newcastle}, p. 62.
in less than three years. They, like the Toodyay Scots, became successful through their work group and common ties.

James Drummond's later inclusion into the Toodyay group was not one of class identification but familiarity through his employment of Ewen MacKintosh as his former shepherd. Even though MacKintosh worked for James Drummond, Drummond most likely hired the Inverness Scot due to his trust in Scottish shepherds and their readiness for the task of shepherding in the colony. The same trust made him more confident of entering into a partnership with MacKintosh, partly inspired as well by Euphemia Drummond's marriage to Ewen MacKintosh. Alexander Ferguson's association with the group also did not arise from shepherding, given he worked for a time as a blacksmith in the colony, but his experience working on a Middle Swan property would have influenced his joining the group.

While there is no evidence to suggest Donald MacPherson and Alexander Warren worked together as shepherds or pastoralists in ‘D. MacPherson & Co’, they did form an association based on MacPherson’s horse breeding business. Two advertisements for the breeding terms of Donald MacPherson’s horses in 1868 and 1869 state the horses will stand at Alexander Warren’s Upper Swan property and payments should be made to Warren, acting on behalf of MacPherson. While this association marks a cross-district partnership between the Toodyay and Swan regions, Alexander Warren most likely came to know Donald MacPherson earlier when living in Toodyay. Though Warren may

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121 Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, pp. 140-141.
122 Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle, p. 62.
123 Ibid, p. 52; Wade, Reminiscences, Acc. 949A.
124 ‘To Cover’ in The Perth Gazette, 28 August 1868; ‘Notice’ in The Inquirer, 3 November
not have been directly involved in the Scottish pastoral group, evidence suggests he was actively involved in hosting agricultural meetings. In the 1850s Warren named and managed the Toodyay public house ‘Highland Laddie Inn’.\textsuperscript{125} In a notice in \textit{The Inquirer} in 1855, under the title ‘Highland Laddie Inn, Toodyay’, Warren thanked his ‘friends and visitors for the patronage he received at the Toodyay Agricultural Meeting’.\textsuperscript{126} Warren also used the notice to inform these friends ‘that he will shortly have an increased means for their accommodation and comfort’.\textsuperscript{127} Not only was Warren involved in hosting the agricultural meeting, members of the meeting drank or even stayed at the ‘Highland Laddie Inn’. Visitors could have included the MacPhersons and Ewen MacKintosh: Highlanders at the ‘Highland Laddie Inn’.

Donald MacPherson’s work breeding horses in fact provides an insight into his identification with Scotland. From the 1840s the breeding of horses for the Indian market provided another source of income to early colonists faced with the failure of wool and a drop in sandalwood prices.\textsuperscript{128} In the late 1840s Englishman George Leake attempted to create a horse breeding company to benefit from trade with India. When Leake died in 1849, Thomas Yule and others continued with proposals for the company but as Rica Erickson writes, when the horse breeders could not agree ‘the trade became largely a matter of individual enterprise’.\textsuperscript{129} In the 1850s English settlers at Toodyay, Samuel 1869.

\textsuperscript{125} ‘Highland Laddie Inn’ notice in \textit{The Inquirer}, 5 December 1855, front page.

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{128} Erickson, \textit{Old Toodyay and Newcastle}, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid, p. 137.
Phillips, Guy Thomson and Augustus Lee Steere, entered into a horse breeding partnership.¹³⁰

Competing against this group, Donald MacPherson was a successful horse breeder by the 1860s. But MacPherson’s work as a horse breeder, though a pursuit shared by other settlers at Toodyay and across the colony, highlights another means by which he asserted his Scottish identity. In October 1862, Donald MacPherson submitted an advertisement to *The Perth Gazette* to publicise that his Scottish imported horse 'Lochryan' would begin breeding for a fee at his property, 'Glentromie'.¹³¹ MacPherson in fact travelled to Scotland to buy the horse, described in the advertisement as, 'considered by the most eminent judges to be the best colt reared in Scotland for a great length of time'.¹³² 'Lochryan' was to be bred alongside another of MacPherson's horses, 'Highland Chief'.¹³³ The naming of this horse, 'Highland Chief', is testament to MacPherson's own identity as a former Inverness Highland Scot. Just as MacPherson named his home, 'Glentromie', so too he named his horse for his Highland beginnings.

Throughout the 1860s, Donald MacPherson continued to give his horses Scottish names. In two separate notices in August 1868, MacPherson advertised in *The Perth Gazette* the sale of his horse 'Rob Roy' and the breeding terms for his other horse 'Wallace'.¹³⁴ Then in 1869, MacPherson advertised

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¹³⁰ Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, p. 137.

¹³¹ ‘To Cover!!!’ in *The Perth Gazette*, 17 October 1862, front page.


¹³³ ‘To Cover!!!’ in *The Perth Gazette*, 17 October 1862, front page.

the breeding terms of his latest horse, 'Prince Charlie'. It is not hard to see the Scottish iconic overtones of these horse names. MacPherson’s naming of his horses can be linked also to an increased interest in the nineteenth century with Scottish historic heroes. From the middle of the century on, Scottish icons became an important part of Scottish culture. Monuments to William Wallace and Robert the Bruce were erected across Scotland inspired by a renewed pride in Scottish culture and history. In the many destinations across the globe where Scots settled, Burns Societies and other national associations were established inspired by this upsurge in Scottish nationalism. In Western Australia Donald MacPherson’s naming of his horses for Scottish icons was a pursuit he shared with Scots in the Western District of Victoria. In 1839, Fifeshire Scot, George Russell, imported the Clydesdale horse ‘Sir William Wallace’ to be used in the district and in 1853 he brought out another Clydesdale from Scotland.

Donald MacPherson was not the only Scot in Western Australia to name horses for Scottish origins. An advertisement for the sale of John Scott’s horse in *The Inquirer* in 1848 gave the name of the horse as ‘Lowlander’. As mentioned, John Scott and his family emigrated to Western Australia in 1830 from Lanark in the central Lowland region of Scotland. ‘Lowlander’ contrasted well with MacPherson’s ‘Highland Chief’ but both advertisements and the other MacPherson notices represent individual expressions of identity through the

135 *The Inquirer*, 13 October 1869.


138 ‘To Cover This Season’ in *The Inquirer*, 29 November 1848.

139 *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298,
breeding of horses. Both Scots associated with other Scots in work communities but they also felt a need to show their Scottish identity through breeding Scottish-named horses. While English and Irish migrants also placed emphasis on the naming of their horses, especially in the Toodyay and Swan districts, Scottish horse names were more overtly nationalistic in using Scottish iconic names and places.

Wellington and Swan Districts

Scottish working communities were apparent in other districts in Western Australia, though not as prevalent as in the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts. In the Wellington and Swan districts close relationships were formed through similar partnerships, publican interests, family work and membership on Town Trusts. Similar work groups existed but on a smaller scale and in a larger non-Scottish white population.

In the Wellington district, William and Margaret Forrest, after taking over the running of the Fergusons residence, 'Wedderburn', later sold the property to a Scottish servant, Alexander McAndrew, whom they knew from their arrival together as indentured servants on the Trusty.\textsuperscript{140} The Forrests also associated with another Scot in the Bunbury area, William Cunningham Ramsay from Ayr. Ramsay at one point worked with William Forrest, as indicated in a letter regarding money matters in 1856.\textsuperscript{141} Ramsay later married Margaret Forrest's sister, Grace Hill, and thus extended the connection to incorporate family ties

\textsuperscript{140} Joske, \textit{Dearest Isabella}, p. 56.

\textsuperscript{141} William Forrest, \textit{Letter 1856 May 19}, BLWAH Private Archives, Perth, Acc. 100A.
along with business relations. The Forrests were also closely connected to John and Helen Scott. Helen Scott was midwife at the birth of Forrest children in Western Australia.

Along with the Forrests, the Scotts also associated with a Dundee Scot, James Blyth, formerly of the 21st Regiment, while he resided in the Wellington district in the 1840s. According to a diary kept by Blyth, he and John Scott became associates through work in the 1840s when Blyth began providing materials for Scott at Bunbury. In an entry for 1 July 1848, James Blyth writes of having gone to Bunbury and, 'returned on mund 3rd and Bargond with Mr Scott to make him a dray for the Iron work of his little auld wheels he to find the materials for the dray'. Scott’s associations also extended to Town Trusts in Bunbury. In 1860 John Scott and William Ramsay worked together as Committee members of a Bunbury Town Trust.

In the Swan District, Scots Alexander Francisco and Nicol Paterson worked together as part of the Fremantle Town Trust Committee from 1859. Both owned businesses in Fremantle and so would have had similar goals in mind as part of the town trust. When Robert Stewart decided to leave the colony in the early 1850s, he entrusted the sale of his property to a Scottish agent in Fremantle, George Skinner. As will be explored in relation to Scottish

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142 Ramsay family, *Correspondence, 1852-1891*, BLWAH Private Archives, Perth, Acc. 789A.

143 Crowley, *Forrest 1847-1918, Volume 1, 1847-91*, p. 6.

144 'Diary and Accounts of James Blyth, Australind - Yelgenup - Mt Pleasant, 1 April 1842-11 May 1847' in James Blyth, *Papers, 1842-1856*, BLWAH Private Archives, Perth, Acc. 386A.

145 *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 10 July 1860, p. 2.

146 *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 18 January 1859, p. 2; *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 10 January 1860, p. 4.
correspondence, Robert Stewart’s choice of George Skinner as his agent is no coincidence. Throughout his letters to family back in Scotland, Stewart tells of his meetings with fellow Scots and his concern at the small numbers of Scots in the colony. Other Swan Scots left their affairs to the care of Scottish individuals. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary in the early 1830s, Charles Hood specified that his affairs were under the care of John Ferres, an Aberdeen-born Scot. 148 Hood had only been in the colony a matter of months and it seems familiarity with Ferres as a fellow Scot could have influenced his decision.

Less successful Scots

While there existed Scottish working communities around Western Australia securing the success and progress of various individuals, not all Scots succeeded economically in the colony. It would be misleading to construct an image of all Scottish migrants in Western Australia as industrious and successful. John Robertson, the husband of Christiana Robertson who later died as Christiana Davies in Fremantle, committed suicide through depression and possibly economic failure. 149 Samuel Jackson’s career as a boat-builder and carpenter was severely marred by a murder charge against him in June 1830, and though he was acquitted shortly after, it precipitated his departure from the

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148 Charles Hood to the Colonial Secretary, 2 November 1830, CSR 9/110.

colony in April 1831.\textsuperscript{150} John Cleland also left the colony, in 1837, once a colonial schoolteacher but discharged for drunkenness.\textsuperscript{151}

One important case in point of an unsuccessful Scot is William Nairne Clark. Clark left the colony in the 1840s after the failure of his marriage, participation in a duel at Fremantle and a controversial career as the proprietor of \textit{The Swan River Guardian}. He established the paper even though a duel in 1832 severely tarnished his image.\textsuperscript{152} In his personal life and as editor of the \textit{Guardian}, Clark managed to ostracise himself from colonial society. Yet the roots of Clark's failure may lie in his lack of positive involvement with other Scottish settlers. Scotsman James Drummond, an influential and well-liked settler, described Clark in 1841 as, 'a brokendown lawyer & afterward Editor of the Swan River Guardian which also was a failure aided by Mr Priess has been attacking me about the poisonous plant'.\textsuperscript{153} Clark had been questioning Drummond's reputation on identifying poisonous plant species in Western Australia. In his correspondence up to 1855, this is the most scathing remark Drummond makes about any settler.

\textbf{Scottish women}

Male relationships dominate this analysis of Scottish work groups and communities in Western Australia. By the 1840s and 1850s in Australia a new

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{150} Murder charge and acquittal, 6 June 1830, CSR 7/114; Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians}, volume 2, D-J, p. 1610.
\item \textsuperscript{151} Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians}, volume 1, A-C, p. 564; 'Notice' of intentions to depart in \textit{The Perth Gazette}, 18 March 1837, p. 867.
\item \textsuperscript{152} 'Caution' in \textit{The Perth Gazette}, 15 December 1838, front page; Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians}, volume 1, A-C, p. 548.
\item \textsuperscript{153} James Drummond to William Jackson Hooker, 13 May 1841 in James Drummond,
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
'masculine democracy' created a new space for men in public life through courts, newspaper columns, trade societies, public meetings and local government. This new sphere of public action and participation largely excluded women in Australia and kept them in the home. But while they may have been confined to the home and the private sphere, history shows women in Australia in the nineteenth century were instrumental in maintaining landholdings and as Patricia Grimshaw argues, 'the presence of a competent, hard-working woman was crucial' to the growth of small and large landholdings. Limited as it may have been and taking place in the background to male work relationships, Scottish women contributed to the cohesiveness of the Scottish work communities and success in the colony.

As outlined above Grace Cheyne was an integral part of the Cheyne-Muir-Moir work/family group in the Plantagenet and she and her Muir and Moir relatives staffed the family businesses in Albany. In her work as a midwife in the Wellington district, Helen Scott had intimate contact with other Scottish wives and mothers. In the Swan district, Scottish widows Ann Smith and Margaret Thompson worked together at Thomas Yule's property in the Middle Swan. But we know very little about these work relationships. As Patricia Grimshaw argues, ‘Given that domestic service was still the only waged work open to women, marriage and work within the family was probably the best option’. In terms of work outside the home, Scottish women are barely visible in the

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156 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80.

157 Grimshaw, 'Contested Domains', p. 103
remaining records. As will be outlined in the chapters on family and religion, they were instrumental in family life and preserving Scottish identity within this realm.

* * * * * * * * * *

Scottish work communities existed in Western Australia by the middle of the nineteenth century, most prominently in the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts with a higher concentration of Scots. In these working communities Scottish settlers were able to achieve economic success through familiarity. In the Plantagenet district individuals were associated through the whaling and sandalwood industries, as publicans and on town committees. It was not coincidence that some Scottish individuals associated with the same Scots in several spheres of work in the Plantagenet. The work relationships forged between the likes of George Cheyne, Thomas Symers, Peter Belches, Patrick Taylor, the Sounness', the Youngs and Hugh MacDonald, along with the Cheyne family connection to the Muirs and Moirs were the dominant and most important relationships. At Toodyay the Scottish shepherds, later sheep farmers and pastoralists, were successful through combining with family members and other Scottish shepherds and migrants in the region. By 1850, the Scottish group including the MacPhersons, Ewen MacKintosh, the Davidson brothers, James Drummond and the Fergusons, achieved considerable success in the colony through land purchases, large sheep runs and their growing influence within the Toodyay region. This success was attributable to the cohesiveness of the group as an economic unit that recognised common national and working-class origins and was also further bound by inter-marriage. Scottish success in Western Australia lay primarily in what John Fraser argues in relation to Scottish settlement as a whole in Australia: rational economic decisions that brought Scots together with 'those you knew, understood, trusted and were in frequent
As Charles Tilly argues, a common identity is created through a new identification in mixing with others at the destination. Scots did not necessarily take with them to the Swan River colony an overwhelming sense of themselves as Scots; this they created in mixing with other Scots in the colony and certainly through work groups. Work communities also show that Scots associated with one another beyond regional origins as Scots. But while it is true that common descent as Scots formed the basis of identification in work communities, Scots formed close associations based also on regional origins. In the Plantagenet district, the Cheynes, Muirs, Moirs, Youngs and Hugh MacDonald were all from Fifeshire and Thomas Lyell Symers and Patrick Taylor came from north-east Scotland. The MacPhersons, Ewen MacKintosh and the Sinclairs of Toodyay were Highland and Northern Scots. Though it is speculative, in a colony where most Scots were from the Lowlands, these Toodyay Scots probably identified with one another through their difference from Lowland Scots. So while national origins lay at the base of work communities, regional identification also combined to strengthen the ties.

Analysis of Scottish work communities highlights another facet of Western Australian history overlooked in accounting for settlement experiences in general: the presence of Irish, English and Welsh work communities. Histories of the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts emphasise Scottish groups and research indicates this is rightfully so given Scots were at the forefront of working communities in these regions and showed a preference for working with one another. But the Scots could not have been alone in doing this. Future

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158 Fraser, "The Impact of Scots on early Australian History," p. 60.
research into other British migrant identities in Western Australia needs to recognise work communities as important examples of migrant identities. Commonality as English migrants may have primarily influenced Phillips, Lee Steere and Thomson to form their horse breeding partnership in the 1850s. And while Town Trusts were dominated by Scots in the Plantagenet, relationships between English and Irish settlers on the Town Trusts of the Swan district also need to be investigated.

Outside of work relationships, in the private realm, Scottish identity was further maintained within the family. Work provided economic stability and a chance to work with other Scots and create Scottish groups; the family in its intimacy and privacy gave Scots opportunities to maintain their Scottish identity in personal ways. In their everyday working lives Scots maintained their identity by associating with other Scots. In their private everyday lives, family life allowed their personal Scottish identities to continue in the colony.

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159 Tilly, 'Transplanted Networks', p. 90.
Chapter 4: Scottishness in the Family and Household

According to historians of families in the nineteenth century, ‘there was no social context more important than the family’.¹ If the ways in which Scottishness is expressed in Western Australia are to be fully understood, Scottish family identity must form an integral part of this study. Separated from their brethren in Scotland, family life represented for Westralian Scots the most immediate and intimate facet of their lives for perpetuating and celebrating their Scottishness. Work provided Scots with opportunities to associate with other Scots but family life allowed them to celebrate their personal, family identities. In recent years interest has considerably increased in Western Australia in documenting the family histories of prominent first Scottish migrant families such as the Moirs, Muirs, Youngs, Scotts, MacPhersons, MacKnoes and the Sounness family.² These family histories are useful genealogical sources emphasising the importance of Scottish origins within the identity of each family. Recent family histories are testaments to the lasting legacy of identity and celebration of Scottishness in Western Australia.

Family unity and shared identification were influenced by the need to overcome the loss of family life with kin left in Scotland. A number of Scottish


settlers emphasised the Scottish identity of their family in order to understand their own personal identity through recognition of family origins and continuing relationships though separated by distance, as will be detailed further in this chapter. While Scots generally saw family identity through its perpetuation in Western Australia, the need to re-affirm family identities in the colony led some Scottish settlers to re-create relationships through family migration. Family migration was an important part of perpetuating the family as Scottish in Western Australia.

Nevertheless, most Scots in the colony had to reconcile creating a new family life in Western Australia with leaving family members behind. In this respect, for Scottish migrants as too for other British migrants, family came to represent a dual identity. Though not a part of the household in Scotland, their family membership represented a significant part of their personal identity. Even in the presence of separation by a vast distance, family members in Scotland still exerted their influence over kin in Western Australia and frequently gave advice on family issues.

While the focus of this discussion is identity expressed within the family, Scottish families are also broadly analysed demographically; generalisations are made about the compositions of families and related to population trends such as births and marriages. This provides a context through which to compare statistics for Scottish families with other British migrant families. Records used in this demographic component vary from census material and population returns, to private archival material and genealogical histories. Where population records are lacking, especially in returns for the 1840s, other sources such as private archives or headstone inscriptions have been utilised
along with the four edited volumes, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, 1829-1888*.

This demographic analysis of Scottish families is multi-faceted. Rather than referring to Scottish families as a homogenous group, distinction is made between migrating families and families created in Western Australia. While families where both parents are Scottish and which may also include Scottish-born children are taken as representative of Scottish families, attention is also directed to families with only one Scottish parent. This analysis takes into account families where one Scottish parent can influence family life and experiences, through maintaining Scottishness in the family. This discussion is therefore more concerned with the perpetuation of Scottishness than it is with analysing families based solely upon numbers of Scottish family members.

Scottish households form another part of this analysis. Variations in the size of households show that generalisations about Scottish households should be treated with caution when placed in the context of socio-economic and regional differences. Households were not static and varied between regions and classes. While there were variations between the size and status of Scottish households, particular Scottish families viewed the household as a means to connect with other Scots. The presence of Scottish non-relatives represented a need to find familiarity in Western Australia, relevant here to the identity of the family.

As a whole, this study of Scottish families is more concerned with family experiences than the demographics of Scottish families. As Michael Anderson argues in response to demographic studies of the family, they do not go beyond
demographic generalities to understand family relationships.\textsuperscript{3} Scottish families are analysed here less broadly and understood in relation to experiences within the family. Close analysis, similar to the 'sentiments approach' as outlined by Anderson,\textsuperscript{4} is given to individual family experiences involving life in the household, including perceptions of childhood, upbringing, marriage and death. These individual experiences of life in the family and household are directly related to Scottish identity. Some emphasis is also given to understanding issues of family labour, inheritance and power relationships common to the household economics approach, that interprets, 'households and families above all in the context of the economic behaviour of their members'.\textsuperscript{5}

The personal records pertaining to Scottish families in Western Australia are not extensive. However, the personal archives that do exist provide valuable insights into experiences within nineteenth century Scottish families and households. The main records used are specific to the MacPherson, Moir, Muir, Cheyne, Ferguson, Adam, Paterson, Forrest, Murray, Armstrong and Broun families. These records illustrate particular family experiences and the extent to which Scottishness was perpetuated in the families and households where evidence remains. The basic demographics of Scottish families were not decidedly different from other British families. Scottish familial identity was ultimately expressed through a recognition and celebration of Scottishness.


\textsuperscript{4} Ibid, pp. 25-37

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid, p. 49.
This analysis of Scottishness in the family does not suggest Scottish migrants were alone in exerting their migrant identities through the family. Family migration was not unique to the Scots and there is evidence to suggest it is particularly associated with the Irish. As Patrick O'Farrell argues, the importance of family for the Irish held 'its members together in coherence against the world'. But O’Farrell also makes an important point that the family was of ‘fundamental importance in the whole Australian community’. So while family identity was not unique to the Scots, perpetuating Scottishness in the family represented another sphere in which Scots asserted their identity in the colony.

**Basic Demographic Analysis of Scottish Families**

Scottish families in Western Australia, separate here from the overall household analysis to follow but inextricably linked in some cases, can be placed in two groups: *emigrating families* and *settlement families*. *Emigrating families* refer to couples married before leaving for Western Australia and may or may not include children born prior to departure. *Settlement families* refer to marriages entered into in Western Australia and all children born in the colony. Distinctions are not made between families with one or two Scottish-born parents. Scottish family identity could be present in families created in Scotland and Western Australia, with both parents Scottish or only one parent born in Scotland. This is shown in the examples given in this chapter.

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*For example: Campbell, The Kingdom of the Ryans, chapter 4; O’Farrell, The Irish in Australia, chapters 2,3; Forth, 'No petty people: the Anglo-Irish Identity in colonial Australia', p. 132

7 O’Farrell, The Irish in Australia, p. 16.

8 Ibid.
This account of Scottish families also aims to compare demographic generalities of Scottish families with the general white Western Australian population around the middle of the nineteenth century to see how these families fit into broader trends. Scottish families in Western Australia are analysed demographically in relation to marriage age, timeframe of first birth, age of mother at first birth, total children born and total family size.

Marriage Age

It is difficult to identify average marriage ages (male and female) in Scotland before civil registration became compulsory in Scotland in 1855. Scots migrating to Western Australia married over the period from 1806-1850 and so comparisons are difficult to make given that more information is readily available for the years after 1850.\(^9\) Marriage ages for settlement families can be treated in greater depth as accurate ages were found for fifty-two couples (table 4.1). Given the small numbers of Scots in Western Australia and also the relatively small white population of Western Australia, marriage ages for these families are more informative than emigrating families where only a few marriage ages could be compared. Western Australian Scottish families included husbands marrying at the mean age of around twenty-nine and wives marrying at around twenty-one years of age.\(^10\)

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\(^10\) Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, 1829-1880, volumes 1-4; A Return of the population at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population of Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Moir and Wardell-Johnson, The Continuing Moir Saga; Alexander Anderson to Lord Goderich, 30 March 1831, CO 18, reel 197, piece 8, p. 18; John Dewar to Sir George Murray, 10 July 1829,*
For Western Australian marriages detailed in an analysis for the period 1850-1855 (table 4.2), males on average married at twenty-six to twenty-seven years of age while females married at close to twenty years of age. Margaret Grellier concludes that during this period, '75 per cent of brides were aged 21 or less and fully 90 per cent were aged under 25'. By comparison, using marriage over the same period, brides of Scottish families were around twenty-one years of age. Grooms tended to marry slightly older than the general population, marrying at a mean age of twenty-eight. While this comparison is confined to the years 1850-1855, it shows Scottish families were not drastically different to other West Australian families.


11 Margaret Grellier, 'The Family', pp. 483-484.

12 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, 1829-1888, volumes 1-4; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Forrest family, Family Bible, Acc. 967A; headstone inscriptions, All Saint's Churchyard, Picton Cemetery, East Perth Cemetery, Busselton Pioneer Cemetery,
Table 4.2
Mean Marriage Age 1850-1855

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scottish Families</th>
<th>Other Western Australian Families</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Grellier, ‘The Family,’ pp. 483-484; Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Forrest family, Family Bible, Acc. 967A; headstone inscriptions, Picton Cemetery, All Saint's Churchyard, Busselton Pioneer Cemetery, East Perth Cemetery, Culham Cemetery, Toodyay Public Cemetery and Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003; death notices in The Perth Gazette, The Inquirer, Western Mail, Albany Advertiser, Albany Mail, Bunbury Herald.

Birth of First Child (interval after marriage)

Whether children were born to couples emigrating to Western Australia or couples marrying in Western Australia, the interval between marriage and the birth of the first child proved to be similar in each category (table 4.3). Of first children born to emigrating couples and settlement couples, three-quarters were born in the first eighteen months of marriage. By the second year of married life, over ninety per cent of couples already had their first child, with a small percentage of first births coming in the third and fourth years of marriage.13 These birth intervals correspond to overall statistics for first births in nineteenth-century Western Australia, though slightly higher. In the period researched by Grellier, 1850-1880, fifty-seven per cent of first births occurred in the first year

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13 Ibid; Forrest family, Family Bible, Acc. 967A.
of marriage. By the time couples celebrated two years of marriage, eighty-five per cent had at least one child.\textsuperscript{14}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.3</th>
<th>First Child Interval After Marriage (Scottish families)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emigrating Couples</strong> (N 16)</td>
<td>First Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Settlement Couples</strong> (N 48)</td>
<td>77%</td>
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</tbody>
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**Age of Mother at Birth of First Child**

In Western Australia in the middle of nineteenth century, mothers generally had their first child when they were around twenty-one years of age and nearly all had their first child before turning twenty-five. Scottish settlement couples also reflected this general trend, mothers giving birth to their first child at a mean age of twenty-two.\textsuperscript{15} As a whole, Scottish ages for mothers at the birth of their first child compared very closely to overall population figures for white Western Australian families.

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\textsuperscript{14} Grellier, 'The Family', p. 484.

In *emigrating families* Scottish mothers on average gave birth at close to twenty-five years of age.\(^{16}\) Comparatively, ages of mothers at the birth of the first child for *emigrating couples* were higher than those for *settlement couples* and the larger white Western Australian population and were closer to Scottish population figures, though slightly younger on average. Over the period from around 1800 to 1855, a time-span that included all births for *emigrating couples*, the mean age for mothers in the burghs and county areas of Lowland Fife and Ayr were just over twenty-six and twenty-seven years respectively.\(^{17}\) In the Highland counties of Inverness and Ross, ages at first birth for eastern parish mothers averaged over the period at around twenty-nine years and in the western parishes, mothers gave birth around twenty-eight years of age.\(^{18}\) Even though they generally had their first child a couple of years younger than Scottish women for the same period, emigrating mothers gave birth at an older age than Western Australian mothers. The differences in ages between *emigrating* and *settlement* mothers can be primarily attributed to mothers coming from Great Britain which at the time had a higher first birth age as opposed to mothers giving birth to children in a colony experiencing higher fertility rates and females marrying at a younger rate than in Britain.\(^{19}\)

**Total Number of Children (Completed Families) and Total Family Size**

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\(^{16}\) Ibid; Colonial Secretary's Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Joske, Dearest Isabella; Moir and Wardell-Johnson, The Continuing Moir Saga; Stewart, Letters, 1835-1840, Acc. 1086A.

\(^{17}\) Flinn, *Scottish population history*, p. 330.

\(^{18}\) Ibid.

\(^{19}\) Grellier, 'The Family', pp. 484, 490.
Margaret Grellier estimates that from 1850-1880, families completed in this period were around seventy per cent likely to contain seven or more children, as compared to five per cent for families with three or less children and twenty-six per cent for families with four to six children. Scottish families in Western Australia also mirrored these general trends. Reconstruction of births over the period 1850-1880 (excluding families where one parent died prematurely) show that twenty-four per cent of Scottish families included four to six children and seventy-six per cent were families with seven or more children. Collectively, Scottish families in Western Australia included roughly the same number of children as other white Western Australian families in the period 1850-1880 (table 4.4). Like their Western Australian neighbours, Scottish families experienced a higher fertility rate based on the youth of females at marriage and the birth of their first child.

Scottish total family sizes, the maximum number of persons co-existing as a conjugal family, also matched general Western Australian trends in the nineteenth century. According to Grellier, from 1850 to 1880, ninety-three per cent of white Western Australian families contained six or more family members while just over fifty per cent included ten or more members. Western Australian families, according to Grellier, on average comprised between eight and nine members. Scottish families also predominantly comprised over seven

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21 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, 1829-1880, volumes 1-4; Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890; Alexander Anderson to Lord Goderich, 30 March 1831, AJCP, CO 18, reel 197, piece 8, p. 18; John Dewar to Sir George Murray, 10 July 1829, AJCP, CO 18. reel 295, piece 5, p. 379; Forrest family, Family Bible, Acc. 967A; Lauder, Correspondence, 1844 June 27, Acc. 285A; headstone inscriptions, Picton Cemetery, All Saint's Churchyard, Busselton Pioneer Cemetery, East Perth Cemetery, Culham Cemetery, Toodyay Public Cemetery and Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany; death notices in Perth Gazette, The Inquirer, Western Mail, Albany Advertiser, Albany Mail, Bunbury Herald.
members, on average around eight. Even though large as a total, family sizes could fluctuate and be quite small at times, between births and at the end of the child-bearing period when younger siblings left the home. In this respect, as overall, Scottish families shared much in common with the rest of the white Western Australian population.

Table 4.4
Total Children Born - Scottish Families and Other WA Families

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Sources: Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, 1829-1880, volumes 1-4; Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890; Joske, Dearest Isabella; Moir and Wardell-Johnson, The Continuing Moir Saga; Alexander Anderson to Lord Goderich, 30 March 1831, AJCP, CO 18, reel 197, piece 8, p. 18; John Dewar to Sir George Murray, 10 July 1829, AJCP, CO 18. reel 295, piece 5, p. 379; Forrest family, Family Bible, Acc. 967A; Lauder, Correspondence, 1844 June 27, Acc. 285A; Stewar, Letters, 1835-1840, Acc. 1086A; headstone inscriptions, Picton Cemetery, All Saint's Churchyard, Busselton Pioneer Cemetery, East Perth Cemetery, Culham Cemetery, Toodyay Public Cemetery and Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003; death notices in Perth Gazette, The Inquirer, Western Mail, Albany Advertiser, Albany Mail, Bunbury Herald; Grellier, 'The Family', pp. 489-90.

Household Structure

According to Grellier in her study of households, conjugal family units (at least two individuals connected by blood resident, usually parents and children) with or without servants made up seventy-seven per cent of white Western Australian households in the York district in 1859. Five per cent of households included extended family members (predominantly a lateral extension including a sibling or cousin of the head) and single person households (head of household single) made up close to fourteen per cent of overall household structures. Generally, Western Australian households reflected the York trend in household structure and Scottish households were no exception. In the 1837 Western Australian households, on average around eight. Even though large as a total, family sizes could fluctuate and be quite small at times, between births and at the end of the child-bearing period when younger siblings left the home. In this respect, as overall, Scottish families shared much in common with the rest of the white Western Australian population.

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census, conjugal family units, with or without servants, accounted for most households in the colony at that time. Statistics for Scottish households reflected this trend towards conjugal family units over larger extended families, fifty per cent of households containing the simple family unit and when placed with the family unit also including servants, the figure rises to ninety per cent.\(^{24}\) While only ten Scottish households, defined as households with Scottish individuals as heads, were present in the census, the overall tendency towards conjugal family units was present later in 1850.

By 1850, Scottish households in Western Australia were largely made up of conjugal family units only, over seventy per cent, and conjugal family units with servants, over ten per cent. While simple family units predominated, extended families accounted for a small percentage of Scottish households in 1850, as they also did in York in 1859. In 1850, over three per cent of the fifty-six Scottish households reconstructed included family members related laterally to the head of the family. One of these households, the Cheyne and Moir household near Albany, included George and Grace Cheyne, Grace's sister Elizabeth, her husband Andrew and their five children. Interestingly, before the Moirs migrated to Western Australia in 1850, the Cheynes shared a house with their nephew, Andrew Muir and his wife Elizabeth, their six children and Elizabeth's mother, Elizabeth Trail. Scottish households did vary in size and structure according to different periods of family migration and temporary residence in the household but, as a whole, households were far more conjugal than extended.

**Life as a Scottish Family**
Demographically Scottish families and households were similar to other white Western Australian households around the middle of the nineteenth century. Scottish men and women, and women married to Scots in the colony, married at roughly the same age and had their first child at similar intervals after marriage, sharing also similar family sizes and structures. On the other hand, Scottish families are distinguishable in terms of identity perpetuated in the family and, to an extent, the household. Family identity is an important part of any social group, especially in the nineteenth century when '[i]t was family members who most influenced the course of people's lives'.

Life in a Scottish family in Western Australia represents not necessarily a completely different life to other white families in Western Australia, but recognition of a different background celebrated by both parents and children alike in the household. Scottish identification could be recreated in the colony in the naming of the family home, family migration, family trips back to Scotland, family clothing and parental influence. Family in Scotland also influenced aspects of family life in the colony. The presence of Scottish non-relatives in the household influenced children growing up recognising the household as distinctly Scottish in nature. Nor did Scottish identity in the family cease with the deaths of Scottish-born family members. Death itself brought with it the desire to create lasting testaments to Scottish identity in headstone inscriptions, obituaries and death notices. Here the surviving family members publicly celebrated Scottishness in cemeteries and in the press. Again, the Scots were presumably not alone in expressing their identity in the various forms outlined above. Their experiences, though, highlights important facets of identity that

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24 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80.
25 Kertzer and Barbagli, 'Introduction,' p. x.
could be used in future studies of the Irish, Welsh and English in Western Australia in the first decades of colonisation.

**Naming the Family Home**

When a number of Scottish settlers named their family homes and extended landholdings after Scottish origins, they were endeavouring to convey the identity of the family contained within. For these Scots, the family home represented not only a shelter from the elements and a place to settle; its name illustrated a desire to show distinction in a Scottish identity. As the most visible signifier of family identity for the first Scottish settlers, the naming of the family home is an important place to start. Giving the family property a Scottish name was not merely an attempt to humanise surroundings. Scots identified a connection between their new homes in Western Australia and remembrances of Scottish homes or places.

The earliest Scottish settlers known to name their residence for Scottish origins were Peter Broun, Western Australia’s first Colonial Secretary, and his wife, Caroline. Though Broun was by birth from the Isle of Guernsey, he was a member of the Scottish minor gentry and for most of his life in Britain worked in Scotland as a gentleman clerk before emigrating. In 1825 Broun married Caroline Simpson of Dumfriesshire and the following year their first child, 26

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McBryde, was born at a Broun family property in Newmains, Dumfries. After arriving in Western Australia in 1829 aboard the Parmelia, in 1830 the Brouns named their first residences in West Guildford (Swan district) 'Coulston' and 'Bassendean', the latter today a suburb still bearing its original name. Both 'Coulston' and 'Bassendean' were Broun family properties in Scotland. While the Brouns did not remain at their 'Coulston' and 'Bassendean' properties past the mid-1830s, the naming of their first homes is important. In a new country they sought continuity with Scottish family properties, though specific only to Peter's family and not Caroline's.

Like Peter and Caroline Broun, Adam Armstrong arrived in Western Australia in 1829 and in the early 1830s gave his cottage and homestead on his two land grants Scottish titles. Armstrong, a retired officer, agriculturalist and widower, joined by his six children and later his sister, named his two residences in the colony for his birthplace and one-time place of employment, respectively. 'Dalkeith Cottage, on Melville Water', was named for Armstrong's birthplace, Dalkeith, outside Edinburgh in the Lothian regions of Scotland. When he moved to the Murray district in the late 1840s, he named his new residence 'Ravenswood', a title, according to Scott Armstrong, Adam's great-

27 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO. 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume A-C, p. 336.

28 Carter, Bassendean: A Social History 1829-1979, pp. 21-24


30 Adam Armstrong's birth certificate reproduced on-line: 'Scots Origins', General Register Office of Scotland, viewed 2 January 2002 <www.scotsorigins.com>; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO. 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; 'To be Sold or Let' in The Perth Gazette, 15 December 1838, front page; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume A-C, p. 64

31 ‘To be Sold or Let’ in The Perth Gazette, 15 December 1838, front page.
grandson, brought from Scotland. According to local history produced on the Yunderup-Ravenswood region, Armstrong managed a Scottish farm named ‘Ravenswood’ from around 1810-1825 with his wife, Margaret, before moving to England to work for Thomas Peel and then emigrate to the Swan River colony. Armstrong's naming his residences for Scottish origins reflect both his desire to find familiarity in the colony with his Scottish past and to leave testaments to his Scottishness on the landscape. Scott Armstrong's recalling of the origins of the Ravenswood property in a letter to The Daily Mail in 1961, over a hundred years after Adam Armstrong took up residence there, is testament to the continuing relevance of the name through generations.

Scottish-named homes were also popular in the Toodyay district. Ewen MacKintosh and his cousin, Donald MacPherson, members of the Scottish shepherding group in and around Toodyay, lived out their lives in Western Australia on landed properties and homes named for their Scottish origins, and more specifically their family origins. Ewen MacKintosh owned ‘Glendearg’, while his cousin, Donald MacPherson and Scottish-born wife, Jessie, resided at their homestead named ‘Glentromie’. Though the headstone inscriptions for Donald’s brother and Ewen’s cousin, Duncan, indicated that the families came from Alvie in Invernesshire, family history attributes names to farms or local

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34 Scott Armstrong unpublished letter to Daily Mail, 8 August 1961, BLWAH PR 2878.
35 The Inquirer, 12 March 1860; Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle, p. 184.
36 Headstone inscriptions for Donald and Jessie MacPherson, East Perth Cemetery.
areas surrounding the Alvie region. Ewen and Euphemia MacKintosh's children were familiar not only with their Scottish-named home, 'Glendearg', but also their maternal grandparents' home, 'Hawthornden'. Thus the MacKintosh children grew up recognising the origins of the MacKintosh and Drummond families through their family home names.

Before residing with her Scottish husband, Ewen MacKintosh, at 'Glendearg', Euphemia MacKintosh spent her young life living at 'Hawthornden'. Euphemia's parents, James and Sarah Drummond, spent most of their lives in the colony at the family homestead, a grand, imposing property still standing today, and named for James Drummond's birthplace at Hawthornden outside of Edinburgh. As Rica Erickson writes in her history of the Drummonds, the family named, 'the new grant "Hawthornden" after a Drummond stronghold in Scotland'.

Outside of the MacPherson-MacKintosh-Drummond family connections, other Scots in the Toodyay region shared the same desire to name their properties for places in Scotland. Frederick Slade, connected to the Berkshire region of England but recorded as born in Scotland, gave his property in Toodyay the title 'Glenavon'. In the 1840s, Fifeshire Scot, William Nairn, owned 'Dumbarton' which was later bought by fellow Scot, James Sinclair, and which is


now marked by Dumbarton Bridge.\textsuperscript{41} While 'Dumbarton' does not reflect Nairn's birth origins, it possibly refers to a later connection to Dumbarton in Scotland. In 1859, the Sinclairs, Morayshire Scots, built a home for their Scottish-born son, James, and his Scottish wife, Flora, which they named 'Blink Bonnie'.\textsuperscript{42} Though this naming is Scottish, possibly Gaelic in origin, the background to this naming is unknown.

Properties and homes named for Scottish origins in the Plantagenet district revolve around the Fifeshire families connected through marriage, the Moirs, Muirs and the Cheynes. According to Stan Iffla, delivering a speech at a Moir family reunion in 1978, the second house the Moir family lived in at Cape Riche around the middle of the nineteenth century was called 'Markinch Cottage'.\textsuperscript{43} The significance of the cottage name is obvious given the Moirs emigrated to Western Australia from Markinch in Fifeshire.\textsuperscript{44} This family, through Alexander Moir, also owned a property in the Albany region called 'Glengarry'. While it did not reflect their local origins as Markinch Cottage did, 'Glengarry' still conveys a Scottish theme/place-name inherent in the naming of family properties.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{40} Erickson, \textit{Old Toodyay and Newcastle}, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid, p. 49; Dumbarton Bridge, author's photographic evidence, 2002.


\textsuperscript{43} 'Transcript of the Stan Iffla tape delivered to 1978 Moir Reunion' in Moir and Wardell-Johnson, \textit{The Continuing Moir Saga}, p. 457.

\textsuperscript{44} Moir and Wardell-Johnson, \textit{The Continuing Moir Saga}, p. vii; headstone inscription for Andrew Moir, Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.

\textsuperscript{45} 'Young Pride' advertisement at 'Glengarry' in \textit{Albany Mail}, 25 November 1884.
George and Grace Cheyne, like the Moirs, gave their properties Scottish names. In 1858, when George Cheyne signed an indenture with Andrew Moir, in which Moir received a lease for ten years to run Cheyne's land and stock, two of the three farms leased were 'Bonnington Braes' and 'Glenvale'. While little is known of George and Grace Cheyne's early life in Fifeshire, 'Glenvale' may have been the name of a farm they ran or knew of while in Scotland. Bonnington is a small town in the Angus region of Scotland, to the north-west of Fife and George Cheyne may have had connections with the area. Certainly the use of 'braes' is a distinctly Scottish word for the side of a hill or sloping ground. Adam family correspondence refers to the word 'brae' in describing the local landscape around Alvie.

It is not surprising the Muir family also named private properties for their Scottish origins. After Andrew and Elizabeth Muir emigrated to Western Australia from Fife in 1844, along with Elizabeth's mother, Elizabeth Trail, and six of their seven children, they first worked for the Cheynes at Cape Riche and then leased land in the Manjimup area to the north-west of Albany. According to James A. Thomson, in a paper recounting his personal experiences with the Muirs of the south-west, the Muir farm outside of Manjimup, 'Deeside' was named for the River Dee in Fifeshire. Even though Andrew and Elizabeth Muir remained most of their lives in Albany and later died there, the 'Deeside' farm continued in the family through their son, Thomas, and is still occupied by Muir family

46 'Lease of Land and Stock George Cheyne & Andrew Moir, 25th March 1858' in Cheyne, Indenture March 25 1858, BLWAH Private Archives, Perth, Acc. 386A.
47 James Adam to John Adam, 19 December 1836 in Adam, Letters, 1836-1848, Acc. 2681A.
48 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 3, K-Q, p. 2260.
descendants. It is not known whether the name of another Muir family property, 'Forest Hill', has Scottish origins.\(^{50}\)

Scottish properties, while mainly proclaiming family origins, sometimes emulated specific family names, such as the Muir property 'Lake Muir'.\(^{51}\) The same was true of 'Wedderburn' farm in the Wellington district. In the 1840s the property was owned by John and Isabella Ferguson and reflected Isabella Ferguson’s mother’s family name. As Isabella’s obituary later reflected, she was proud of her Scottish origins and the grandeur, as she perceived it, of her Wedderburn relations.\(^{52}\) Her Scottish identity resonated in the naming of the Fergusons' first property in Western Australia.

Like the Fergusons, other Scots in the Wellington district gave their properties Scottish names. John and Robert Scott, the Scottish-born eldest sons of John and Helen Scott, Bunbury's first white settlers, both gave their properties Scottish titles as revealed in two advertisements in Western Australian newspapers in 1865 and 1866. In March 1865, Robert Scott's notice to the general public regarding stray horses and cattle trespassing on his lands gave his residence as 'Glenerwin'.\(^{53}\) The following April, John Scott, Jr., advertised the sale of his property outside Bunbury, known as 'Streatham' farm.\(^{54}\) According to a Scott family history, John and Helen Scott owned a property in Scotland named

\(^{50}\) Ibid, pp. 23-24


\(^{52}\) ‘Obituary: Mrs Ferguson’ in \textit{The Daily Mail}, 26 November 1910, p. 33.

\(^{53}\) \textit{The Perth Gazette}, 17 March 1865, front page.

\(^{54}\) \textit{The Inquirer}, 11 July 1866, front page.
'Stratham' on the Clyde River at Hamilton.55

Nearly all homes belonging to Scots in Western Australia were named by Scottish-born settlers, but there were exceptions. David Smythe Murray, a resident of the Murray district, lived the final part of his life in Western Australia in a family property named for Scottish origins. 'Burnside' was however the residence of Murray's Western Australian-born son, John Gray Murray, and John is responsible for naming the homestead, still situated outside Pinjarra in the Coolup area.56 David Murray's family were linked to the lairds of Lintrose House in Coupar Angus, but whether the name Burnside refers to a home on that property or in the surrounding region to the east of Coupar Angus remains unknown. Nevertheless, John Gray Murray's choice of 'Burnside' is important in illustrating identification with his father's Scottish origins. David Murray may have influenced his son's choice of home title, but even if he had not, John's upbringing influenced his desire to make a connection between the name of his Western Australian home and his ancestry.

Scottish naming of properties relates to the broader notion Craig Johnston outlines as the common response to the distance from Scotland which makes Scots, 'emphasise the most obvious, visual aspects of Scottish identity'.57 In the Western District of Victoria, by the middle of the nineteenth century, Scottish settlers shared with Westralian Scots a preference for naming their

56 Death of David Murray: 'Died' in *The Inquirer*, 10 February 1864; 'Historic Homesteads No. 30: Burnside, Pinjarra' in *The Western Mail*, 19 October 1939, p. 8.
landholdings and homes for Scottish origins. Argyll-born Scot, Niel Black, bought from other Scottish settlers 'Strathdownie', and re-named the property 'Glenmoriston' for his Highland origins.\textsuperscript{58} Thomas and Somerville Learmonth owned 'Ercildoun' in the same district from July 1839. The Learmonths came from the Ercildoun district in the Borders region of Scotland, in Gaelic known as 'Arciol Dun' (Look Out Hill).\textsuperscript{59}

The Scottish naming of properties in Western Australia and in Australia as a whole in the nineteenth century reflects a common migrant response to a new environment where migrants want to distinguish themselves from the wider population. As Chris McConville writes, Irish migrants in Melbourne often chose to distinguish their homes in minor ways from those of neighbours. Here and there is inner Melbourne are simple terrace houses named after a village or county in Ireland.\textsuperscript{60}

Just as Scots in Western Australia named their farms and homesteads for origins in Scotland, so too did Irish, Welsh and English migrants. In the Swan district, English settlers John Solomon, Captain Freemantle and James Henty owned properties they subsequently named 'Addington' (Solomon), 'Seaton Farm' (Freemantle) and 'Stoke Farm' (Henty).\textsuperscript{61} In the middle of the nineteenth century James Clinch named his extended landholding at Victoria Plains, north

\textsuperscript{58} Kiddle, \textit{Men of Yesterday}, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid, p. 308.

\textsuperscript{60} Chris McConville, 'Melbourne's Nineteenth Century Irish Townscape' in \textit{Irish-Australian Studies, papers delivered at the Sixth Irish-Australian Conference July 1990}, La Trobe University, Melbourne, p. 98.

\textsuperscript{61} Erickson, \textit{Old Toodyay and Newcastle}, p. 15; Bourke, \textit{On The Swan}, Appendix B.
of Toodyay, ‘Berkshire Valley’.\textsuperscript{62} All names reflected the origins of their owners and all are popular place names across various districts in England. One example of Irish naming of residences, is ‘Glenmore’ in the Toodyay region named by early Irish settlers Thomas and Catherine O’Neill.\textsuperscript{63} These are only a few examples, as the emphasis in this study is on Scottish lives, but more research is needed on family home naming by Irish, English and Welsh migrants in Western Australia.

Naming of the landscape can also be linked to broader ideas of colonisation and possession. Family homes in Western Australia like ‘Glentromie’, and ‘Markinch Cottage’ are directly related to investing space with meaning. According to Paul Carter, names do not reflect what is already there but rather ‘embody the existential necessity the traveller feels to invent a place he (sic) can inhabit’.\textsuperscript{64} Carter also argues possession of Australia ‘depended, to some extent, on civilizing the landscape, bringing it into orderly being’.\textsuperscript{65} Early colonists sought to, in their minds, civilise the unfamiliar Australian landscape and create meaning through inventing space and naming places, regions and landmarks. In their attempts to inhabit various regions around Western Australia, Scottish settlers possessed the land by naming it. In referring to his property in Victoria, Niel Black declared he wished to ‘continue to nurse the plant I have myself planted in the wilderness and called "Glenmoriston"’.\textsuperscript{66} In the naming of their homes and land, Scottish settlers created a historical space

\textsuperscript{62} Erickson, ‘Farming in the Early Days’ in Layman, \textit{Rica’s Stories}, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{63} Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 3, K-Q}, p. 2382.

\textsuperscript{64} Paul Carter, \textit{The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History}, Faber and Faber, London and Boston, 1987, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid, p. 58.

\textsuperscript{66} Kiddle, \textit{Men of Yesterday}, p. 178.
directly reflecting their Scottish family origins. Extending family identities to the Western Australian landscape also implicitly linked the extending of Empire, in some respects, a Scottish Empire, through the invention of family space.

Relationships in the Household
(i) Parental influence on children - The family of John and Isabella Ferguson

In the nineteenth century, ‘children gradually moved towards the centre of family life’ with increasing interest to their education, religious vocation and overall upbringing. In Scottish families in Western Australia, towards the middle of the century, parents placed greater emphasis on the upbringing of their children and played an important role influencing their children to retain and identify with a sense of the family’s Scottishness. Archival material explicitly demonstrating the influence Scottish parents had on their children is limited, largely because Scottish settlers did not record their perceptions of parenthood. The lives of John and Isabella Ferguson, however, do reveal the extent to which they, as parents, sought to give their children a Scottish upbringing, even though they had no intentions of returning to Scotland permanently. For John and Isabella Ferguson, a proper upbringing for their children involved a Scottish education and time spent away from colonial Western Australia living with family in Scotland.

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In 1843, a year after arriving in Western Australia, the Fergusons were, as Isabella wrote to her sister, 'getting more accustomed to colonial life'. Yet Isabella sensed they were experiencing a loss of identity in the colony, writing three years later:

Elizth has a slight Scotch accent but Johnny is quite an English boy. I suppose John & I are both Englified as you call it, I have not seen a Scotch lady or gentleman since we came here, there are a few at Perth... 

While Isabella knew various Scots around the vicinity of Bunbury, including the William and Gaven Forrests and Alexander McAndrew whom they brought out as servants from Scotland, the Fergusons were, according to Isabella, unable to interact with other middle-class Scots. By 1847 they were living in Perth, after John’s appointment as Colonial Surgeon, and Isabella’s anxiety over not being around other middle-class Scots quelled. However, the Fergusons became increasingly concerned their children would not attain a proper education in the colony. Deeply religious, Isabella worried her children were not only lacking a good education, but that their religious instruction left a lot to be desired. She commented to her sister in 1849, 'You cannot prize too highly dear Annie a gospel ministry and for your children, it is invaluable'. Fearing their children were becoming 'Englified' and lacking proper education, the Fergusons sent their eldest children, Elizabeth and John Maxwell back to Scotland in 1853 to gain a Scottish education. Belief in a Scottish education as an important basis in life also prompted John Ferguson to ignore colonial applicants for an apprenticeship.

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68 Joske, *Dearest Isabella*, p. 25.
69 Ibid, p. 35.
70 Ibid, p. 54.
with him at the Colonial Hospital in Perth, deciding to bring out a Scotsman who had served his apprenticeship in Fife. As Prue Joske writes, 'Ferguson always had a strong faith in his fellow countrymen and considered Scots education the best'. Ferguson’s faith in a Scots education, especially in medicine, was one broadly shared from the late eighteenth century. As James Buchan writes, ‘Edinburgh became the most celebrated centre for medical education in the world’.

In 1856 Isabella, joined by her three youngest children, also went back to Scotland, spurred on by reports of her son’s lagging efforts at school and ambition to become a sailor, much to the disagreement of his parents. During this time in Scotland, John and Isabella’s younger children, Helen and Charles, both born in Western Australia, also attended school in Dundee. In 1858, Isabella and four of her five children, excluding John who had taken to the sea eventually with his mother’s approval, returned to Western Australia.

John and Isabella did not end their familial connection with Scotland in 1858, however, and in 1867 sent Helen Ferguson, then sixteen, to attend boarding school in Edinburgh. By 1870 Isabella, the youngest daughter, was also at boarding school in Scotland, though her elder sister Helen returned to Perth in 1869. Although eldest son John had not continued his Scottish

72 Ibid, p. 59.
73 Ibid.
75 Ibid, pp. 68-71. Sending children of wealthy parents back to Great Britain was a common feature of colonial society in Western Australia, given the lack of secondary or tertiary education. But the Fergusons also saw education in Scotland as a way to introduce their children further to a Scottish identity.
76 Joske, Dearest Isabella, p. 118.
education and went to sea, the family was reunited in Western Australia by 1872.\textsuperscript{77} John and Isabella's emphasis on a Scottish education led to their children becoming familiar not only with family in Scotland, but also Scotland as a whole. Isabella's 1867 letter to her daughter Helen instructed her to, 'see some of the beautiful old parts of Edinburgh & I hope you will also see some of the beautiful scenery of Scotland this summer'.\textsuperscript{78} As Isabella conceded, her desire to send Helen and her other children to Scotland, reflected her own nostalgia for Scotland. She wrote in a later letter, 'you can treasure it all up in your mind to tell me by and bye when we sit at work again at the school room window'.\textsuperscript{79} Grellier argues that in colonial families in Western Australia, wives and mothers stood at the core of the family.\textsuperscript{80} With this in mind, Isabella's influence on her children would have been immense.

John and Isabella Ferguson's parental influence led to four of their five children spending at least two years in Scotland being educated. The children also formed relationships with their Scottish families that for Elizabeth and John reminded them of their early years and introduced Helen and Isabella to family members important even in their lives in Western Australia. That the Fergusons sent their children to Scotland to be educated displays their belief in a Scottish education exclusively. The Fergusons recognised the importance of education at a time when school life emphasised attributes of manliness and boarding

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid, pp. 173, 182.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid, p. 125.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, p. 137.
\textsuperscript{80} Grellier, 'The Family', p. 497.
schools instilled daughters with social values directed to a domestic ideology.\textsuperscript{81} They desired a Scottish education for their children as important to their family identity as Scots.

This belief in a Scottish education can be traced in other middle-class Scottish lives in Australia in the nineteenth century. In the Western District of Victoria, the Ritchie and Skene families sent their boys to Scottish universities to maintain a Scottish tradition.\textsuperscript{82} George Russell, of the same district, took his children to Scotland in 1873 and they attended school in his hometown of Elie, Fife, to learn 'the art of speaking Scotch, particularly the dialect known as Fifeshire correctly'.\textsuperscript{83} The Fergusons in Western Australia also sent their children to their hometown, Dundee. While Isabella Ferguson does not state this, she may have shared George Russell's desire to use a Scottish education as a means of retaining a Scots accent for her children.

Scotland, more specifically Dundee and Edinburgh, became a part of the lives of all five Ferguson children though they remained in Western Australia the rest of their lives. Through their years in Scotland the Ferguson children received their early education in Scotland but more importantly they came to intimately know their Scottish families and Scottish heritage.

(ii) Family Migration

\textsuperscript{81} Guttormsson, 'Parent-Child Relations,' p. 268-269

\textsuperscript{82} Kiddle, \textit{Men of Yesterday}, p. 487.

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.
In the nineteenth century, the great majority of Scots arrived in the Australian colonies as families and, as Ian Donnachie writes, 'connections of kin played an important role in the chain of immigration throughout the period'.\textsuperscript{84} Migration of Scottish family members to Western Australia, joining again with kin already present in the colony, influenced experiences within Scottish households. The presence of relatives other than immediate family extended Scottish households to include not only the experiences of parents but also their siblings and cousins. This provided children with an opportunity to grow up knowing the Scottish past of their family in greater depth. Family chain migration led to Scottish homes in Western Australia becoming important sites for celebrations of Scottish identity.

Richard Reid, writing on Irish migrants in New South Wales, outlines three types of kinship chains. The first is the simple chain where a single member of a family migrates to Australia and later sponsors another member of the family to join them in the colonies. Reid then identifies 'individual family reconstruction chains' in which the whole or nearly the whole nuclear family migrate in stages. Finally, there exist complex kinship groups where the family chain is extensive and can include nuclear family members and relatives.\textsuperscript{85} In Western Australia, Scottish migrants forming family migration networks mainly reflect Reid's third group, and to an extent the second category. For Irish migrants in Australia in the nineteenth century, chain migration was encouraged through pleas to restore the family in Australia and also by offering financial

\textsuperscript{84} Donnachie, ‘The Making of “Scots on the Make”’, p. 144.

\textsuperscript{85} Richard Reid, 'Emigration from Ireland to New South Wales in the mid-nineteenth century' in Oliver MacDonagh and W. F. Mandle (ed) \textit{Irish-Australian Studies: Papers delivered at the Fifth Irish-Australian Conference}, Australian National University, Canberra, 1989, pp. 313-314.
assistance both on leaving and arriving.\textsuperscript{86} The same can be said of Scots in Western Australia.

In the Toodyay region, the MacKintosh and MacPherson destinies were inextricably linked, predominantly due to family migration from Inverness. As mentioned previously, John and Donald MacPherson emigrated to Western Australia in 1839, were joined by cousin Ewen MacKintosh in 1841 and later came to form a large part of a formidable shepherding group with other brother, Duncan, arriving in 1848 with his Scottish wife and children. Yet the re-establishment of family ties was not complete even with the presence of three brothers and a cousin. Janet Campbell, sister to Donald, John and Duncan, arrived in Western Australia in 1854 with her Inverness husband and seven children, also born in Inverness.\textsuperscript{87} Thus family identity for the MacPhersons, MacKintosh and Campbell families was reinforced by the presence of three brothers, a sister and their cousin in the Toodyay and Victoria Plains region. Children born in Western Australia to these families would have been keenly aware of their Scottish background and its importance in the lives of their parents and their relatives. It could be speculated that family gatherings would have been large affairs and involved getting together for Hogmany (New Year), maybe even Burns' birthday and most certainly reminiscences about life in Inverness. Modern family history and genealogical data compiled by these families detail and celebrate their Inverness background, in particular R. W. MacPherson's ‘The MacPhersons and the MacKnoes of Western Australia’.

\textsuperscript{86} Campbell, \textit{The Kingdom of the Ryans}, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{87} MacPherson family, \textit{Family Tree}, BLWAH Private Archives, Perth, Acc. 2154A.
For a time James Dempster’s family were joined at their home ‘Buckland’ near Northam by James’ sister Anna and her Scottish husband, George Skinner. While the Skinners did not live with the Dempster family beyond an initial period on arrival, George Skinner’s unmarried brother, William, lived with the Dempsters at Northam in the 1840s, moved with them to Rottnest in the early 1850s, returned to Buckland with the Dempsters and only in the latter part of the decade lived on his own property in the same region. Though it seems unusual, William Skinner lived with the Dempsters rather than his brother. As an unmarried relative William Skinner was valuable; he could work on family properties without the Dempsters having to maintain an additional wife or children. The presence of a Scottish relative in the Dempster household further introduced James Dempster’s Western Australian-born children to their father’s background. According to Rica Erickson in her history of the Dempster family, though William Skinner lived with the family longest, aunt and uncle Skinner were regular visitors to Buckland and an important part of the household. While only their father was Scottish, the Dempster children grew up in a household that for a time contained a Scottish aunt and uncle and their uncle’s brother. If not already aware of their father’s Scottish identity, by the middle of the nineteenth century they were keenly aware of James Dempster’s heritage.

While the presence of James Dempster’s family influenced the lives of his family in the household, Dempster himself found ways to convey his own identity in the home. A photograph of James Dempster, taken around the middle to late nineteenth century, shows him wearing a Scottish cap and most likely a

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88 Erickson, *The Dempsters*, pp. 38, 139.

Scottish formal suit. That the photograph is a head and shoulder profile makes determining the type of suit worn difficult, but Dempster's Scottish headwear suggests the suit is probably Scottish in design as well. The desire to wear Scottish clothing, even if only in the home, reflected on Dempster's pride in his Scottish background.

Other Scots in Western Australia shared Dempster's pride by wearing Scottish clothing in family photos. A photo taken of John Ferguson of the Swan district in 1866 shows him wearing a tartan scarf. An 1856 sketch of Charles Ferguson, younger son of John and Isabella, depicts him wearing tartan clothing on the voyage back to Scotland for schooling. Newspaper advertisements from the 1830s to the 1850s also show the popularity of Scottish clothing in the colony. ‘Scotch Caps’, ‘Scotch plains’ and ‘Glengarry bonnets’ sold in various stores across the colony but especially in the urban centres of Perth and Fremantle, where stores served the colony as a whole. This wearing of Scottish clothing was also evident in the Western District of Victoria. When the Duke of Edinburgh visited 'Glenmoriston' in 1867, Niel Black and his sons greeted the Duke in their full Highland regalia.

Like the Dempsters, the Sinclairs of Toodyay housed relatives from Scotland who at least lived with the family for a short period after arriving. In

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90 Photograph of James Dempster, no date, BLWAH photographs on microform, Acc. 969B/4.
91 'Dr Ferguson in 1866' photo in Joske, Dearest Isabella, between pages 198 and 199.
92 "Little Charlie Ferguson", 1856' in Joske, Dearest Isabella, between pages 72 and 73.
93 See advertisement in The Perth Gazette, 12 November 1836, front page; The Perth Gazette, 18 July 1840, front page; The Perth Gazette, 23 January 1841, front page; The Inquirer, 1 November 1848, front page; The Inquirer, 28 February 1849, front page; The Inquirer, 17 March 1854.
94 Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, pp. 322-323.
1849, close to nine years after their own arrival, John and Mary Sinclair were joined in Western Australia by Mary’s brother, Charles Glass, and his wife, Jane.\textsuperscript{95} James and Mary Sinclair’s Scottish-born son, James, travelled to Scotland in 1858. He returned with a Scottish bride, Florinda Stewart, in 1859.\textsuperscript{96} The presence of Scottish relatives in his household while growing up may have influenced James Sinclair’s decision to marry in Scotland.

(iii) Scottish songs in the home

In the home Scots were known to celebrate their identity by joining together in song. Such family gatherings were shared by Scots across Australia and by other British migrants, especially the Irish. Margaret Kiddle writes of Scottish homes in the Western District of Victoria in the nineteenth century filled with the sounds of popular Scottish ditties and traditional songs including 'In the Gloaming' and 'Ben Bolt'.\textsuperscript{97} In family correspondence, Phillip Russell's brother tells of returning to his brother George's home to the sounds of his wife singing, 'there's nae luck about the house while the gudeman's awa'.\textsuperscript{98} In Western Australia, the singing of Scottish songs can be traced in the homes of the Dempsters, Macphersons and Kers. In a letter of October 1880, James Dempster informed his son, Andrew, 'Aunt Skinner... is a cheerful active little woman and plays our old country tunes with great taste'.\textsuperscript{99} In 1877, Alfred Wood and his two cousins, all visiting family in the colony from England, stayed an evening at 'Glentromie' with the

\textsuperscript{95} Erickson, \textit{Old Toodyay and Newcastle}, p. 49.

\textsuperscript{96} Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 4, R-Z}, p. 2824.

\textsuperscript{97} Kiddle, \textit{Men Of Yesterday}, p. 299.

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{99} Erickson, \textit{The Dempsters}, p. 176.
MacPherson family. In his recollections of the trip to Western Australia Wood recorded:

After supper everyone trooped out onto the verandah, with the exception of Miss MacPherson, who, apparently according to an established custom, sat down to the piano & sang quite a number of beautiful old Scotch songs & ballads.\textsuperscript{100}

According to Wood, singing Scottish songs was an established custom in the MacPherson home. That one of Donald's daughters sang Scottish songs is particularly interesting given she was West Australian-born. In Busselton, Henry Thompson Ker was also known to have celebrated his Scottish origins in songs while at home. In her personal reminiscences of life at Busselton, Henry's daughter Augusta recalled: 'I can only remember a few things about my father. He used to sing old fashioned Scotch songs and once I picked him some mignonette which he said he was very fond of'.\textsuperscript{101} Henry Ker died in 1865 when Augusta was only four, and yet one of her few memories was her father singing Scottish songs.

A comparison between Scots in Western Australia and Irish migrants in southwest New South Wales can be made here. According to Malcolm Campbell, Irish family and kin gatherings and celebrations in southwest New South Wales provided continuity for Irish migrants. One example Campbell gives is the gathering of Irish people from the same parts of Ireland at a christening west of Sydney, playing music and singing. As Campbell writes:

\textsuperscript{100} MacPherson, ‘The MacPhersons and the MacKnoes of Western Australia’, chapter 5, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{101} Extensive section from reminiscences in Rodger Jennings, \textit{Busselton "A Place to Remember" 1850-1914}, Shire of Busselton, Busselton, p. 107.
This gathering provided a sense of continuity and belonging for the older
generations of Irish immigrants; for their Australian-born children the christening
was an absolute education in the forms and heritage of the distinctive
Australian immigrant world of which they were a part.\textsuperscript{102}

Singing Scottish songs served a similar purpose for Scottish migrants and their
families in Western Australia.

(iv) Presence of Scottish non-relatives

Just as relatives residing in households influenced family identities in Western
Australia, the presence of Scottish non-relatives provided familiarity for Scottish
settlers as hiring house servants and farming labourers. John and Isabella
Ferguson brought with them from Scotland a nurse, Elizabeth Henderson, and a
shepherd, Alexander McAndrew, along with servants, William and Mary Forrest
and the Gaven and Mary Forrest family, including their two children and Mary’s
children to a previous marriage, Robert and Agnes Lockkart. As the daughter of a
middle-class medical family in Dundee, Isabella Ferguson grew up in the
presence of servants and a nanny. That she and her husband brought servants
to Western Australia was as much a reflection of their desire to maintain
continuity with their Scottish life as the middle-class background of Isabella. In
Western Australia, John and Isabella Ferguson’s two Scottish-born children
initially grew up surrounded by Scottish non-relatives in the household. Elizabeth
Henderson, a Dundee Scot, had the most contact with the children but within a
short period of less than a year she left the services of the family and married
James Dunn, later moving to Albany.\textsuperscript{103} When the family later moved to Perth


\textsuperscript{103} Joske, \textit{Dearest Isabella}, p. 26; Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians},
volume 2, D-J, p. 916.
late in 1848, it was suggested they hire as a domestic servant Agnes Lockhart, the step-daughter of their previous servant, Gaven Forrest.\(^{104}\) Agnes may have worked for the Fergusons in Perth, but this was not mentioned in her obituary. By the end of 1850 she married fellow Scot, Daniel McGregor, and lived out her life in the Vasse district (Busselton).\(^{105}\) Regardless of whether Agnes followed the family to Perth, the Ferguson children spent at least some of their formative years on 'Wedderburn' farm outside Bunbury surrounded by Scottish non-relatives. Together with their education and time spent in Scotland with family, interactions with Scottish non-relatives helped to maintain a Scottish family identity.

Close relationships formed between children and Scottish non-relatives in the household at times led to marriages. In the early 1840s, the Drummonds hired Ewen MacKintosh as a shepherd and farm labourer. In 1851 MacKintosh began a land partnership with James Drummond, Euphemia's father, acquiring extensive acres of land in the Champion Bay region.\(^{106}\) James Drummond was also his father-in-law, after Ewen's marriage to Euphemia in 1849.\(^{107}\) Alexander and Christiana Ferguson's Western Australian-born daughter, Elizabeth, also married a Scotsman who at one point worked for her parents. John Davidson worked with Alexander Ferguson in the 1840s both outside and within the Ferguson family property, and in 1855 married Elizabeth Ferguson.\(^{108}\) Elizabeth Ferguson, like Euphemia Drummond, would have had close contact with the

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\(^{104}\) Ibid, p. 49.

\(^{105}\) 'District News' in *The Bunbury Herald*, 10 February 1904.


\(^{107}\) Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, p. 86.

\(^{108}\) Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 2, D-J*, p. 766.
Scottish shepherds and flockmasters around Toodyay, and their marriages to Scotsmen at least met approval from their fathers.

Patrick Taylor's family associated with Scottish non-relatives hired to work on the Candyup family property. Taylor's English wife, Mary Bussell, and their Western Australian-born children lived from around the late 1830s to the mid-1840s with Scottish farm managers, first the Young family and then William and Mary Sounness. Early lives spent in the presence of Scottish non-relatives made them further aware of their father's origins. Like Patrick Taylor's children, Niel Black's children in the Western District of Victoria grew up in the presence of Scottish Highland workers.109

Connections between Families in Scotland and Western Australia

(i) Adam family correspondence

While Scottish correspondence is dealt with in greater depth in a later chapter, advice from family through letters needs to be included here as it illustrates attempts by family members in Scotland to exert an influence over family life in Western Australia. Even though they were separated by distance, families endeavoured to maintain a connection, both through informing them of family affairs and in giving advice. Emigration to Western Australia disrupted many families and a large number of Westralian Scots never saw their families in Scotland again. Family members in Scotland attempted to lessen the dislocation through correspondence.

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109 Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, p. 58.
John Adam's family in Elgin, Morayshire kept him abreast of family news on a regular basis. For over a decade, from 1836-1848, John Adam received regular correspondence from his family. Throughout the dialogue with his family, John Adam was given advice on how he should lead his life in Western Australia and the importance the Adam family in Scotland should play in his own family in the colony. Elizabeth Adam, John's mother, reminded him throughout her letters of his duty to maintain a pious life in the colony and urged him to attend church regularly, 'a duty you ought not to neglect'. Though he was no longer a part of the Adam family household, Elizabeth Adam attempted to retain an influence over her son through parental advice.

The Adam family in Scotland kept John Adam aware of family events, aiming to involve him in family affairs. Through his brothers, James and Alexander Adam, John learned of his sister Jane's marriage, a marriage not met with approval in the family. James Adam in fact went as far as to write John that Jane's husband was, 'in every sense of the word as great a blockhead as I ever saw'. Jane Adam was pregnant at the time of her marriage, leading the Adam family to end any communication with her according to James. In contrast, Elizabeth (Betsy) Adam's marriage was regarded as a fitting match by the family. As John's mother informed him in May 1845, Elizabeth married an Elgin 'teacher of the trades' able to provide John's sister with 'a Large House and a good garden'.

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110 Elizabeth Adam to John Adam, 5 August 1838 in Adam, Letters, 1836-1848, Acc. 2681A.
111 James Adam to John Adam, 17 May 1840 in Adam, Letters, Acc. 2681A.
112 Elizabeth Adam to John Adam, 13 May 1845 in Adam, Letters, Acc. 2681A.
When John Adam wrote to notify his family of his marriage and the birth of his first child, his mother, Elizabeth Adam, wasted no time in passing on her best wishes and instructing John on the value of family. In June 1847 John's mother wrote of the family's happiness at John Adam's comfortable settlement, 'glad to think that you have been so fortunate in the choice of a partner for life I hope you will be long spared & mutual blessing to each other'.\textsuperscript{113} As a grandmother, Elizabeth was delighted John and his wife were starting their own family in the colony, writing, 'your little boy I hope is well and thriving I assure you I will soon be rich in Grandsons'.\textsuperscript{114} Like his mother, Alexander Adam also delighted at his brother's familial happiness in Western Australia, asking John in a letter to 'let me have full particulars of Your family I suppose you have a numerous progeny now and have been multiplying the race of Adam at no allowance'.\textsuperscript{115}

John Adam died before he could receive Alexander's letter of 1848, but correspondence from the Adam family in Scotland had a profound effect on John's son and namesake, John Adam Jr, born in Western Australia. John developed an interest in his Scottish family in his twenties after reading his father's letters. Living in Geraldton in 1869, John Adam wrote a letter to his uncle, James Adam, who according to his correspondence with John Adam Senior emigrated to Canada in 1842. In his letter to James Adam, John hoped he might

\textsuperscript{113} Elizabeth Adam to John Adam, 4 June 1847 in Adam, \textit{Letters, Acc.} 2681A.

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{115} Alexander Adam to John Adam, 24 February 1848 in Adam, \textit{Letters, Acc.} 2681A.
gain some information respecting those whom I count dear to me, being so closely allied. I should wish to hear whether that Grandmother & Grandfather (uncles and aunts) whose letters I have read are still in existence, the former I fear have lay since followed their dear son to that better abode.¹¹⁶

In a letter the following May, again writing to his uncle in Canada, James states his desire to 'hear of those whose names are familiar to me by having read their letters to my father while living' and also wants to know has become of 'Uncle Alexander & my Aunts Elizabeth and Jane. I should so much like to hear of you all'.¹¹⁷

While it is not obvious from the family archives if John received a reply to his letters from James Adam, his desire to know his father's family is clear. Though only four at the time of his father's death in 1847, the Scottish background of John Adam played a significant role. Having grown up without his father, vivid family correspondence influenced John’s identification with his father's Scottish family. While their initial desire may have been to maintain a connection with their son/brother, the Adam family in Scotland indirectly influenced the identity of John’s son and the Adam family in Western Australia as a whole.

(ii) Visits to Scotland

As Craig Johnston writes, trips to Scotland are important to understanding Scottishness in Australia.¹¹⁸ And as Loretta Baldassar argues, visits home are an

¹¹⁶ John Adam Jr to James Adam, 26 March 1869 in Adam-Cooper-Duffield-Clark, Family Papers, 1813-1913, Acc. 2544A.
¹¹⁷ John Adam Jr to James Adam, 17 May 1870 in Adam-Cooper-Duffield-Clark, Family Papers, 1813-1913, Acc. 2544A.
important part of the migration process.\textsuperscript{119} Migrant identities, according to Baldassar, in fact represent ‘multiple identities grounded both in their old and in their new homelands’.\textsuperscript{120} In Western Australia, Scots-born residents the MacPhersons and Thomas Muir returned to their hometowns. Donald MacPherson used his 1860 trip to purchase a Scottish Clydesdale as well as an opportunity to visit his brother, George, and sister, Margery, in Inverness. MacPherson family history also speculates that Donald and Jessie took their children to Jessie’s birthplace, though this is not substantiated in any evidence from the time.\textsuperscript{121} Thomas Muir of ‘Deeside’ farm in the south of Western Australia is the only member of the Fifeshire Muir family arriving in 1844 who visited Scotland again.\textsuperscript{122} Even at the elderly age of seventy-nine, Thomas Muir felt compelled to return to Scotland; perhaps he saw it as his last opportunity to see his native land again. For these Westralian Scots, the trip back to Scotland represented an assertion of their Scottish identity and the continued importance it held within the family.

The MacPhersons and Thomas Muir also shared the visiting home experience with other British migrants in the colony. Five years before Donald and Jessie MacPherson made their trip to Scotland and Inverness in particular, Samuel Phillips spent two years in England with his family visiting relatives and

\textsuperscript{118} Johnston, ‘Representing Scotland Beyond Europe’, p. 273.

\textsuperscript{119} Loretta Baldassar, \textit{Visits home: migration experiences between Italy and Australia}, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2001, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{121} MacPherson, \textit{The MacPhersons and the MacKnoes of Western Australia}, chapter 4, pp. 5-6.

\textsuperscript{122} Thomson, ‘The Muir Family’, p. 23.
sightseeing across the country. Collectively, trips back home were an important part of migrant identity in colonial Australia as a whole in the nineteenth century.

But the trip back home was not restricted to migrants. As Craig Johnston identifies in relation to Scots in Australia, trips to Scotland are often made by Australian individuals wanting to visit the native land of their ancestors; their ancestral country. In terms of migrants as a whole, understanding the migration process must also include generations beyond the first generation making trips back to the country of origin. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, John Forrest made various trips to Scotland to visit the birthplaces of his parents and trace family for his family genealogy. Walkinshaw Cowan’s son, James, also made a similar visit to Scotland to trace his father’s family. By 1902, however, there were no surviving relatives to meet. Nevertheless, James Cowan’s journey is an important reflection on recognition of Scottish origins in his family.

Trips to Scotland were also made to sustain hereditary claims to property in Scotland. Such trips are markedly different from the trips outlined above. There are obvious class differences between Scots travelling in Scotland sightseeing and visiting relatives and individuals visiting Scotland to re-affirm

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123 Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, p. 137.
125 Baldassar, *Visits home*, pp. 3-4, 8.
126 Crowley, *Big John Forrest 1847-1918 A Founding Father of the Commonwealth of Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, 2000, p. 29, 324.
hereditary connections to properties. While these trips were more economically based they did inspire a connection with Scotland by Western Australian-born children of Scottish parents. As heir to the Lintrose Estate in Coupar Angus, Scotland, David Smythe Murray's family background directly influenced the lives of his children in Western Australia, particularly his sons, John Gray and David Murray. Inheritance played an integral role in the dynamics of the Murray family in Western Australia, both economically and in relation to identity. As Michael Anderson argues, the resources available to family, in this case inheritance and family position in Scotland, often dictated the relationships forged within families.\footnote{Anderson, \textit{Approaches to the history of the Western Family}, p. 50.}

David Smythe Murray's hereditary connections to Lintrose in Scotland became an integral part of the family relationships he shared with his sons in Western Australia. When he died in 1864 at Burnside,\footnote{‘Died’ in \textit{The Inquirer and Commercial News}, 10 February 1864.} Murray's eldest son, John, became successor as heir to Lintrose. Connection with family in the Coupar Angus region led another son, David Murray, also named David Smythe, pledging to marry a Scottish woman by the name of Alice Boyd from Coupar Angus.\footnote{Richards, \textit{The Murray District of Western Australia}, p. 452.} After their father's death, possibly even before, the Murray siblings became close to their family in Scotland. John Gray Murray was known to have made trips to Scotland, the last in 1884 before he died on the voyage back to Western Australia.\footnote{Ibid.} Around 1900, David Smythe Murray, Jr., gave an address to the tenants at Lintrose. In the speech, Murray thanked the tenants of Lintrose for their grateful words on his 'late Uncle and Aunt' and stated that it is
necessary for me to return to Australia but when I come back God willing in the Spring to settle permanently amongst You it will be my just duty as well as my pleasure to keep up as far as in me lies the traditions of my family.\textsuperscript{132}

As it happened all surviving Murray children, two sons and a daughter, died in an attack of measles in 1901, thus ending the Western Australian hereditary line to Lintrose.

**Lasting Testaments**

What we know of identity perpetuated in the family is largely relative to visible communications of identity such as Scottish home/property names, education, Scottish trips and family migration. Celebrations of a life in the form of lasting testaments offer another perspective on family identity in Western Australia. In the nineteenth century, death and funerals increasingly came to represent social worth, and in this era social worth was largely measured in monetary terms. As Ruth Richardson argues, 'death served as a prime means of expressing, and of defining, social place.'\textsuperscript{133} To Westralian Scots, death sometimes represented a final attempt to convey distinction by national origins. Expressions of family identity in the form of lasting testaments are important for, as Patrick O'Farrell argues in relation to Irish migrant lives, before dying migrants needed home and a 'secure, rooted sense of belonging'.\textsuperscript{134} For some Scots, a sense of belonging was achieved by identifying Scottish family origins.

\textsuperscript{132} Address to tenants of Lintrose in *Inventory of Writs from Lintrose House, Forfarshire*, NAS, GD 68/2/169/1.


(i) Headstone inscriptions

With more emphasis on funerals and places of burial, 'the grave in the cemetery became a site for remembrance and meditation'.\textsuperscript{135} To use Patrick O'Farrell's description, through headstones 'the dead instructed the living in a way which reflected an imaginary dialogue that took place with the bereaved'.\textsuperscript{136} Canadian Scots on Prince Edward Island used headstones to convey their distinct identities. As Lucille Campey writes, '[p]ride in Scottish roots appears to have extended to the grave as countless emigrant Scots left death records behind for their loved ones'.\textsuperscript{137} In Western Australia, inscriptions on headstones represent direct attempts to leave lasting testaments to both the identity of the individual buried and the family as a whole. Headstones, serving as physical identifiers of gravesites and individual burial plots, gave the cemetery a personality, recording important details of individual lives. As Pat Jalland argues in Death in the Victorian Family, headstones were chosen after family discussion to mark the burial place and 'provide a site of remembrance for the future'.\textsuperscript{138} That many headstones in Western Australia recorded Scottish origins shows the extent Scottishness in the family was viewed as significant enough to include as a lasting memorial.

Cemeteries were constructed in each main town in Western Australia in


\textsuperscript{136} O'Farrell, Vanished Kingdoms, p. 285.

\textsuperscript{137} Campey, "A Very Fine Class of Immigrants", pp. 8-9.
the nineteenth century, varying in size according to the population. East Perth is
one of the largest and St John's churchyard, Pinjarra, one of the smallest. In
recent years attempts have been made by the National Trust and local
organisations to preserve what are known as pioneer cemeteries around
Western Australia. Modern construction and a lack of preservation have led to
ruin of headstones and entire gravesites. While headstones are preserved from
former sites and on display in each cemetery, gravesites and headstones have
been lost. The effect of this loss is that not all headstones for Scottish settlers
have been located. Outside the metropolitan area, early cemeteries have
fortunately been preserved. St. John's churchyard, Busselton Pioneer cemetery,
Middleton Road cemetery Albany, Picton churchyard Bunbury, Toodyay Public
cemetery and Culham churchyard outside Toodyay, to name a few, contain most
of the first gravesites of nineteenth-century colonists. Weather and time have
reduced some headstones so much they are illegible, making the task of
locating headstones for Scots buried in particular cemeteries difficult. However,
most Scots buried in these cemeteries can be located with both a headstone
and a gravesite. So while headstones pertaining to Scottish lives account for
only around a third of the number of Scots known to have settled permanently,
they are an important source.

In Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Muir and Moir Fifeshire relatives
are in two distinct areas of the cemetery grounds. In one half of the cemetery,
the Moirs are buried closely together and include 'ANDREW MOIR BORN AT
MARKINCH, SCOTLAND'.\textsuperscript{139} Andrew died forty years after his wife, English-born
Emily Trimmer, and yet the headstone erected for both at the time of Andrew's

\textsuperscript{138} Jalland, \textit{Death in the Victorian Family}, p. 291.
death bore familial origins for Andrew alone. Yet this is fitting, given Andrew Moir's family lived for a time in a home named for Moir family origins, Markinch Cottage. Andrew's elder brother, John, who emigrated later in 1858 with his large Scottish family to join the rest of his Moir family, bore a similar identity inscription: 'JOHN MOIR, OF FIFESHIRE, SCOTLAND'. Interestingly, the inscription John, and possibly his children, chose for Mary Moir, John's wife, gave more detail of her Fifeshire origins: 'MARY COLLIAR DAUGHTER OF THE LATE WILLIAM COLLIAR FARMER OF KINGLASSIE, FIFESHIRE, SCOTLAND'. As the headstones indicate, this branch of the Moir family took pride in Fifeshire origins. The family of Robert Muir, cousin to John and Andrew Moir, also included Scottish origins on his headstone. Across the other side of the cemetery, buried with his own family and near his siblings and parents, the headstone reads: 'ROBERT MUIR BORN FIFESHIRE, SCOTLAND'.

Patrick Taylor's family chose to include his Scottish origins on the headstone over his final resting place. Located near the Muir family gravesites, Taylor is buried in a single grave with his wife, Mary Yates Taylor (nee Bussell) and two of their children. Patrick Taylor's headstone bears the inscription: 'PATRICK TAYLOR OF KIRKTONHILL, MONTROSE SCOTLAND'. Though birthplace details were not included for Taylor's wife, Mary, originally from

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139 Headstone inscription for Andrew Moir, Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.


141 Headstone inscription for Mary Moir, Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.


143 Headstone inscriptions for Patrick Taylor, Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.
England, she saw it fitting to include Scottish origins on her husband's headstone. Mary and her children were keenly aware of Patrick's identification with Scotland, whereas when Mary died her surviving son, Campbell, may have not thought it as fitting to include her origins. It is important to recognise that as the head of the family, Patrick Taylor took precedence over his wife in terms of burial. But beyond gender relations dictating burial and inscriptions, the Taylor family, after growing up with Scottish managers working at Candyup, knew the importance a Scottish background played in their father's life. Patrick Taylor certainly emphasised his Scottish background when he first met Mary on the voyage to Western Australia in 1834. According to Mary's diary entries, Taylor gave her a:

> glowing description of the Scotch scenery; the salubrity of the Scotch heights and the little less enchanting Loch Katrin, Ellen's Loch, Fitzjames Meeting, the Douglas, the Gream and all the witchery of Scott's poetry, embellished the description...\(^\text{144}\)

One particular headstone is in fact located outside the cemetery in Albany. Hugh McKenzie's headstone is located at the Patrick Taylor cottage, now a museum. McKenzie's headstone apparently lay in a shed in a former family property in York street, Albany for reasons unknown. Chances are Hugh McKenzie was buried near the main street, as per his wishes, and when the area was later developed, members of the McKenzie family kept the headstone and placed it in the shed for a keepsake. Part of the headstone reads: 'a Native of Invergordon, Rosshire, Scotland'.\(^\text{145}\)


Culham Cemetery outside Toodyay, included similar Scottish inscriptions on their headstones as their Plantagenet compatriots. Ewen MacKintosh's headstone includes the inscription: ‘BORN IN INVERNESS, SCOTLAND’ and was most likely chosen by MacKintosh personally before his death or inscribed according to the wishes of his family. Like their cousin, the headstones for Duncan, Mary and Aneas MacPherson all bear their Inverness origins, each identified as born, 'AT ALVIE, INVERNESSHIRE'.

The gravesite of Charles and Mary Glass at Toodyay Public Cemetery is an interesting example of family identity perpetuated by later descendants. Without a headstone to mark the Glass grave, possibly through deterioration, Glass relatives placed a marble and granite plaque on the grave that states they were: ‘BOTH PIONEERS FROM SCOTLAND’. Without this plaque, the gravesite would be like other bare graves that over time have lost headstones in the various cemeteries around Western Australia. Charles and Mary Glass may have included their Scottish origins on the original headstone is a lasting testament to their lives. Descendants have ensured their identity is left for posterity even after the loss of the original headstone.

At Picton Cemetery outside of Bunbury, buried near his wife, Margaret, and fellow Scots, John and Helen Scott and William Cunningham Ramsay, William Forrest's tombstone bears the inscription: 'WILLIAM FORREST ONLY SON OF JAMES FORREST WRITER TO THE SIGNET. BORN AT BERVIE NEAR

146 Headstone inscriptions for Ewen MacKintosh, Duncan, Mary and Aneas MacPherson, Culham Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.

147 Plaque inscription, Toodyay Public Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.
STONEHAVEN, KINCAIDINESHIRE, SCOTLAND\textsuperscript{148} The attention to detail is obvious from the inscription. Whether the inscription was chosen by William or his family at the time of his death is unknown. Forrest wanted to be remembered as the son of William Forrest and desired to have his Scottish birth inscribed as testament to family identity. No mention is made that he is the father of John and Alexander Forrest, legendary explorers and politicians. John Forrest was the first Premier of Western Australia. In the early 1870s, the Forrest family applied to the 'Public Register of Arms and Bearings in Scotland' in Edinburgh for the commissioning of a Forrest family Coat of Arms, a request soon granted\textsuperscript{149} After living in Western Australia for over thirty years, William and Margaret Forrest remained keenly aware of their Scottish heritage and celebrated their origins with a family Coat of Arms.

(ii) Newspaper Obituaries

Scottish family identities were further conveyed in death through obituaries. Of the forty-three obituaries located for Scottish migrants, nine contain details of Scottish origins\textsuperscript{150} While this may seem a small proportion, not all families could afford to pay for more than one or two lines stating basic details of deaths. Obituaries differed between Perth and Fremantle newspapers and smaller town papers such as those in Albany and Bunbury. In the larger communities of Perth and Fremantle, obituaries mainly feature middle and upper-class Scottish

\begin{itemize}
\item Headstone inscription for William Forrest, Picton Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.
\item William Forrest, Papers, 1842-1911, BLWAH Private Archives microform, Perth, Acc. 777A.
\item Obituaries in The Perth Gazette/Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900); Western Mail (1880-1910); Albany Advertiser (1890-1920); Albany Mail (1890-1920); The Bunbury Herald (1870-1900).
\end{itemize}
individuals. In the Wellington, Sussex and Plantagenet regions, with smaller populations, more space was given to deaths in the community. Indeed, more detailed obituaries for ordinary Scottish individuals were attained from The Albany Mail, Albany Advertiser and The Bunbury Herald while lengthier notices in The Perth Gazette and The Inquirer (Perth newspapers) detailed the lives of middle-class Scots.

Obituaries for Walkinshaw Cowan, Peter Broun, Isabella Ferguson, Margaret and William Forrest, James Lauder, Agnes McGregor, Andrew Moir, Robert Muir and Andrew Stirling all contained reference to their birthplaces in Scotland, some more detailed than others. Isabella Ferguson's obituary stated not only her birth at 'Tay street, Dundee,' but also detailed her family heritage as, 'the grand-daughter of Sir John Wedderburn, who was beheaded at Carlisle in 1745 for his adherence to the Stuarts, she was connected with some of the oldest Scottish families'.151 Walkinshaw Cowan's obituary is just as extensive in outlining his Scottish family origins:

Walkinshaw Cowan... was born at Kinniel House, Borrowstounness, Scotland, and was a son of the late Mr Thomas Cowan, Comptroller of Customs, Borrowstounness, by his second wife, Miss Jessie Shippard, grand daughter of Mr John Walkinshaw, of Scotstorm and niece of Admiral Alexander Shippard.152

Peter Broun's obituary gives his family origins as the 'son of the late William Broun, Esq, of Newmains, Dumfries Shire'.153 Andrew Stirling's obituary outlines his origins as the, 'son of John Stirling, Esq., of St. Andrews, Fifeshire'.154 Though James Lauder's obituary did not lay claim to estates in Scotland, he was identified as 'eldest son of the late Hugh Lauder, Surveyor, Edinburgh'.155

151 'Obituary' in The Western Mail, 26 November 1910, p. 33.
152 Obituary in The Western Australian, 6 January 1888.
153 'Death' in The Perth Gazette, 7 November 1846.
154 'Died' in The Inquirer, 13 November 1844.
Together, these obituaries convey the respectability of Scottish origins based on family reputation.

Margaret Forrest was identified as born in Scotland, while her husband William's obituary outlines his origins as 'a native of Kinkardinshire (sic) Scotland'.\textsuperscript{156} Agnes McGregor's obituary states her origins as born in Scotland.\textsuperscript{157} Both Andrew Moir's and Robert Muir's obituaries are more specific. Andrew Moir is identified as from 'Markinch, Fifeshire, Scotland' and Robert Muir as a 'native of Fifeshire, in Scotland'.\textsuperscript{158} The contrast is evident between these five obituaries and the four previously outlined, indicating differences in the way migrants sought to publicly acknowledge their Scottish family and class identities. Yet all the examples shown were united in conveying Scottish origins. Though some individuals may have specified details for their obituary, the task most likely fell to members of their family and an emphasis on Scottish origins is testament to the importance of Scottishness in the family.

The sense of place evident in Scottish migrant identity in Western Australia is also identifiable in the lives of English and Irish migrants arriving in the first decades of colonisation. As with Scottish migrants, English and Irish migrants conveyed both national and regional origins in lasting testaments. For example, Charles Kay Courthope's death notice in 1865 outlined his Camberwell, London origins while Courthope's English compatriot, Patrick Daniel

\textsuperscript{155} 'Marriages and Deaths' in \textit{The Inquirer}, 9 July 1873.

\textsuperscript{156} 'Death of Another Old Colonist: The Late Mrs. William Forrest, Senr.' in \textit{The Inquirer}, 22 February 1895; 'Death of Mr William Forrest' in \textit{The Bunbury Herald}, 8 June 1899.

\textsuperscript{157} 'District News: Busselton' in \textit{The Bunbury Herald}, 10 February 1904.

\textsuperscript{158} 'Death of Mr. Andrew Moir' in \textit{Albany Advertiser}, 27 March 1912; 'Death of Mr Robert Muir' in \textit{Albany Advertiser}, 20 August 1904.
Connolly's death notice conveyed his English origins as 'late of Liverpool, England'. Charlotte Marmion's notice of death also declared her origins, having migrated to Western Australia from Downpatrick, Ireland.

Headstone inscriptions at East Perth cemetery also reveal attempts made by English and Irish migrants to leave their family origins on the West Australian landscape. John King, a cooper and wheelwright in Perth who died in 1842 at the age of fifty-three, is identified on his headstone as from ‘Lewknorin, County of Oxford’. George Eliot, an English settler who arrived on the *Parmelia* in 1829, is buried under the inscription: ‘born Paper Harrow, Surrey, England’. Irishman William Hall’s regional and national origins are also inscribed in his headstone, he being born at ‘Cranville, Tyrone, Ireland’. At Culham churchyard outside Toodyay there is an interesting grave near the Scottish shepherds the MacPhersons and Ewen MacKintosh. Samuel Phillips’ headstone in part reads: ‘born at Culham, Oxonia, England’. Not only is the headstone testament to Phillips’ English origins, the church and churchyard also reflect these origins: both are named ‘Culham’.

As a whole, Scottish families were never decidedly different

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159 'Died' in *The Inquirer*, 5 April 1865; 'Deaths' in *The Inquirer*, 30 March 1870.

160 'Deaths' in *The Inquirer*, 14 July 1869.


demographically from other Western Australian settlers. They did differ in terms of the identity being celebrated within the family. The private sphere of the home gave Scots a chance to preserve their family identities, for some with relatives (family migration) and Scottish non-relatives. A number even carried on their family life within a Scottish-named home/property. While personal testimonies on life as a Scottish family are few, they are important in showing another facet of Scottish identity in Western Australia. There was a constant need to emphasise Scottish identity through naming residences, education, celebrating Scottish culture in the home and finally in detailing Scottish origins as lasting testaments on headstones and in obituaries. Patrick O’Farrell defines Irishness as a sense of place indicative of ‘coming from a particular place which conferred a personal sense of meaning and identity unique to that origin’. This sense of place as an important part of migrant identity can also be related to the Scots in Western Australia.

Tracing assertions of Scottishness in the family is an important part of understanding experiences of early Scottish migrants in the colony. While some examples have been given of similarities between Scots and other British migrants in the ways family identities were conveyed, it is hoped this analysis of Scottish families will suggest new avenues of research on Irish, English and Welsh migrants in colonial Western Australia. Western Australian cemeteries, for instance, reveal many lasting testaments to Irish, English and to a lesser extent, Welsh regional and national identities. Just as regional and national origins were emphasised in Scottish lives, they were also important to other British and Irish migrants in Western Australia.
Chapter 5:

Religious Identity

In 1809 a group of settlers from the border regions of Scotland built the first Presbyterian Church in Australia, on the Hawkesbury River near Sydney.¹ The first three Presbyterian clergymen to arrive in Australia were Archibald MacArthur in Hobart in 1822, John Dunmore Lang in Sydney in 1823 and John McGarvie, also to Sydney, in 1826.² By July 1826, Reverend Lang was conducting his ministrations at Scots Church in Sydney.³ By 1842, Presbyteries existed in New South Wales and Port Phillip (Victoria).⁴ Presbyterians in Melbourne alone accounted for just over thirteen per cent of Melbourne’s white population in 1841 and by 1851 this figure rose to nearly fifteen per cent.⁵

Presbyterians in Western Australia waited until the late 1860s for the opportunity to attend Presbyterian services under the Reverend James M. Innes. Innes was officially registered as a Presbyterian minister at Newcastle in the Toodyay district in January 1869, after years in the colony as an Independent minister.⁶ While Reverend Innes administered the first Presbyterian ministry in Western Australia, a Presbyterian church was not erected in the colony until 1882. St. Andrews Church was erected in Perth in response to the arrival of

⁴ Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, p. 223.
Reverend David Shearer from Scotland in October 1879, the first minister sent to the colony specifically to establish Presbyterian churches.\textsuperscript{7} By 1890, Albany and Fremantle also had their own Presbyterian churches, both named Scots Church. From this decade on the Presbyterian church progressed as a major religious institutional component of Western Australian society. While New South Wales represented the first colony to introduce Presbyterianism institutionally to Australia, Western Australia was a poor last in giving its Presbyterian inhabitants a ministry and formal church.

It took fifty years from the arrival of the first Scottish migrants in Western Australia in 1829 for Presbyterianism to be formally introduced into the colony. As Stuart Bonnington accurately states, in 1829, with the arrival of a Scottish lieutenant governor and botanist in Stirling and Drummond and the naming of the capital for Perth in Scotland, 'outwardly it may have seemed that the colony bore a Scottish stamp and therefore potentially Presbyterian stamp'.\textsuperscript{8} That the Presbyterian stamp faded or did not eventuate is in part due to the dominant rites of the Church of England in Western Australia and the small numbers of Scots in the colony.\textsuperscript{9} Why exactly it took fifty years to establish a Presbyterian Church in Western Australia has never been fully analysed beyond the explanation given by Stuart Bonnington in his biography of David Shearer. As Bonnington himself writes, there is 'virtually nothing in print on the beginnings of Presbyterianism in the western-most colony of Australia'.\textsuperscript{10} There is a variety of souvenir and anniversary booklets/publications on Presbyterian churches in Western Australia.

\textsuperscript{7} Notes on the History of the Presbyterian Church in W.A, BLWAH, Perth, RN 203.


\textsuperscript{9} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
Western Australia, mainly Perth, Fremantle and Albany. Prior to the publication of Stuart Bonnington's history of Western Australian Presbyterians in 2004, the main text to address a history of Presbyterian churches in Western Australia is H. V. Tebbit's 'An Historical Account of the Growth of the Presbyterian Church in Western Australia'. While Tebbit's text is useful in combining local histories of Presbyterian churches and their leadership, even this history highlights the limited focus of historiography on Presbyterianism in Western Australia for it, like the other texts, focuses solely on Presbyterian churches. With the publication of Bonnington’s history of the Presbyterian Church from 1829-1901, attention has now been directed to outlining the history of the church before the establishment of congregations and churches. The purpose of this chapter is to outline what has escaped Presbyterian histories in general and that is how Presbyterians fared in the colony before the latter part of the century.

While no definitive explanation is given as to why Presbyterianism in Western Australia took so long to come to the fore, some reasons can be suggested. Governor James Stirling, though Scottish by birth, was brought up in English schools and as an Anglican. This is a crucial point, for if Stirling were a staunch Presbyterian he may have pressured the colonial government for funds towards a congregation or the erection of a church. As the only Scottish governor in the first decades of settlement, Stirling represents the main hope

10 Bonnington, 'David Shearer', p. 138.


14 Statham-Drew, James Stirling, p. 9.
Presbyterians had to establish their faith in the colony, but his Anglican upbringing only gave more credence to the dominance of the Church of England in Western Australia. Ultimately, the colony's English and Anglican migrant base influenced the lack of attention directed to the needs of Scottish Presbyterians. Like New South Wales in the early decades of the nineteenth century, especially the 1820s and 1830s, the Swan River Colony was dominated by an Anglican hegemony further hampering the early efforts of Scottish Presbyterians until the 1860s.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Presbyterians represented the fourth largest religious denomination in Western Australia after Anglicans, Catholics and Methodists. While the Anglicans dominated, Catholics in the colony represented the other major denomination and unlike the Presbyterians, the establishment of a Catholic ministry and churches in Western Australia occurred before 1850. Father John Brady, the first Catholic bishop in Western Australia, arrived in Perth in 1843 at the request of the Catholic community in the colony, numbering at around three hundred. Already by 1846, Catholics outnumbered Presbyterians and this was significant in turning the attention of the colonial government to the needs of Catholics in the colony. While it has been argued Father Brady divided the Catholic community and caused a rift that Father Gibney, later Bishop, only healed later in the century, Catholics in Western Australia were at least represented in the colony from the 1840s. Certainly the arrival of an increasing number of Irish Catholic convicts from 1850 helped to


secure more funds for the Church but the major difference between Catholics and Scottish Presbyterians in Western Australia was while Presbyterians differed from Anglicans on doctrine and ceremonies, together they represented the Protestant faith. Catholics in the colony represented a completely different faith, one that had been defeated by the Protestant Church in Scotland, and so needed churches specific to their religion. Scottish Presbyterians could attend Anglican services but Catholics could not do the same, their faith being fundamentally different to the Protestant faith. Due to their difference in faith from the colony’s Protestant migrants, and the increasing numbers of Irish convicts arriving from 1850, Catholics had a different history to Scottish Presbyterians in the colony, especially in terms of earlier representation and establishment of churches.

By 1851 Presbyterians in Western Australia accounted for no more than three per cent of the white population. The main, and important, difference between Western Australia and New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s is the numbers of Scottish Presbyterians willing to support churches and pay for the upkeep of ministers. As Mark Hutchinson writes in his history of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales, ‘immigration of Scottish settlers provided the underpinnings of the extension of Presbyterianism’.19 With much smaller numbers in Western Australia, Presbyterian demands were not commanding in the same sense as those in New South Wales with a higher number of Scottish settlers by the middle of the nineteenth century. Scottish Presbyterians in Western Australia were also scattered throughout the colony, not concentrated in one area. Reverend David Shearer related how when he arrived in the colony in 1879 he found that Presbyterians, he was told were numerous around Perth,

17 Aveling, ‘Western Australian Society The Religious Aspect (1829-1895)’, p. 582.
18 Ibid, p. 584.
were 'scattered over an area of one million square miles'. The scattering of Scottish Presbyterians was a problem felt also in eastern settlements. In Port Phillip, as Cliff Cumming writes, 'scattered bush populations' caused immense problems for Presbyterian parishes in the 1840s. In Western Australia, Scottish Presbyterians, already slight in numbers and without a formal Presbyterian ministry before 1869, made the task of forming a Presbyterian congregation immensely difficult across such a vast colony. It is because of this that a congregation was not established until the late 1860s, eventuating through the campaign of Scottish Presbyterians in Toodyay.

Understanding Scottish religious identity in Western Australia involves going beyond an institutional history. This is more to do with religious faith being maintained than it is with an institutionalised religion. Even without ministers and church congregations, religion played an important role in the lives of Westralian Scots. Cliff Cumming argues, 'perhaps the strongest image of a Scottish identity comes from their religion'. Presbyterianism in Western Australia, with or without ministers and churches, represents another form of identification Scots used to distinguish their lives from other white settlers. Though they lacked formal churches for many years, most Scottish Presbyterians were dedicated to maintaining their faith in Western Australia, even in the midst of the dominant Anglican character of colonisation.

Identifying Scottish Presbyterianism involves going beyond public realms to individual, personal affirmations of faith. While membership in a Presbyterian

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20 Cited in Bonnington, 'David Shearer,' p. 142.

21 Cumming, 'Scottish National Identity in an Australian Colony', p. 33.

22 Cumming, 'Scottish National Identity in an Australian Colony', p. 32.
congregation or church as a whole did not become possible for Scots until after 1868, faith as an expression of religious identity was preserved in individual lives and in families from the first years of white settlement. Fear of a loss of religious identity prompted a number of Scottish settlers to even form small Presbyterian religious groups, especially in the Toodyay and Plantagenet districts. These small Presbyterian communities were ultimately most influential in bringing about the establishment of later Presbyterian congregations and church buildings. That Presbyterianism was preserved in Western Australia, even without churches and ministers in the first forty years of white settlement, is testament to the importance preserving religious identity held in the lives of Westralian Scots.

Predominantly, Westralian Scots, like their compatriots in the other Australian colonies mid-nineteenth century, were Presbyterians. However, a number of Scots were willing to attend Anglican services. Scottish Presbyterians recognised their obligation to observe the Sabbath and attended local Anglican churches in order to achieve this. To some Scots, attending Anglican churches did not represent a complete break from their religious lives prior to emigrating, especially for individuals with English spouses, those having lived part of their life in England and members of the military and civil services where non-Anglicans were disbarred.23 These Scots demonstrated adaptation and, to an extent, recognition of a common Protestant identity. However, a number of Scots attending Anglican services complemented this by maintaining their Presbyterian faith within the home or in small groups with other Scots.

23 Statham-Drew, James Stirling, p. 318.
Religious identity for Scots in Western Australia from 1829-1869 had to extend beyond church services and ministerial preachings to encompass their faith as a way of living and showing distinction in small communities. As the years passed, their efforts turned to campaigning for churches and ministers. Even though they spent many years privately following their faith, the need for formal recognition of their identity eventually brought about the establishment of Presbyterian congregations and churches.

**Religious Background: Scotland 1750-1850**

After the Scottish Reformation in 1560 and its overthrow of Roman Catholicism, Scotland became a Protestant nation, validated by a strict Calvinism. Though the Reformation confirmed the Established Church as Protestant, the ensuing century and a half after 1560 witnessed a struggle between Presbyterians and Episcopalians for authority over the Established Church. By the eighteenth century, Presbyterians assumed control of the Scottish Established Church and from then on the Church of Scotland represented Presbyterianism. The Church of Scotland was therefore separated into a Presbyterian Church government encompassing a Kirk Session at parish level, Presbytery at district level, Synod at provincial level and nationally, a General Assembly. The sermon was essentially the most important part of Presbyterian worship and the Lord’s

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Prayer came to be associated in the eighteenth century with rule by bishops and episcopalianism.26

While Presbyterians controlled the Established Church, they were not a homogenous group and throughout the eighteenth century internal divisions were beginning to fissure the control of the Church of Scotland. Opposing religious parties within the Church of Scotland, the Moderates and the Evangelicals or Popular Party, emerged and eventually split from the church creating dissenting Presbyterian churches. As their name indicates, the Moderates, backed by wealthy landowners and Edinburgh lawyers, proved to be moderate in relation to church discipline and the punishment of sin and tended to focus on elegance and refinement in their worship. In contrast, the Evangelicals strictly adhered to Calvinist doctrines of universal atonement and predestination, as did the Established Church. Where their views became opposed lay in the Evangelical emphasis on Revivalism, that individuals could be agents in their own salvation.27 The split in Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century did not represent a divide over the legitimacy of the Presbyterian faith in Scotland but rather, as Callum Brown argues, a liberal and puritan divide in faith.28

Ultimately, patronage shaped the divide in Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century and had far-reaching effects in the nineteenth century. As Brown outlines, patronage, reinstated by the Patronage Act of 1714, was a 'system whereby hereditary owners (or “patrons”) had the right to select (or

“present”) the minister in a parish church. As patrons were generally wealthy landowners, members of town councils or the Crown, and mainly elected Moderate clergy, patronage created tension within parishes. Parishioners lost their right to a say and generally disapproved of the ministers elected. In 1733 four Church of Scotland ministers broke from the church over patronage and formed the Secession Church, as too did other ministers forming the Relief Church in 1756. By the 1840s, these denominational churches were dominated by the lower-middle and upper-working classes and joined in 1847 to form the United Presbyterian Church, an Evangelical denomination.

When in 1842 the government refused to abolish patronage, the actions of Thomas Chalmers, an Evangelical minister, led to the Disruption of 1843, an event undermining the Church of Scotland by the Evangelicals. On 18 May 1843, Thomas Chalmers organised a walk-out on the general assembly in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, and established the Free Church that by 1851 had a church membership equal to the Church of Scotland. Not until 1929 were all Presbyterian denominations again joined, this time under the title the National Church of Scotland. Though dissenting voices within the Church of Scotland were a prominent feature of religion in Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Presbyterian faith remained and throughout the nineteenth century carried a monopoly in Scottish society.

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29 Ibid, p. 70.
31 Ibid, pp. 73-74.
While Presbyterianism dominated, other non-Presbyterian churches existed in Scotland throughout the period 1750-1850. In the lowlands north of the River Tay, Episcopalianism was popular along with isolated areas of the Highlands and the Hebrides. Episcopalianism never regained its former popularity of the seventeenth century, but an estimate given in 1843 regarded two-thirds of the Scottish landowning classes as Episcopal.34 The Episcopalian Church identified itself with the landed and middle classes, 'dominated by an anglicising upper middle class who eventually brought the whole Church into full communion with the Church of England', closely connected to the English upper classes.35 But, as Rowan Strong argues, a 'pattern of middle-class management behind aristocratic patronage repeated itself throughout the century'.36 In the central and eastern lowlands of Scotland, Episcopalianism was regarded as a surrogate for popery and when the word protestant was deleted from the Episcopal Code of Canons in 1838, this seemed to confirm lowland religious sentiment.37

Roman Catholicism remained a small church in Scotland in the nineteenth century. In 1755 its church membership was estimated at around one per cent and even by 1891, with an increase in Irish immigration to Scotland, it grew to just over eight per cent.38 Scottish Methodism also shared small congregational numbers in nineteenth-century Scotland. While it showed

34 Brown, Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707, pp. 17, 34.
37 Brown, Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707, p. 34.
38 Ibid, pp. 31-32.
promise in the eighteenth century, its membership throughout the nineteenth century never exceeded 15,000.\(^{39}\) A popular church in England, Methodism never appealed vastly to the people of Scotland.

\textbf{Religious Denomination of Scots in Western Australia}

Tracing Presbyterian faith and its varying denominations in Western Australia is constrained largely due to Presbyterians being identified only as Presbyterians and not as Church of Scotland or Free Church of Scotland. The Free Church of Scotland does standout where distinctions in faith are made in relation to particular Scottish lives. Reverend James M. Innes ministered as a Free Church of Scotland minister at Toodyay and John and Isabella Ferguson left traces of their Free Church affiliation. John Ferguson's brother in Scotland, Donald, was in fact a Free Church minister for a congregation in Kilmadock near Doune.\(^{40}\)

Beyond a few lives, it is difficult to determine any differences in Presbyterian conformity as a whole in Western Australia. Another significant point to make is when a Presbyterian congregation was inaugurated in 1868-69, this came over twenty years after the Disruption and so the congregation did not have to react to the theological disorder caused by the events in 1843. In a staunchly Anglican colony, it may have been enough to merely distinguish Presbyterianism from the Anglican faith. Some Scots may have recognised the value of their unity as Presbyterians as opposed to Anglicans, without the need to discriminate between Church of Scotland and Free Church of Scotland membership. Interestingly, an obituary for David Shearer in \textit{The West Australian} in 1891

\(^{39}\) Ibid, pp. 36-37.

\(^{40}\) Joske, \textit{Dearest Isabella}, p. 220.
states he was supported in establishing Presbyterian churches in Western Australia by both the Established Church of Scotland and the Free Church.\footnote{41} 

As outlined in Chapter 1, most Scots migrating to the Swan River colony came from the central and eastern Lowlands, with only a small number from the Highlands and the North-east of Scotland.\footnote{42} They were largely from areas where Presbyterianism dominated. However, mobility in England may have influenced flexibility in attending Anglican services. Scots like the Dewar family, who travelled and worked in England and Wales before emigrating, were less likely to be affronted by Anglican services than Scots familiar only with Presbyterian services. Scottish Episcopalians may also have been present in the colony but they are not identified in the early records. Attendance at Anglican services may indicate prior Episcopal Scottish origins but it cannot be substantiated from the records. As a whole, Presbyterianism dominated religious expressions of identity by Scots in Western Australia. Writing in 1848, Anglican Reverend Wollaston noted ‘Presbyterians are very numerous.’\footnote{43} In fact, Wollaston commented regularly on Scottish Presbyterians and his insights are important, as detailed below.

**Religious records and texts**

\footnote{41} ‘Death of the Rev. D. Shearer, M.A’ in *The West Australian*, 14 November 1891.


Individuals and families leaving Scotland for Western Australia did not emigrate as part of religious schemes. Elsewhere, Scots had emigrated under the auspices of either the established Church of Scotland or the Free Kirk. In the 1830s Scottish Presbyterians were attracted to New South Wales by the recruitment efforts of Reverend John Dunmore Lang and later, in 1842, the Free Church of Scotland, led by Reverend Thomas Burns, created a Presbyterian settlement in Otago, New Zealand. Yet these schemes and migrations were the exception and as Marjory Harper argues, 'Most clergymen went overseas as a result of pleas from Scottish settlers in scattered locations, rather than on their own initiative or at the head of a Christian colony'. Presbyterians in New South Wales were fortunate to have Reverend Lang working hard for the Presbyterian cause. Lang brought Scottish migrants and ministers to the colony in the 1830s and was directly involved in promoting Scottish migration to New South Wales.

Though they travelled without ministers or the purpose of creating a Presbyterian settlement, Scots in Western Australia took with them from Scotland records of their faith and later notified family to send religious texts to maintain Presbyterianism. Though only a few remain, religious records provide important insights into attempts to maintain a Scottish religious identity. These sources provide insights into personal faith expressed in the home as a reaction to the absence of ministers and churches in the colony before the 1860s. Other histories of Presbyterians in Australia during this period examine public worship

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that can be traced in church records and attendance at services.\textsuperscript{47} In Western Australia, until 1868, analysis must look first to private worship.

In Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, migration between parishes fell under what is termed the ‘testificat system’ where individuals were granted inclusion into a parish only on producing a testimonial from their previous minister outlining their good character and behaviour.\textsuperscript{48} The issuing of testimonials, less prevalent in the latter part of the nineteenth century, represents one form of church discipline associated with the kirk session of the Scottish Presbyterian Church and highlights the role of parish churches in governing movement from parish to parish. Godly discipline was fundamental to the Presbyterian Church, proclaimed in the Protestant Confession of Faith (1560) that outlined discipline as crucial in confirming church congregations as members of the elect.\textsuperscript{49} Though the extent to which godly discipline should be exerted became debateable with the break in the established church between Moderates and Evangelicals,\textsuperscript{50} the testimonial as a form of discipline remained a part of Scottish church life when the first Scottish emigrants arrived in Western Australia. The existence of testimonials for individuals departing to the Swan River colony indicates the testificat system’s application to movement abroad, influencing religious identity in the colonies.

When John Adam left Alves, Morayshire in the north-east of Scotland on 2 December 1836, in his possessions he carried a testimonial from the parish of

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid; Prentis, \textit{The Scottish in Australia} and \textit{The Scots in Australia}.

\textsuperscript{48} Devine, \textit{The Scottish Nation}, pp. 85-86.

\textsuperscript{49} Devine, \textit{The Scottish Nation}, p. 85.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid, pp. 85-86.
Alves.\textsuperscript{51} In the testimonial dated 26 November 1836, Alves minister, Alexander Gentle, stated the purpose of the record, ‘given to him [Adam] on his leaving his Native Country, to sail for the Swan River Settlement’. Indicating the nature of the testimonial as a religious disciplinary record and not merely a reference, Gentle described Adam as, ‘free from Church Censure - and has always borne among his neighbours and acquaintances a good character as a sober steady industrious young man’.\textsuperscript{52} Along with the minister, three elders of the Alves Parish, Alexander Rhind, Hugh Robertson and James Watson, witnessed the testimonial, all sending ‘best wishes for his welfare’.\textsuperscript{53}

The year after Adam departed from Alves to Western Australia, Nicol Paterson also left Scotland with a testimonial among his possessions. In August 1837, Peter Learmonth, minister at Stromness, Orkney compiled a brief testimonial for Paterson on his leaving for Swan River. According to the minister, Nicol Paterson, ‘A Native of this Parish,’ had shown himself to be, ‘a young man of active + industrious habits’.\textsuperscript{54} The minister also described Paterson's 'very respectable connexions' and how he had, 'even maintained a decent and becoming character'.\textsuperscript{55}

John Adam and Nicol Paterson could have discarded their testimonials after leaving Great Britain but each recognised the significance of the record, as a testament to their religious identity and as a credible reference to their character. It is not known whether John Adam and Nicol Paterson requested the

\textsuperscript{51} James Adam to John Adam, 19 December 1836 and Alves Parish Testimonial in Adam, \textit{Letters, 1836-1848}, Acc. 2681A.

\textsuperscript{52} Alves Parish Testimonial in Adam, \textit{Letters, 1836-1848}, Acc. 2681A.

\textsuperscript{53} Alves Parish Testimonial in Adam, \textit{Letters, 1836-1848}, Acc. 2681A.

\textsuperscript{54} Stromness Testimonial in Paterson family, \textit{Papers 1837-1922}, Acc. 3103A.
items. Each testimonial bridged a gap between religious life in Scotland and lives in Western Australia. Even though the testimonials may have been written in the hopes of presenting them to a minister at a Presbyterian church in the colony, they are significant for other reasons. John Adam needed a good reference to secure his indenture to Frederick Irwin and Nicol Paterson's testimonial may have provided the reference needed to start business in Fremantle with Anthony Cornish. If nothing else, the testimonials convey one type of religious record brought from Scotland to the colony, kept as testament to Scottish origins and the piety of the individual. These testimonials represent a final attempt by the Church of Scotland to exert influence for individuals departing to overseas colonies. Adam and Paterson may have requested testimonials to be issued by their ministers but, as Devine states, Scots were a part of a testificat system binding them to the discipline of their local church.\textsuperscript{56} In all likelihood their ministers stressed the importance of a testimonial. Other Scots in Western Australia contemporary to Adam and Paterson most likely carried similar testimonials to the colony, and so these are conceivably two records out of many written by the Church in Scotland for migrants to the Swan River.

Family members could maintain a close connection with, and influence over, their separated kin through religious guidance. Religious instructions and 'affirmations of faith' were an important part of the discourse of nineteenth-century migrant letters.\textsuperscript{57} For Scots in the Australian colonies, as in Scotland, through to the 1870s 'the measure of spirituality remained the practice of family

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{56} Devine, \textit{The Scottish Nation}, pp. 85-86.
\textsuperscript{57} Fitzpatrick, \textit{Oceans of Consolation}, pp. 485-489.
worship'. For John Adam and Nicol Paterson's families, family worship was maintained through correspondence and family members used letters to exert influence in matters spiritual. Both Nicol Paterson's mother and sister made references to religious adherence in Western Australia. In June 1841 Nicol's sister, Margaret, wrote from Liverpool where she was then living, that she trusted Nicol was 'making progress in the ways of holiness'. Then in May 1845 Margaret, Nicol's mother, wrote from the family home in Stromness, Orkney, advising Nicol to 'not neglect any of your Christian duties tho' in a foreign land'.

In a letter to John Adam in August 1837, Elizabeth Adam told her son of a local who had embezzled his master's goods and been banished. Elizabeth then advised John to 'seek strength from Above to preserve you from the temptation for none can stand on their own strength and theft is the nearest of all evils'. In a letter the following year, Elizabeth delighted in learning of John's safe arrival and hoped he would be 'enabled to render praises and thanks to him whom praise is due'. Scots in other Australian colonies were also given similar advice in correspondence. William Leslie wrote from Scotland to his son Patrick in the Western District of Victoria, 'Never, never, my Dear Boy, forget or neglect the precepts of your God'.

Around 1840, James Ramsay left Ayr in Scotland with intentions to emigrate to the Swan River. Though he did not arrive in Western Australia until

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59 Margaret Pryde to Nicol Paterson, 18 June 1841 in Paterson family, Papers 1837-1922, Acc. 3103A.
60 Margaret Paterson to Nicol Paterson, 21 May 1845 in Paterson family, Papers 1837-1922, Acc. 3103A.
61 Elizabeth Adam to John Adam, 18 August 1837 in Adam, Letters 1836-1848, Acc. 2681A.
62 Elizabeth Adam to John Adam, 5 August 1838 in Adam, Letters 1836-1848, Acc. 2681A.
63 Hutchinson, Iron In Our Blood, p. 56.
1859, after living in Melbourne,\textsuperscript{64} James Ramsay's written instruction from his minister serves as an important example of ministerial advice given beyond the basic testimonial. James Ramsay's uncle, William Cunningham, moved to Western Australia in 1842 and he too may have brought with him advice from their local minister but James' alone survived.\textsuperscript{65} After pleasantries for Ramsay's trip the minister, unnamed, wrote a lengthy passage on faith:

\begin{quote}
Permit me just to impress upon you, the great importance of seeking in all things the guidance of God. Do not forget in a foreign land the lesson of piety you have learned in Scotland. Let your Bible be your daily study, and prayer for God's blessing your daily habit, and you will find in these exercised a pleasure and experience a peace which riches cannot bestow - which the world can neither give nor take away...Remember also the Sabbath day by sea and land.\textsuperscript{66}
\end{quote}

Though he could not join James Ramsay on the journey to Australia, this minister sought to impress on his parishioner an influence and guidance that would serve him in the colonies. The above quotation in fact reads like advice given by the Fergusons to their children. As illustrated in discussion of Scottish correspondence, such religious advice is also similar in letters written to John Adam and Nicol Paterson by their mothers.

Bibles and religious books were integral to two Scottish family lives in Western Australia, serving as guides for maintaining Presbyterian faith in the colony without direction from Presbyterian ministers. The two families are the John Fergusons and the William Forrests, both arriving in Western Australia on the \textit{Trusty} in 1842, the Forrests as servants to the Fergusons. For these families, Scottish bibles and church books (texts including advice for teaching

\textsuperscript{64} Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians volume 1, A-C}, p. 2568.

\textsuperscript{65} Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians volume 1, A-C}, p. 2569.

\textsuperscript{66} Letter in Ramsay family, \textit{Papers, 1840-1930}, BLWAH Private Archives, Perth, Acc. 952/5A.
religious studies to children, sermon collections and guides to living piously) provided continuity with the Presbyterian ministry they knew in Scotland. No doubt other Scottish families would have used Scottish religious records and texts in the home, but this can only be documented in relation to the Fergusons and Forrests.

John and Isabella Ferguson stressed the importance of reading the bible in their family and seeking guidance from Scottish Free Church books. Religious issues dominate a number of Isabella's letters to family in Scotland and to her children being educated there at different periods of her life. John Ferguson's brother, Donald, a Free Church minister at Kilmadock, and Isabella's sister, Anne Ogilvie, were probably both instrumental in providing the family with religious books prior to their departure. Correspondence indicates Isabella may have asked her family in Dundee to send texts, while Reverend Donald Ferguson passed on books to be included in boxes to the colony. In 1845 Isabella's sister, Ann Ogilvie, sent a box to the colony containing, along with tartan clothing for the eldest Ferguson children, religious books. These included *Life in Earnest* passed on from Reverend James Carment, Isabella's brother-in-law, and *Chambers Miscellany* from Reverend Donald Ferguson. At times when Isabella felt at a loss in not hearing a Scottish sermon or feared a loss of religious identity, she referred to her religious texts for comfort and guidance. In 1849 she wrote to her sister, Anne, expressing a longing for a Scottish ministry. She told of reading 'Mr McCheynes book', recognising his sermons and expecting to take 'both pleasure and profit from reading them'. Reverend McCheyne had been the Free Church minister at Dundee when Isabella and John Ferguson lived

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68 Ibid, pp. 43-44.
there. After his death in 1843, his published sermons were sent to Isabella in Western Australia.\textsuperscript{70} On a trip back to Scotland in the 1850s, Isabella even secured a book entitled \textit{Ministering Children} to take back to Western Australia.\textsuperscript{71} Through such texts the Fergusons were able to maintain their faith in the colony.

Most likely the Fergusons brought a family bible from Scotland, but one bible may not have been enough for Isabella Ferguson who delighted in bringing religious texts back from her travels. In January 1857, writing from Edinburgh to her husband John who remained in Western Australia, Isabella took pleasure in telling him: ‘I bought you today a delightful large print Testament quite a common copy at the Bible Repository. I am sure you will like it’.\textsuperscript{72} Unlike less wealthy Scots in Western Australia, the Fergusons could travel to Scotland to update their religious collections and find out about the latest in ministerial teachings.

Regular reading of the bible was stressed within the Ferguson family. Just as they pursued Scottish educations for their children, the Fergusons also desired to imprint a strong Scottish Evangelical faith on their children. As followers of the Free Church of Scotland, the Fergusons were aware of the emphasis placed on the bible by Evangelicalism\textsuperscript{73} within the structure of the church and followed this approach throughout their lives. As Margaret Kiddle writes of Scots in the Western District of Victoria, ‘Bible proverbs and maxims

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{70} Joske, \textit{Dearest Isabella}, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{73} Lynch, \textit{The Oxford Companion to Scottish History}, p. 516.
had been the basis of parental teaching of the Scots’. Indeed, Isabella’s purchase of a large print testament indicates their emphasis on the bible and seeking newer editions to keep up-to-date. In a letter to his son, John, in 1856, John Ferguson Senior advised him to ‘never forget to read your Bible & to pray at least every morning & evening’. When Isabella later saw her son on a visit to Scotland, she informed her husband she did not think their son had ‘given up his early habit of reading his Bible’.

William and Margaret Forrest, servants on the Trusty bound for the Swan River in 1842, took barely any possessions with them when leaving Scotland, bar their Presbyterian family bible. This bible served as a family record of their lives in Western Australia, detailing in the Family Register section of the bible, births, deaths and marriages. While it is not clear if the bible was Church of Scotland or Free Church, it did provide them with a Presbyterian text they could consult in the colony. As Kiddle argues, Scots in Australia knew the Bible well, particularly the Old Testament, a text favoured by the Fergusons, and it was ‘with them every day of the week’. Margaret Forrest apparently read this bible regularly to her children at their home in Bunbury. The family register within the bible served as a family record for future generations and its presence makes William and Margaret’s religious background apparent.

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74 Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, p. 502.
75 Joske, Dearest Isabella, p. 76.
76 Ibid, p. 114.
77 Forrest family, Family Bible, Acc. 967A
78 Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, p. 502.
79 Crowley, Big John Forrest, p. 3.
Isabella Ferguson and Margaret Forrest illustrate the important role of women within the home in maintaining Presbyterian religious identity. Confined to activities in the home, as women in Australia generally were in the nineteenth century, these two Scottish women took charge of the religious education of their children. Isabella Ferguson’s letters provide particular insights into her role in the home providing religious guidance.

John Adam, Nicol Paterson, the Ferguson family, William and Margaret Forrest and the Ramsays all travelled to Western Australia with church records that would influence their lives in the colony and enable them to maintain their Scottish faith in a predominantly Anglican colony. These records - testimonials, written advice, bibles and religious books - show ministerial influence exerted without the physical presence of a Church of Scotland or Free Church minister. When these Scottish migrants felt a loss of religious identity in the colony they could turn to their religious records and texts, as Isabella Ferguson did, and take solace in the familiarity of the religious life they knew in Scotland. Until Westralian Scots could become part of a Presbyterian congregation they maintained their Presbyterian faith in their private lives.

Presbyterians in Western Australia adapted their religion to circumstances in the colony that rendered them virtually ignored by the Church of Scotland and the governments in London and Western Australia. As Frank Crowley argues, Presbyterians in the colonies of Australia were, 'ill-served by their church and their pastors'.80 Reverend Lang in New South Wales blamed this on the lack of missionary spirit within the Church of Scotland.81 In large part

it was due to the Church of Scotland's emphasis that Scots in the colony should be responsible for raising money for church buildings and the upkeep of ministers.\textsuperscript{82} Scots also showed a tendency to look to central authorities for grants but to little avail.\textsuperscript{83} Nowhere was this more evident than in the Swan River colony.

Evidence exists to suggest a number of Scots adapted to their circumstances in Western Australia and became actively involved in Anglican churches scattered through the main regions of the colony. This was true also of Scots in South Australia in the 1830s and 1840s worshipping in the Anglican Church if not conducting private worship in their homes.\textsuperscript{84} Throughout his life in the York district, Walkinshaw Cowan attended Anglican services and offered his assistance in the up-keep of the church.\textsuperscript{85} Scots in the Wellington and Sussex districts also became increasingly involved with the local Anglican Church. According to Frank Crowley, while William Forrest was a Presbyterian by upbringing, at Bunbury 'he adapted his religion to circumstances and attended Sunday services in the nearby church of the Church of England, where he became one of the churchwardens'.\textsuperscript{86} Henry Thompson Ker and Gaven Forrest, Scots living in the Sussex region, also acted as churchwardens at St. Mary's Anglican Church in Busselton. In a church document dated 19 December 1861, Henry Ker and Gaven Forrest were both signatories in their capacity as

\textsuperscript{81} Hutchinson, \textit{Iron In Our Blood}, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{82} Scrimgeour, \textit{Some Scots Were Here}, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{85} Cowan, \textit{A Colonial Experience}, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{86} Crowley, \textit{Big John Forrest}, pp. 3-4.
An earlier church document outlining a meeting held to raise funds for a pastoral residence in July 1856 included subscriptions from both Ker and Forest and also a 'McGregor', identifiable as Daniel McGregor, a Scot married to Gaven Forrest's step-daughter, Agnes Lockhart. The registers of St. Mary's Busselton also reveal that Henry Ker, the MacGregors and Robert Lockhart baptised their children as Anglicans.

Scots acting as churchwardens and using Anglican churches for births, deaths and marriages in the York, Sussex and Wellington districts should not be taken as an exception. It is likely Scots in all the main districts of the colony were actively involved with local Anglican churches but records for the Sussex and Wellington districts exist where others do not. As Wollaston indicated in May 1848, 'Presbyterians...generally attend my Church'. Bishop Short on a visit to Albany wrote, 'within the walls of our Zion were seen sitting together Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, English, Scotch, Irish, American worshipping together with brotherly love'. Short's comments may be a little too enthusiastic, given Wollaston writes that same year of 'a strong anti-episcopal feeling' in the colony. Short's comments must also be placed in the context that at the time only one church existed in Albany. Scots in Western Australia were willing to adapt to circumstances and attend Anglican services in recognition that the Sabbath Day should be observed. They also used Anglican

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87 Internment funds document, 19 December 1861 in Church of England, Registers, 1830-1886, BLWAH microform, Perth, Acc. 1345A.
88 Details of meeting to procure funds to purchase residence for pastor, 24 July 1856 in Church of England, Registers, 1830-1886, Acc. 1345A.
89 'Baptisms in the District of Sussex' in Church of England, Registers, 1830-1886, Acc. 1345A.
91 Ibid, p. 73.
churches to baptise their children. Scots like Henry Ker, Agnes and Daniel MacGregor and Robert Lockhart shared with other migrants a view of the church as 'the appropriate place to affirm a change in social status - birth, death, marriage'.

In the 1840s, Scottish individuals were also involved with the Wesleyan Church in Perth. In January 1841 Peter Ambrose, Walter Boyd Andrews, Francis Armstrong (and his English-born brothers), Walkinshaw Cowan and James Drummond were among a large number of colonists listed as providing funds towards the Perth Wesleyan Chapel. In 1841 John Smithies, a Wesleyan missionary, established a Wesleyan church in Perth along with his pastor, Henry Trigg. After a theological dispute in 1843, Trigg, a moderate Calvinist, left the Smithies congregation and established his own, becoming the Perth Independent Church. As Stuart Bonnington writes, 'For nearly the next forty years this congregation was to be the home for many of Perth's Presbyterians'. Scots on the 1841 subscription list may have followed Trigg and formed part of the Independent Church. At East Perth Cemetery a number of Scots arriving in the 1850s are buried in the Independent Church section. It is important to note that in 1863 Reverend James Innes was listed in The Government Gazette as an Independent Church minister, the same Reverend Innes who later established the first Presbyterian congregation at Toodyay. The Independent Church, more than the Church of England, provided Scots with moderately Calvinist ministers

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93 Aveling, 'Western Australian Society the Religious Aspect (1829-1895)', p. 593.
94 The Inquirer, 6 January 1841, p. 89.
95 Bonnington, 'David Shearer,' p. 139.
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid.
that would suffice until funds and support finally created a Presbyterian congregation and church.

A number of Scottish individuals were not deterred from pursuing their Presbyterian faith outside the larger Anglican community. They may have attended Anglican services, but certain lives reveal religious plurality and show the extent to which Presbyterians used private worship to maintain their preferred faith in the colony.

In November 1837, John Dunmore Lang wrote a 'pastoral letter' during his short stay at King George's Sound on his way to New South Wales. The letter, later published in *The Government Gazette*, directed the attention of 'SCOTCH AND OTHER PRESBYTERIAN INHABITANTS OF THE COLONY OF SWAN RIVER'.

This extensive letter to the Presbyterian inhabitants of Western Australia served as a plea to make efforts to secure ecclesiastical assistance from the British government, assistance that would only be achieved if Presbyterians in the colony joined to:

form themselves into a Provisional Committee, 1st, to ascertain the number of Presbyterian inhabitants of the Colony and their general sentiments in regard to the regular dispensation of the ordinances of religion...and, 2d, to correspond with us on the subject by the earliest opportunity.

Lang proposed to correspond with the ecclesiastical authorities in Scotland and the Secretary of State (British government) to procure at least two ministers for the colony, but this appeared more a proposal than a promise.

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100 Lang, ‘Pastoral Letter’, p. 149.
While Lang's letter represents a plea for religious action, it recognised the difficulties for 'the inhabitants of a remote Colony to make the requisite arrangements for so important an object'. The small number of Scottish Presbyterians made Lang more inclined to the idea that what he proposed lay in the future, after years of settlement and adjustment. In recognition of this, Lang offered Presbyterians guidance as to how to maintain their faith without a Presbyterian congregation or church. His sentiments echo those delivered to James Ramsay, urging Presbyterians:

> to bear in mind, in this dry and parched land of your adoption, the lessons of heavenly wisdom you were doubtless taught, the examples of piety and virtue that were set before you, and the spiritual privileges you once enjoyed in the land of your nativity.

Lang encouraged Presbyterians, deprived of an institutional religion in the colony, 'to draw near the Lord God of your fathers in your family circles and in your individual capacities'. Emphasis on maintaining the Presbyterian faith in individual or family lives was further highlighted in one of the last sections of the letter:

> Be persuaded, we entreat you, to follow the praiseworthy example of Abraham, who, wherever he pitched his tent in the pastoral land of his sojourn, uniformly built an altar to the Lord, and worshipped the Lord there. Wherever the christian man, and especially the christian family, inhabiting the wilderness of the solitary place, unite in pouring out their Savour's merits and in patient expectation of his promised grace, that place is none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven.

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101 Ibid.
102 Ibid, p. 150.
103 Ibid.
104 Lang, ‘Pastoral Letter’, p. 150.
Scottish Presbyterians in Western Australia may not have formed a Provisional Committee in 1837-38, but they followed Lang's request to follow their faith wherever they could, as individuals and families. Quite prophetically, Scots moulded their faith around the final remarks in Lang's letter, until they had the numbers to form a Presbyterian Committee and foresee achieving the establishment of Presbyterian churches in the colony. In August 1836, Robert Stewart already espoused the same views as Lang in a letter to his father in which he wrote, 'We can observe the Sabbath here as well as in a temple with our Bibles under the shade of a Tree'.

Why Lang's plea to Presbyterian inhabitants to form a Committee largely failed before the middle of the nineteenth century lay in the timing of his pastoral letter. In late 1837 important Presbyterian individuals and families such as the MacPhersons, Muirs, Moirs, Fergusons, Sinclairs and Ewen Mackintosh, to name a few, were not yet resident in the colony. These individuals and their families were later instrumental in furthering the Presbyterian religion in Western Australia and the formation of small Presbyterian communities. Just as scattered bush populations caused problems for the Presbyterian Church in Port Phillip in the 1840s, so too did the scattering of Presbyterians in Western Australia present obstacles.

Journal entries written by Anglican Reverend John Ramsden Wollaston reveal the extent to which a number of Plantagenet Scots maintained their Presbyterian faith and outlook in small groups in Albany and the surrounding region. Wollaston in fact detected a 'strong anti-episcopal feeling', and though he

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hoped to encourage the inhabitants of Albany to attend Anglican services more frequently, one individual, unnamed, did not wish to conform, described by the Reverend as, ‘a hard Presbyterian, or a sceptic’.\textsuperscript{107} Wollaston was prone to falling out of favour with settlers, Scottish individuals in particular. At Albany he was particularly critical of Patrick Taylor, a Scot he visited in August 1848. He found Taylor pleading he was not well enough to attend church, to which Wollaston wrote: ‘although he goes about his garden and works a great deal in the house, having no servant’.\textsuperscript{108} This may have been only one incident prompting Wollaston to criticise Taylor. Earlier relations between the two indicate that their relationship was a close one but one that incited debate on church matters. In a journal entry for 22 June 1843 Wollaston describes Taylor as ‘a great favourite with me. I wish there were more in the colony of similar conscientious principles’.\textsuperscript{109} It seems Wollaston came to know Taylor while the Taylor family spent time in the Bunbury/Busselton region. The two did, however, ‘differ slightly on one or two points respecting Church doctrines’\textsuperscript{110} showing Taylor’s adherence and defence of Presbyterian doctrine in the colony.

Wollaston did not enjoy such a friendly relationship with all Presbyterians in the colony. In July 1843, while at Bunbury, Wollaston wrote of hardly ever visiting John and Helen Scott’s farm. According to Wollaston they were ‘Presbyterians of the worst sort’.\textsuperscript{111} Just what he means by ‘worst sort’ is not clear but it seems there had been some sort of falling out with Wollaston.

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\textsuperscript{107} Burton, \textit{Wollaston’s Albany Journals}, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{109} Geoffrey Bolton, Heather Vose and Allen Watson with Suzanne Lewis (eds) \textit{The Wollaston Journals Volume 2 1842 – 1844}, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 1992, p. 118. This text is a more recent addition of the Wollaston journals and should be consulted along with the Burton volumes.
\end{flushright}
recording ‘many little snubs we have had to put up with from that quarter’.\footnote{Ibid, p. 144.}

Perhaps the Scotts had openly challenged Wollaston on church matters. Wollaston even describes Helen Scott as having a foul mouth and draws comparisons between the Scotts and common people out of their place in the colony. Certainly if the Scotts had challenged Wollaston he would not have taken to it as well as he did with Taylor for, while Taylor arrived as a gentleman, the Scotts migrated to the colony as servants.

Poor attendance at the Anglican Church in Albany seems to have been another annoyance met by Wollaston in his dealings with Scottish Presbyterians. In December 1850, Wollaston went to George and Grace Cheyne's farm outside Albany at Cape Riche. As Wollaston writes:

\begin{quote}
I was received with the most hearty hospitality. I found all here, except an American blacksmith, were by education Presbyterians... desirous to avail themselves of my ministrations; the Lord's Supper excepted, for which they expressed themselves (the common and inadmissible excuse) unprepared.\footnote{Bolton et al, The Wollaston Journals Volume 2 1842 – 1844, p. 113.}
\end{quote}

From the eighteenth century in Scotland, the Lord's Supper increasingly became associated with rule by bishops and was in turn excluded in Presbyterian services.\footnote{Ibid, p. 143.} Wollaston's description of the Presbyterians desiring to attend services but withholding on account of the Lord's Supper, a 'common and inadmissible excuse', suggests Scots may have attended Anglican services but exempted themselves from certain rituals. Anti-episcopal sentiment, expressed in scepticism of the Anglican Church in the colony, often kept Scots from attending Confirmations, as Wollaston reflects in a passage detailing his contact
with a Scottish shepherd while in the northern regions of the colony. Wollaston, having prepared the 'daughter of a Scotch shepherd' for Confirmation decided to seek her father's approval and was met with the strong reply, 'O no, I see no use on that; I know nothing about Bishops'.\textsuperscript{115} The shepherd here is most likely John MacPherson of Toodyay, known to have been a strict Presbyterian.\textsuperscript{116} Like Scottish Presbyterians in Albany, John MacPherson and other Scots in the Toodyay region felt compelled to maintain their faith outside the larger Anglican community.

The Presbyterians Wollaston wrote of at Cape Riche in 1850 included the Cheynes and members of the Muir and Moir families. While not all members of the Muir and Moir families still resided with the Cheynes, it is likely that they met at Cape Riche on a Sunday to read and talk about Presbyterian issues and preachings. Identified as 'by education Presbyterians' implies Wollaston discussed their background and they were keen to express their Presbyterian faith. While we can not determine for certain if any other Plantagenet Scots met with the Fifeshire families at Cape Riche for religious purposes, it is very possible Patrick Taylor joined the families, along with Thomas Lyell Symers, close associate and friend of the Cheynes, and himself the son of a Scottish minister.\textsuperscript{117}

Some Scots chose to attend Anglican services, but it was never a pursuit that met with whole-hearted affection. In 1849 Isabella Ferguson wrote to her sister, 'were it not for example's sake, I should seldom go to hear Mr

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
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\item Lynch, \textit{The Oxford Companion to Scottish History}, p. 513.
\item Burton, \textit{Wollaston's Albany Journals}, p. 21.
\item Erickson, \textit{Old Toodyay and Newcastle}, p. 111.
\item Glover, 'Captain Symers at Albany,' p. 74.
\end{enumerate}
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It is not clear for whom Isabella is setting an example. To an extent it would have been for her children, but most likely attending church represented a duty she saw fit to uphold within the community.

Scottish Presbyterians in the Toodyay and Victoria Plains region of the colony were quite vocal and organised in maintaining their faith in Western Australia. Though they are not completely responsible for the establishment of a Presbyterian ministry and churches in the colony, their efforts were considerable. By the middle of the nineteenth century a Presbyterian Committee formed in Toodyay, including members such as the Drummonds, Ewen MacKintosh and most likely the MacPherson families. Though all members are not recorded, it is also likely the Sinclair and Glass families were involved in the committee. In 1868, James Drummond, Jr., took up the Presbyterian cause of his recently deceased father and petitioned the governor of Western Australia for funds to secure 'the services of a clergyman to minister the presbyterian inhabitants of this district'. Though the exact nature of funding given, if any, remains unknown, by January the following year, Reverend James M. Innes set up a Free Church congregation at Toodyay. Innes originally came to the colony as an Independent minister, but pressure from the Toodyay Presbyterians led him to form a Presbyterian ministry at Newcastle. Presbyterians in the Toodyay district, the first Scottish settlers, thus brought about the first Presbyterian ministry in Western Australia.

118 Joske, Dearest Isabella, p. 54.
119 Ibid, p. 213.
120 James Drummond Junior to Colonial Secretary, 12 October 1868, CSR 613/64.
121 Ministers 'registered for the celebration of Marriages in Western Australia' in Western Australian Government Gazette, 19 January 1869, p. 13.
Toodyay Scots also formed one of the first Sabbath Schools known in the colony and certainly in the Toodyay region. In January 1869, *The Inquirer and Commercial News* included in its local news an article on the establishment of two new Sabbath Schools, one in particular at ‘Glendearg’.\(^{123}\) As ‘Glendearg’ was the property of Ewen MacKintosh, its Presbyterian origins are obvious. The fact MacKintosh was willing to open his home for the purposes of a Sabbath School (Sunday School) is testament to his dedication to the Presbyterian ministry at Toodyay. James and Mary Sinclair were also known to have run a Sunday School out of their home at ‘Dumbarton’ in Toodyay at the same time as MacKintosh.\(^{124}\) Not content with a Presbyterian ministry alone, Scots in Toodyay also recognised the importance of teaching bible studies and sermons to young children. These Scots knew the important connection made in churches in Scotland between religion and education. They shared this emphasis on Sabbath Schools with other Scots in Port Phillip (Victoria). According to Cliff Cumming, Scots saw the value of encouraging children from other denominations to enter their schools. In some remote bush areas, Scottish settlers were alone in providing many children with a formal education.\(^{125}\)

Though only a few examples, these Scottish lives in Albany and Toodyay suggest what remains elusive in past records. Toodyay Presbyterians like John MacPherson voiced their anti-episcopal feelings while joining with other Scots to form a Presbyterian Committee to instigate the first Presbyterian ministry in the colony. As a small Presbyterian community, Toodyay Scots maintained their faith

\(^{122}\) Registered ministers in *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 20 January 1863, p. 13.

\(^{123}\) ‘Newcastle: From our own Correspondent’ in *The Inquirer*, 6 January 1869.

\(^{124}\) Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, p. 147.

and eventually witnessed the establishment of a congregation and Sabbath Schools. Reverend Lang's advice to 'draw near to the Lord God... in your family circles and in your individual capacities', is identifiable in remnants of religious life left in records of Toodyay and Albany.

These small Presbyterian communities in the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts share much in common with similar communities in South Australia and the Western District of Victoria. Just as Scottish Presbyterians came together on the Cheyne property near Albany, Scots spent their Sundays in the Western District of Victoria reading prayers and singing hymns on homesteads such as Niel Black's 'Glenmoriston'. In rural South Australia, Scots met at the home of John Byers for worship before the erection of a Presbyterian Church. Presbyterian Committees existed from the 1840s in the Western District and in South Australia and like Toodyay Scots were instrumental in bringing Presbyterian ministers to rural districts. On 10 July 1846 a gathering of Scottish men from Inverbrackie, South Australia met to discuss the building of a church for Scottish Presbyterians and establish a committee with the task of securing a minister for the region. The following year in the Western District of Victoria Niel Black and seven other Scottish Presbyterians began meeting at ‘Davidson's Inn’ and ‘Clyde Inn’ to raise funds for a minister through pressure and fund-raising by their Committee. These Presbyterian groups in South Australia and Victoria are an important part of understanding the origins of Presbyterianism in Australia, as too are the Plantagenet and Toodyay groups.

127 Scrimgeour, *Some Scots Were Here*, p. 64.
The main difference is the Western Australian groups are of major importance in identifying Presbyterian identities existing in the Swan River colony before the establishment of Presbyterian ministries. Presbyterian groups in rural South Australia and Victoria existed to secure ministers and churches in rural areas after the establishment of churches in the major towns of the colonies from the 1830s. Scots in the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts, also rural areas, formed groups to maintain their identity as a response to the existence of no Presbyterian Churches. They were the first groups to push for establishing Presbyterianism in Western Australia.

A Presbyterian Leadership

The arrival of Reverend David Shearer in Western Australia in 1879 marks a turning point in the lives of Scottish Presbyterians in the colony. Unfortunately, a number of Scots did not live to witness his arrival nor the erection of the first Presbyterian Church in 1882. John Adam, James Drummond, William Ramsay, Nicol Paterson, Patrick Taylor, Elizabeth Moir, Andrew Muir, Mary Forrest and Mary Young all died before 1879 and Ewen Mackintosh died a year before Shearer's arrival.\(^\text{130}\) Henry Ker and Gaven Forrest both died in the 1860s, Forrest in 1863 and Ker in 1865.\(^\text{131}\) Nevertheless, as Bonnington argues, in 1879 Presbyterians finally received 'the leadership they required for their belated entrance into Western Australian society'.\(^\text{132}\) In his first sermon,

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\(^{129}\) Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday*, pp. 100, 300.


\(^{131}\) ‘Burials at St. Mary's Busselton’ in Church of England, *Registers, 1830-1886*, Acc. 1345A; headstone inscription for Henry Thompson Ker, Busselton Pioneer Cemetery.

\(^{132}\) Bonnington, ‘David Shearer,’ p. 144.
Reverend Shearer indicated that he did not know why it had taken so long to establish Presbyterianism in Western Australia stating, '[t]he only regret in regard to this colony is that operations have not been commenced earlier'.

In 1879, there were still a number of Presbyterians in the colony from the Scots arriving before the end of 1850. By this time their numbers were depleted, but younger sons and daughters of Scottish parents were now themselves adults with their own families. While it is impossible to ascertain exactly who attended Shearer’s first sermons, it is likely a number of Scots returned to the Presbyterian Church of their upbringing after years attending Anglican services. In other colonial settlements it was common for Scots to leave established churches once a Presbyterian ministry was created. When a Presbyterian minister arrived in the Red River Settlement (British North America) in 1851, ‘Scots left the English Church in a body, to the number of over three hundred, to place themselves under his ministry’. In Western Australia Shearer’s first sermon was attended by '[a] fairly numerous congregation’, at the opening of the Presbyterian Church in August 1882.

In his first sermon, Shearer made it plain he was targeting Presbyterians who were in the colony for many years without a formal church. At the end of his sermon, he states:

> there are many persons in the colony who were formerly members or adherents of the Presbyterian Church. It is the Church of their fathers and the Church of their youth; and the Presbyterian Church regards it as her duty to follow these

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133 Sermon reproduced in full as ‘The Rev. D. Shearer’ in *The Inquirer*, 22 October 1879.
135 ‘New Presbyterian Minister’ in *Western Australian Times*, 14 October 1879.
persons and their families with the means of grace wherever they become settlers.\textsuperscript{136} John Maxwell Ferguson presents an interesting example of the Scots Shearer refers to. John Ferguson arrived in Western Australia in 1842 as an infant with his parents John and Isabella, having turned one year old only months before arriving in the colony.\textsuperscript{137} John Ferguson later spent his formative years in Scotland, first in education and then at a young age joined the Merchant Navy, before returning permanently to Western Australia in 1867.\textsuperscript{138} While his mother, Isabella, regularly attended Anglican services as did his younger siblings, John M. Ferguson publicly reclaimed his Presbyterian faith in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1871 Ferguson married an Irishwoman, Susan Finnerty, at Perth, most likely by the rites of the Church of England.\textsuperscript{139} But when he re-married in April 1891, this time to a Scottish cousin, Grace Ferguson, the ceremony took place at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Perth.\textsuperscript{140} In 1897, the Fergusons baptised their daughter, Grace, at Scots Church, Fremantle, the ceremony conducted by Reverend D. Ross.\textsuperscript{141} In later life John Ferguson was, according to Prue Joske, 'a generous contributor to Presbyterian causes', including the Presbyterian Church in Mt Lawley and Scotch College.\textsuperscript{142} When opportunities arose, John Ferguson attended Presbyterian churches, provided

\textsuperscript{136} Sermon in \textit{The Inquirer}, 22 October 1879.

\textsuperscript{137} Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 2, D-J}, p. 1035.

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid; Joske, \textit{Dearest Isabella}, pp. 69-70, 143, 149.

\textsuperscript{139} Erickson, \textit{Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 2, D-J}, p. 1035.


\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Baptismal Roll of Scots Presbyterian Church Fremantle Western Australia 1887-1923}, transcribed by Rosalie Raine, Raine Educational & Research Services, Bibra Lake, 2002, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{142} Joske, pp. 2-3, 209. A recent fund has been established at Scotch College and honours John Maxwell Ferguson as a key benefactor in the College’s history. See ‘John Maxwell Ferguson Fund’, Scotch College home page, viewed 3 May 2004, <http://www.scotch.wa.edu.au>
funds to Presbyterian causes and brought his children up in recognition of a Presbyterian faith.

Simon Reginald Dempster represents another example of an individual returning to the Presbyterian Church of their heritage. In an entry of the baptismal roll for 21 July 1912, Simon Dempster is listed as the parent of Muriel West Dempster, christened at Scots Church Fremantle by Presbyterian minister Reverend R. Hanlin.143 Born in Northam in 1875 to Andrew and Mary Dempster, Simon Dempster’s grandfather was Scottish-born James Dempster.144 Simon Dempster’s parents married in the Anglican Church in Northam, but in 1912 he chose to return to his grandfather’s Presbyterian background and christen his daughter at Scots Church, Fremantle. His residence at the time is listed as ‘Muresh (sic)’,145 ‘Muresk’ as it is correctly known, a Dempster family property in Northam. Though Simon Dempster could have christened his daughter at the Anglican Church in Northam, he appears to have travelled to Fremantle or used a visit to Fremantle as an opportunity to have the christening in a Presbyterian Church.146 Given that it took the Dempsters over six months to christen their daughter, Muriel, this may indicate they waited for a planned trip to Fremantle.

The Dempster family were almost certainly aware of James Dempster Senior’s Presbyterian faith, especially with his Scottish sister, her husband and brother-in-law all at one time residing at the family home in Northam. James Dempster did not die until 1890 and may even have attended services at Scots Church. Both John M. Ferguson and Simon Dempster returned to the

143 Baptismal Roll of Scots Presbyterian Church Fremantle, p. 35.
144 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 2, D-J, pp. 813, 815.
145 Baptismal Roll of Scots Presbyterian Church Fremantle, p. 35.
146 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 2, D-J, p. 813.
Presbyterian faith of their heritage, and are examples of what may have been a similar pattern of other first Scottish migrants or Western Australian-born family members.

Presbyterians in Western Australia waited until 1869 for their first Presbyterian congregation and another ten years for the arrival of a formal Presbyterian minister to establish Presbyterian churches and congregations throughout the colony. This delay placed Scottish adherents far behind their compatriots in the other Australian colonies. Scottish Presbyterians in the eastern Australian colonies could look to practical assistance from trained personnel in maintaining their identity. In Western Australia texts and bibles took on greater significance as did forming small Presbyterian communities. The small numbers of Westralian Scots attracted little attention from Presbyterian missionaries or the church establishment back in Scotland. Attention was first and foremost directed to New South Wales, Victoria and later South Australia, colonies where Scots accounted for a higher proportion of the white population. The small numbers of Scots in Western Australia accentuated the problem of bringing Presbyterians together as a representative church body. This was a problem faced in Port Phillip in the 1840s, but in Western Australia Scots were fewer and scattered over a larger area. Scots in the Toodyay and Plantagenet districts might have brought about more changes earlier had these two regions not been so vastly separated geographically. The willingness of Scots to attend Anglican services may have also postponed the introduction of Presbyterianism.

Presbyterians in the Swan River colony did not merely assimilate into the larger Anglican community. In their personal lives, Scots were determined to keep a connection with their religious life in Scotland. As Mark Hutchinson
writes, 'To the Scots, Presbyterianism was their national religion'. Scottish migrants brought with them religious records, texts and ministerial advice, items in their baggage helping to maintain continuity in their religious identity. Isabella Ferguson's religious texts regularly sent to her from Scotland reveals the importance of private worship for Scottish Presbyterians. Although William Forrest acted as a churchwarden in the Anglican Church throughout his life, in the Forrest family home Margaret is known to have read to the family in the evenings from the Family Bible, a bible they brought from Scotland and possibly Presbyterian. Small Presbyterian communities in the Toodyay and Plantagenet districts brought together Scottish Presbyterians able to share their private worship. If they could not receive institutional support, small religious communities helped to fill this void.

Understanding Scottish religious identity in Western Australia before the 1860s involves going beyond institutional identity to look at personal and group identities formed without a formal church or ministry. It is testament to the religious identity of the first Scottish migrants that traces of Presbyterianism in Western Australia can be traced at all before Innes' 1869 congregation at Newcastle. Their ability to maintain a Presbyterian identity in their private lives and in small groups is also testament to the importance of religion in Scotland in the nineteenth century. As Margaret Kiddle writes, especially in the Lowlands, 'life was guided by a simple and enduring faith and religion was the very centre of being'. In Western Australia Scottish Presbyterians lacked leadership, not faith or belief in the importance of a Presbyterian religious identity.

148 Hutchinson, Iron In Our Blood, p. 64.
149 Crowley, Big John Forrest, p. 3.
Given opportunities in the colony to assert their national religion, Scots proudly identified with their Presbyterian background and formed religious communities based on this common identity. Parallels can be made with Irish Catholics in southwest New South Wales. As Malcolm Campbell argues, the family represented an important part of cultural continuity for Irish Catholics in maintaining their faith and forming communities.151 In Western Australia, the family was an important sphere for Scots seeking to maintain their Presbyterian identity. Small religious communities formed in the colony were based on family ties and the ties between families in the regions, especially the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts. Like the Irish Catholics in all of the Australian colonies, maintaining a distinct religious identity was a migrant response to an imposing Anglican hegemony.


151 Campbell, *Kingdom of the Ryans*, p. 121.
Chapter 6:

Scottish Correspondence

Reconstructing Scottish migrant lives in Western Australia is above all reliant upon the records pertaining to particular individuals. What is lacking in most lives are personal migrant experiences, personal reflections on life in Western Australia and being Scottish in a predominantly English colony. Understanding personal elements within Scottish migrant lives depends to a great extent on private correspondence, letters or diaries. Emigrant letters are most important in 'documenting the experience of emigration' and conveying what individuals thought of their position and prospects in a new country.¹ As Patrick O'Farrell argues, 'private letters home are of unequalled historical value: they are authentic, immediate and particularly oriented to the possibility of revealing the central concerns of the migrant condition'.² Emigrant letters can also include letters from family and friends, and the value of these is that they provide important insights about a migrant's background and show how emigration affected those left behind. Diaries, though different in nature to letters, can also provide insights into 'the precise situation in which the emigrants found themselves'.³ As they were written on a regular basis they can reveal extensive day-to-day experiences. Together, letters and diaries reveal what is lacking from other records of migrant lives: intimate migrant voices and personal experiences.

³ Andrew Hassam, Sailing to Australia: Shipboard Diaries by Nineteenth-Century British Emigrants, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1994, p. 44.
Letters and diaries relating to Westralian Scots are unfortunately few, and even where an individual's movements from Scotland to Western Australia have been reconstructed, what is invariably lacking is the personal voice of migration and settlement. This is especially the case in the lives of working-class and female Scots. Aside from Isabella Ferguson's correspondence, the basis of Prue Joske's *Dearest Isabella: The life and letters of Isabella Ferguson 1819-1910,* correspondence written by Scottish women in Western Australia before 1850 has not survived. According to Andrew Hassam occupation, mobility and family circumstances account for the lack of material written by working-class women. Prue Joske's subject, Isabella Ferguson, was a middle-class Scottish woman. There is a similar dearth of working-class correspondence. As Richard Broome argues, it is difficult to know how many working-class immigrants sent letters home; if they were only partially literate, some did not have the confidence to write letters. Recent research on British and Irish migrants accounts for some working-class lives. David Fitzpatrick's *Ocean of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* is a valuable collection of ordinary Irish lives as portrayed in correspondence. Fitzpatrick endeavoured to ignore the vast majority of surviving letters and focus on 'the forgotten vernacular of the steerage classes'. With few Scottish letters and diaries remaining for Scots in Western Australia, I am not able to be as selective. Scottish correspondence cited here was predominantly written by middle-class males.

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4 Joske, *Dearest Isabella: The life and letters of Isabella Ferguson 1819-1910.* The lack of female letters and diaries is also due in large part to chance survival of family records.

5 Quoted in Gothard, *Blue China,* p. 6.

6 Broome, *The Victorians: Arriving,* p. 46.

7 Fitzpatrick, *Ocean of Consolation,* p. 29.

Like Fitzpatrick's 'unrepresentative non-sample', so too this study is a collection of individual representations of settlement from Scottish perspectives. The middle-class bias of surviving Scottish correspondence is keenly apparent. Even where letters received from family and friends include female writers, all are also from middle-class or lower middle-class backgrounds. As Jan Gothard argues, '[l]etters and personal reminiscences are invaluable to the historian of migration but there is little doubt about their class and gender bias'.

The thirty-six letters written by Alexander Collie, Robert Stewart and Andrew Stirling to family in Scotland provide insights into leaving Scotland, initial responses to the colony on arrival and settlement experiences. These letters, written between 1828-1841, are valuable sources for understanding settlement from a Scottish perspective. The letters of Collie and Stewart are especially important in conveying personal opinions about being Scottish in a predominantly English colony. There is the argument, raised recently by Marjory Harper, that 'the most assiduous letter writers were the unassimilated and lonely, who longed for news from home'. Robert Stewart and Alexander Collie fit this image to an extent as both were lonely on arrival and longed most for news from home. But their letters also reflect changing views on their settlement in Western Australia, especially Stewart who fills his later letters with extensive

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accounts of his life on the farm and positive accounts of living in the colony. The diary of Alexander Cheyne, written in Western Australia between 1833 and 1835, is used in relation to the experiences of Stewart, Collie and Stirling, as well as being analysed as a source alone.\textsuperscript{13} The letters written by family and friends to John Adam, James Lauder and Nicol Paterson, from 1835 to 1852, provide important background information on the recipients, largely missing in the reconstruction of their lives from other sources, particularly in the absence of letters written by the three Scottish settlers themselves.\textsuperscript{14} In the case of John Adam, the letters from the Adam family in Scotland give his life a history with personality and background. Collectively, this material reveals personal expressions of Scottish identity less accessible in more public and official records of immigration and settlement.

While the above-mentioned individuals form the basis of this study, other letters and another diary are also referred to. I have chosen to include particular letters from James Drummond’s correspondence and sections from Walkinshaw Cowan’s diary kept throughout his life in Western Australia, where they reflect similar sentiments alluded to in the correspondence of Stewart, Collie and Adam. Drummond and Cowan are already the centrepiece of works by Rica Erickson and Peter Cowan.\textsuperscript{15} It is in respect to the excellent work by Erickson and Cowan that I have not extensively quoted the correspondence again here. I have, however, included sections of their correspondence previously not emphasised in relation to Scottish identity.

\textsuperscript{13} Alexander Cheyne, \textit{Diaries, 1833-1855}, BLWAH Private Archives manuscript, Perth, Acc. 285A.

\textsuperscript{14} Adam, \textit{Letters, 1836-1848}, Acc. 2681A; Adam-Cooper-Duffield-Clark, \textit{Family Papers, 1813-1913}, Acc. 2544A; Thomas Murray to James Lauder, 27 June 1844 in Lauder, \textit{Letter June 1844}, Acc. 655A; Paterson family, \textit{Papers 1837-1922}, Acc. 3103A.

\textsuperscript{15} Erickson, \textit{The Drummonds of Hawthornden}; Cowan, \textit{A Colonial Experience}. 
Where an author is writing to family with hopes of future publication, this is indicated, as must be the case with Alexander Collie. From what can be established, aside from Collie and the material included pertaining to James Drummond, the other letters and Cheyne's diary were never published. This is not to say they were not written with hopes of being published in mind. As a number of letters from the Swan River colony were published in various newspapers in Australia and in Great Britain, some comments may have been made with this intention. Generally, Scottish correspondence reflects private opinions, especially in the case of letters received from family and friends in Scotland. Regardless of motives, the correspondence provides insights into the experiences of Scottish migrants in the first decades of colonisation and the effects migration had on family and friends left behind. Scottish correspondence is analysed here not to display uniqueness in relation to Scottish letter and diary forms or general themes of settlement. Rather the focus is highlighting personal accounts of Scots in the colony.

First Impressions of the Swan River

Descriptions of the Swan River by Scottish migrants are similar to general descriptions given by other British migrants arriving in the colony before 1850. The first colonists initially felt despair on arrival but sought to communicate a degree of pleasure at the appearance of the country once wandering around the main settlement. Scottish experiences did not entirely differ but their responses
are nonetheless important in showing reactions and descriptions made by Scottish migrants writing to family in Scotland.

Alexander Collie arrived at the Swan River colony in June 1829 aboard the Sulphur, the second ship to reach the settlement after the Parmelia took Lieutenant-Governor James Stirling to the colony. As one of the first British colonisers to land in Western Australia, Alexander Collie’s initial responses to the Swan River are of paramount importance. In August 1829 Collie wrote to his brother, George, that the ‘appearance of the country is described by every one as beautiful’, but many were disappointed in finding the ‘fertile land very narrow in extent’. In his early letters Alexander Collie is hesitant about the colony’s future. Collie reflected a general disappointment in finding the Swan River not what had been promised by agents and Colonial Office pamphlets. As Collie writes later in January 1830, there were many migrants arriving in the colony but generally leaving due to the reality being so different to the “undulating grassy plains” which they had been led to anticipate.

Collie shared and sympathised with the disappointment felt by the first arrivals from Britain and bore witness to the fluctuating infancy of the colony. As he writes to his brother, ‘there is thus every obstacle thrown in the way of the first settler, obstacles which would have been of little importance had the soil and climate near the coast been good’. In January 1831 Collie wrote of meeting settlers at Augusta who had

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16 August section included in 9 June 1829 letter to George Collie in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.

17 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 26 January 1830 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.

18 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 5 May 1832 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
done well for the short time they have been there, and they are themselves satisfied, a word that says much when one knows what losses and difficulties are so inseparable from young colonists.\textsuperscript{19}

Whereas Alexander Collie writes from what appears to be an impartial position, Robert Stewart is far more personal in writing to family of his and wife Ann's initial reactions to the settlement. In January 1836, only three months after arriving, Robert Stewart wrote two letters from his temporary lodgings in Perth, one to his brother, James, and the other to his father. In his letter to James, Robert wrote of having been housed on the 13 November 1835 in lodgings at Perth for a month or two\textsuperscript{20} and found the climate 'excellent and the air... pure and healthy when travelling though the country'.\textsuperscript{21} He did, however, write that he advised 'none to come out here until I write again as I have met with some things in the fullest satisfaction and in other things quite disappointed'.\textsuperscript{22} Robert conceded he could not 'give the place a good or a bad name' until he gave it a 'fair trial'.\textsuperscript{23} Though not entirely confident in his choice of new home, Robert is hesitantly approving in his views of the Swan River as related in this first letter to James from Western Australia.

Unlike the letter to James, Robert’s first letter to his father conveys the profound disappointment Robert and Ann Stewart felt upon arrival. Confiding in his father, Robert wrote that when they first caught sight of land at the Swan River it appeared 'very singular to us all Being entirely unlike any thing ever seen

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\textsuperscript{19} Alexander Collie to George Collie, 5 January 1831 in \textit{Letters, 1828-1835}, Acc. 333A.

\textsuperscript{20} Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 19 January 1836, Stewart, \textit{Letters 1835-1882}, Acc 1086A.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
before', 24 He goes on to write how he and Ann were 'quite dissatisfied with everything in view [and] was like to fall in despair and Repent of our Coming'. 25 However, the mood of Robert Stewart's account changed when he described landing at the Swan River and walking to Perth where he and Ann became 'Highly pleased with the appearance of the place', finding Perth to be a 'small Town with a number of Well Built Houses'. 26 Robert delighted in 'seeing plenty of Good Gardens full of all sorts of vegetables and fruits' and houses 'Built of Clay others of Bricks all thatched with rushes and other strong Grasses which stands for years'. 27 From these accounts it seems Robert and Ann Stewart's initial disappointment was overcome by closer inspection of the settlement.

The disparity between the letters written to Robert's father and brother reflects Robert Stewart's hidden motives. Robert is more honest in his description of first impressions to his father because he most likely hoped his brother would emigrate at a later point. The favourable reports given to James Stewart are written with this in mind and Stewart's encouragement to younger brother, John. While it important to value the authentic nature of letters, we must also be aware of the objectives of the letter writers and hidden agendas encouraging family to migrate. 28

A sense of home and re-affirming ties

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25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.
Creating a connection between Scotland and the foreign environment of Western Australia is a key feature of Scottish correspondence. As David Fitzpatrick writes, '[p]ersonal letters, more poignantly than any other testimony, record the struggle of the displaced to identify themselves',\textsuperscript{29} Initially unfamiliar with their Western Australian surroundings, Scottish settlers attempted to foster familiarity. They sought this through encouraging family to migrate, forming associations with other Scottish settlers, writing to those back in Scotland of their nostalgia for 'home', writing passages in Scots-English or expressing their desire to maintain their Gaelic language in the colony. Letters to Scottish settlers from Scotland also tried to maintain ties through writing of news from 'home', expressing interest in migrating and offering religious guidance. Often letters from Scotland were received along with local and national newspapers to keep Westralian Scots informed of broader news from Scotland. Links between Scotland and Western Australia were also achieved through sending and receiving of various seeds. William Sounness' sister sent out 'heads of barley, potato eyes and various other seeds' wrapped in a local Scottish newspaper for William to grow on his farm at Mount Barker.\textsuperscript{30} Alexander Collie wrote to his brother, George, in 1833 of sending a 'paper of seeds' and hoped they would 'grow luxuriantly and afford you great pleasure to look upon'.\textsuperscript{31} This, Scottish settlers shared with their English neighbours. In 1844 Eliza Brown of the York district wrote to her father of her disappointment the English seeds he had sent from Cuddesdon were not yet flourishing.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{28} Harper, \textit{Adventurers and Exiles}, p. 239.

\textsuperscript{29} Fitzpatrick, \textit{Oceans of Consolation}, p. 609.


\textsuperscript{31} Alexander Collie to George Collie, 16 January 1833 in Collie, \textit{Letters, 1828-1835}, Acc. 333A.
The correspondence of Alexander Collie and Robert Stewart reflects the uncertain nature of initial settlement in Western Australia and the hesitancy of the migrant in a foreign country. Though Collie and Stewart endeavoured to describe the colony in letters to family as it appeared on initial contact, both found comfort in seeking a semblance of home at the Swan River. For Alexander Collie this connection took the form of pride in the naming of the capital for Perth in Scotland.\footnote{Alexander Collie to George Collie, 9 June 1829 in Collie, \textit{Letters,1828-1835}, Acc. 333A.} Robert Stewart wrote initially of there being 'no heather to be seen in the Country nor anything also of this description seen at home but Ferns',\footnote{Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 19 January 1836, Stewart, \textit{Letters 1835-1882}, Acc. 1086A.} an observation unique to Scottish settlers. Robert Stewart did later find some similarity with his previous residence in the Perthshire Highlands, describing his first winter in Western Australia as 'the same weather nearly as at times in Scotland'.\footnote{Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 22 August 1836, Stewart, \textit{Letters 1835-1882}, Acc. 1086A.} English and Irish migrants also reflected on weather comparisons. In 1843 Eliza Brown declared 'the sun shows a much brighter face and sheds a more genial warmth here than in England', but for Irishman George Fletcher Moore, an 'unpleasant, windy and rainy day' reminded him of 'some of our rainy days at home'.\footnote{Cowen, \textit{A Faithful Picture the letters of Eliza and Thomas Brown at York}, p. 38; George Fletcher Moore (1884) \textit{Diary of Ten Years Eventful Life of an Early Settler in Western Australia and also A Descriptive Vocabulary of the Language of the Aborigines}, introduction by C. T Stannage, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 1978, p. 54.}

In their letters Alexander Collie and Robert Stewart both encouraged family members to emigrate to Western Australia. In March 1831 Alexander Collie wrote to George to tell his other brother, James, 'as soon as I see that he...
or they can benefit by leaving the land of his ancestors, I will give him notice'.

Collie's encouragement to his brother was possibly complemented by James Collie's own interest. Alexander Collie planned to later 'say something of farming in N. Holland', possibly responding to a request from James who was a farmer in Insch, Aberdeenshire.

Robert Stewart was more fervent in his attempts to encourage his brother, John, to emigrate. In August 1836 Robert wrote to his father that 'if John have not got settled, I would advise him to Prepare to come out without delay as I have no doubt but a steady young man will get on here'. The following November Robert wrote to his brother, James, telling of how he wrote to John in August the previous year and requested him to come out here... he had every chance of doing better here than in a country where he would squander all his property upon a daire farm and after all, could never get one acre of land he could call his own.

Robert did concede that if James was relying upon John, 'or its anyway against his own inclination, I would certainly not advise him [to come out]'. Stewart was not only concerned with encouraging John to emigrate in order to maintain family ties but attempting to further his brother's lot in life. By 1840 Robert Stewart was finding success in the colony with 'the Prospect of doing Still better'

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37 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 12 March 1831 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
38 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 29 April 1829 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
39 Alexander Collie's Will, 5 November 1835 in Collie, Papers, 1835-1867, BLWAH Private Archives, Acc. 393A.
40 Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 22 August 1836, Stewart, Letters 1835-1882, Acc 1086A.
41 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 1 November 1837, Stewart, Letters 1835-1882, Acc 1086A.
and celebrated never having to pay rent again.\textsuperscript{43} As he wrote to John, this was something he believed could not be achieved back in Scotland.

Correspondence also filled a void between separated family and friends through informing the migrant of events in Scotland and in their local town. Letters to John Adam from his mother, siblings and close friend, Thomas Johnston, all contain news from Elgin and the Morayshire region, while also informing John of changes within the Adam family. The same is true of correspondence to James and Ann Lauder. Thomas Murray informed the Lauders of the latest news in relation to both the Murray and Lauder families, along with the latest news from Edinburgh. In June 1844 Thomas Murray wrote to James that he had seen, 'your Father and Mother and Jane. They are all in good health and looking remarkably well'.\textsuperscript{44} Both Alexander Collie and John Adam regularly received Scottish newspapers sent to them by family members, informing them of local and national news beyond the events described in letters. In March 1831 Alexander Collie wrote of having, 'joyfully received' the Aberdeen and Edinburgh papers sent to him by his brother George.\textsuperscript{45} For the Scottish settlers, news from Scotland and their region of origin, whether in the form of correspondence or in newspapers, provided them with comfort as they sought to settle in Western Australia. John Adam’s brother explicitly reflected on the importance of sending papers with news from Scotland. James wrote to John in 1840, from his temporary residence in Glasgow, and stated that he continued to send a 'newspaper occasionally as I am sure they must be interesting to you

\textsuperscript{42} Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 22 August 1836, Stewart, \textit{Letters 1835-1882}, Acc 1086A.

\textsuperscript{43} Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 6 February 1840, Stewart, \textit{Letters 1835-1882}, Acc 1086A.

\textsuperscript{44} Thomas Murray to James Lauder in Lauder, \textit{Letter June 1844}, Acc. 655A.
as they are to me although only a short distance from home'.

Though references to home at times did not state a particular place, Scottish settlers often identified a specific locality as representative of home. For settlers like Robert Stewart and Alexander Collie, the imagery of home as a particular place in Scotland was a source of comfort. In 1837 Robert Stewart expressed deep anxiety that his family was moving from their home in Blair Athol, writing to his brother that he was, 'very much concerned to hear of my Father leaving Auchgoul... I always considered that auchgoul would be always a home for him until he was carried to his long home'. Indeed, throughout his correspondence, Robert Stewart makes various comparisons between Western Australia and Auchgoul. Migrants in Western Australia needed to define a place as home back in Britain, giving them a sense of place as they adapted to their new lives. English settler, Eliza Brown, was impressed to learn of a visit her father made to 'the Village where once was our English house'. Alexander Collie was specific in stating where home was for him in his frequent references to Aberdeen. At the same time, Collie wrote of the local and national as representing home. In 1834 Collie wrote to George asking, 'how do you all get on in auld Scotland?' and wrote of 'Scotland's shores', while also referring to 'your part of the United Kingdom' when writing to George Collie.

45 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 12 March 1831 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
46 James Adam to John Adam, 20 December 1840 in Letters, 1836-1848, Acc. 2681A.
47 Robert Stewart to James Stewart in Stewart, 1 November 1837 in Letters 1835-1882, Acc 1086A.
48 Cowan, A Faithful Picture the letters of Eliza and Thomas Brown at York, p. 35.
49 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 7 April 1834 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
50 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 26 September 1833 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
51 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 7 April 1834 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
Allusions to home relate to what David Fitzpatrick identifies in Irish correspondence as a ‘campaign for maintaining solidarity between separated brethren’. In 1838 Robert Stewart stated at the end of a letter to James that he expected to, 'hear from you by the first arrival from England with all the information necessary regarding my friends and my Native Country'. Alexander Adam developed a deeper understanding of the solidarity that came from notions of home after he left Elgin to work in Ceylon. In a letter to John Adam, Alexander stated, 'You must have heard from home...it is now some months since I heard from home'. John and Alexander Adam were by the late 1840s in the same position in their relationship to home, in that it provided a link between their distance from one another. Robert Stewart's frequent comparisons to home served to limit the distance between he and his family in Scotland. Robert Stewart wrote to his father on 22 August 1836, telling of his new residence 'situated on the Banks of the Canning River about 18 miles from where it enters the sea as close to other neighbours as Auchgoul is'. Robert Stewart also described how in July he had witnessed frosts that appeared each morning for a few days, 'such as I have seen at home in Sepr'.

Scottish letters highlight a common emphasis in migrant letters central to migrant identity: a sense of belonging. As David Fitzpatrick writes, migrant

53 Robert Stewart to James Stewart in Stewart, 1 February 1838 in Letters 1835-1882, Acc 1086A.
54 Alexander Adam to John Adam, 22 August 1848 in Adam, Letters, 1836-1848, Acc. 2685A.
55 Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 22 August 1836 in Stewart, Letters, 1836-1848, Acc 1086A.
56 Ibid.
letters are usually written during the first years of migration when ‘home’s hemisphere remained ambiguous’.\textsuperscript{57} English letters from the early years of the colony also convey this need to belong, to create a sense of place through comparing the colony to England. In 1829 John Morgan described the Swan river as ‘about the same width as the Thames at London Bridge... very much like what is at Richmond’.\textsuperscript{58}

**Relationships with other Scottish settlers**

As another tangible link to home, relationships with other Scots in the colony were emphasised in correspondence to Scotland. Robert Stewart and Andrew Stirling were able to maintain relationships with Scottish settlers they had known prior to leaving Scotland. Writing to family of forming associations with other Scots in the colony provided comfort for the letter recipients as well as the displaced setter. Certainly, this was a migrant endeavour as a whole, for George Fletcher Moore, an Irish settler, also mentioned Irish individuals in his diary, writing of 'Corporal Doherty (an Irishman to be sure)'.\textsuperscript{59}

In November 1829 Alexander Collie wrote to George Collie of a 'Mr Ferris' having arrived in the colony and 'delivered your despatches'.\textsuperscript{60} Collie went on to write, 'He seems a canny scot like the rest of us and has been very well since leaving cauld Scotland and foggy England'.\textsuperscript{61} The 'Mr Ferris' Alexander Collie

\textsuperscript{57} Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation*, p. 627.
\textsuperscript{59} Moore, *Diary of Ten Years Eventful Life of an Early Settler in Western Australia*, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{60} Alexander Collie to George Collie, 9 November 1829 in Collie, *Letters 1828-1835*, Acc. 333A.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
refers to is John Ferres who travelled to Western Australia with his wife, Janet, their daughter, Ellen, and brother, Robert, all from Aberdeen. It seems likely Alexander Collie did not personally know of the Ferres family while in Aberdeen but his brother, George, would have met John Ferres. Indeed, Alexander Collie later wrote to George of 'Ferres the advocate whom you recommended to my notice'. This suggests George Collie may have aided Alexander in encouraging Scots to emigrate or had advised John Ferres to become acquainted with Alexander Collie once in the colony. Collie continued to inform his brother in Aberdeen of the goings-on in the Ferres family, with whom he maintained a close relationship in Western Australia. In October 1830 Alexander Collie notified George of John Ferres being 'on his death bed, but of course you will say nothing of this in Aberdeen'. Then in March of the following year Collie wrote of the death of John Ferres. According to Collie, Janet Ferres and her brother-in-law retained the house and though he had 'not seen either since a little before his death,' both were, 'tolerably well off'. Collie’s relationship with the Ferres family seems to have turned sour, as indicated by a letter in 1833 in which Collie described how Janet Ferres 'begged me to advance her a little money to complete her house', to which Collie gave her £30. Janet Ferres was then found 'living some time (ever since, I believe) with another man,' to which Collie added, 'So much for charitable donations'.

Alexander Cheyne, in the diary entries during his residence in Albany in the 1830s, placed a special emphasis on his associations with other Scots. In

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62 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 31 May 1833 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
63 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 3 October 1830 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
64 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 12 March 1831 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
65 Ibid.
an entry for Wednesday, 3 December 1834, Cheyne writes of Thomas Lyell Symers' ship Caledonia arriving back in Albany from a trip to Hobart Town. Cheyne mentions 'Mr Bull nephew to Mr Bull printer Edin. & a Mr Tims passengers... the Master is also a Scotsman'. With a small population of just over a hundred in the early 1830s, it seems likely Cheyne came to know Thomas Symers more intimately. In the same entry for 3 December, Alexander Cheyne also recorded the arrival of the Gem 'from Hobart Town... Mr Douglas Master from Leith, the Gem was built in Leith'. From Cheyne's diary we can also trace the arrival of Scotsman Robert Mudie in Albany through he was later to leave the colony. Not only did Cheyne refer to the Scots travelling on the recent ship arrivals in Albany, he also gave attention to vessels built in Scotland.

Like Collie and Cheyne, Robert Stewart also related his associations with other Scots to family in correspondence. In January 1836 Stewart expressed his dejection at there being 'very few Scotsmen here'. We can contrast this with Niel Black's first impressions of Melbourne in 1839, recording in his diary that he thought it 'a Scotch colony. Two-thirds of the inhabitants are Scotch'. Robert Stewart in Western Australia was in a different situation entirely as he had to seek out Scottish individuals. Only months after arriving, Stewart wrote of having 'seen one Highland man from Inverness-shire together with McGlashen and myself being the only three in the colony that could talk Gaelic'.

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66 Cheyne, Diaries, 1833-1855, Acc. 285A.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid; Berryman, Swan River Letters, p. 275.
69 Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 19 January 1836 in Stewart, Letters, 1835-1882, Acc 1086A.
70 Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, pp. 517-518.
Neil McGlashen prior to leaving Scotland but probably expected more Scots in the colony that spoke Gaelic. With time the Stewarts came to associate with other Scots, who Robert noted in letters to both his father and brother. At their new home on the Canning River the Stewarts began a friendship with a Scottish neighbour. Robert Stewart gave a lengthy background history of his new associate, writing to his father in August 1836:

I have fallen in here with a Scotch Regiment Officer who served 46 years in the 46 Regiment. he spent 30 years in the East & West Indies, the rest of the time in Britain, Sydney, Vandiemens Land and other Colonies. he came here about three years and took up his Military Grant of Land from the Crown for his past services which amounts to about Twenty Thousand Acres of land.\(^72\)

The gentleman Robert Stewart refers to, but does not name, was William Nairn.\(^73\) Nairn owned land in the Avon district along with town allotments in Fremantle but he was also known as the owner of ‘Maddington’, now a metropolitan suburb of the same name.\(^74\) Stewart did not again mention Nairn but his reference to having ‘fallen in’ with him indicates he formed a friendship with the ex-46th Regiment Officer. Stewart may have referred to Nairn in later correspondence but all that has survived are his letters to 1840. Though Nairn was often absent from ‘Maddington’ and died in Fremantle,\(^75\) he was a close neighbour to the Stewarts.

\(^71\) Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 19 January 1836 in Stewart, Letters, 1835-1882, Acc 1086A.

\(^72\) Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 22 August 1836 in Stewart, Letters, Acc 1086A.

\(^73\) See: Mr Nairn to Colonial Secretary, 27 July 1832, Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence, CSR 23/111 (Nairn signs the letter as ‘late Major 46th Regiment.’); A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, CO. 18, reel 298, piece 10, p.134 (William Nairn is listed as number 882, from ‘North Britain’ and a ‘Major in the Army.’ He is incorrectly listed as aged 60. In his obituary he was reported to have died at the age of 86, making him 65 in 1832); ‘Died’ in The Inquirer, 6 July 1853.

Robert Stewart believed his associations with other Scottish settlers were important to his settlement in Western Australia, and he took pride in communicating this to his family in Scotland. This was one way of giving comfort to family back in Scotland. Later, in February 1840, Robert Stewart wrote of coming across another Scotsman:

I had a visit from a Badenoch man that came here as a Shepherd with an Irishman, his name is John McPherson he use to drive cattle to Donald Stewart he was much pleased to meet any one that could speak Gaelic to him. he gave me many news about Badenoch Braemarr & about Blair, his Master is on the Murray River 38 miles from this, you can let my father know when you receive this...76

This association linked Robert Stewart with the MacPhersons of the Victoria Plains. Not only was MacPherson from Badenoch, only a few miles from Blair Athol, he was able to give Stewart news of what was happening in their previous local area. Furthermore, John MacPherson was closely associated with the Stewart family, having driven cattle to Donald Stewart,77 most likely D. Stewart of Angus Town. Although Robert Stewart had previously complained of there being few Scotsmen in the country, in this one meeting he came into contact with a man who had been employed by a relative of Stewart's and knew of the area from which he came. More importantly, MacPherson 'was much pleased to meet any one that could speak Gaelic to him'.78 Robert Stewart desired to speak to other Scots in his native tongue. As Stewart wrote in an earlier letter, he had actually left Scotland to learn English. And yet he still wanted to speak in his native language, a continuing part of his identity even in Western Australia.

75 ‘Died’, The Inquirer, 6 July 1853.
76 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 6 February 1840 in Stewart, Letters, 1835-1882, Acc 1086A.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
The Gaelic language had been in decline in Scotland since around the fourteenth century and the Jacobite rebellions of the eighteenth century had hurried the process of Anglicisation in the Highlands of Scotland where the language was strongest. While individuals like Robert Stewart wanted to speak in their native language, forces of change were already well in place by the middle of the nineteenth century. Gaelic school societies operating in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland were important in teaching literacy to adults and children in the Gaelic language but the problem associated with this was that English came to be associated with education and improvement. This may have been one of the reasons behind Stewart’s family making him leave Scotland when he was younger to learn English. As Devine argues, while Highlanders were proud of their Gaelic language, by the nineteenth century they were keen to learn English. So when Stewart arrived in Western Australia, not only did he desire to speak a language already in rapid decline in Scotland, he had migrated to a colony where Scots were a small minority. Numbers and history were unfortunately against him, as would have known, further rousing his excitement at meeting a Scot in the colony who could speak Gaelic.

Throughout his letters Robert Stewart kept his family notified of the movements of Neil and Mary McGlashen and David Smythe Murray. In August 1836 Stewart wrote of seeing Murray frequently and how he was ‘about to get married to one of my nearest neighbour’s daughters’. Stewart also wrote that


81 Ibid, p. 117.
same month of how the McGlashens were 'quite well together with his wife and child.' A year later in November 1837, Robert wrote to James of having seen 'Mr Murray some times.' He went on to write:

he is quite well & had a daughter in June last I mentioned before that McGlashen had left him and that he has another place where himself & his wife get £60 per annum. he is quite well & his family.

This passage seems to indicate Murray brought out the McGlashens on indenture, travelling on the *Hero* with them. An 1836 population return for the colony lists the McGlashens as servants to David Murray.

In February 1838, Robert wrote again of the Murray and McGlashen families stating: 'Mr Murray and his wife and daughter are quite well. McGlashen and his wife and child are well. he is still in the same place I hear from him at times'. In the final letter of what remains of Stewart's correspondence, Robert writes in February 1840 of not having seen the McGlashens since February the previous year. In February the previous year the McGlashens stayed with the Stewarts 'when his Master and himself moved about Seventy Miles further back'. Stewart wrote how McGlashen 'his Wife and two children remained at

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84 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 1 November 1837 in Stewart, *Letters, 1835-1882*, Acc 1086A.

85 *A Return of the Population of the Colony...according to the census taken on the 1st of January 1836*, AJCP, C.O 18, reel, 301, piece 16, p. 89.

86 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 1 February 1838 in Stewart, *Letters, 1835-1882*, Acc 1086A.

87 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 6 February 1840 in Stewart, *Letters, 1835-1882*, Acc 1086A.

88 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 6 February 1840 in Stewart, *Letters, 1835-1882*, Acc 1086A.
my house ten days he was looking well'.

Robert Stewart knew his references to Murray and the McGlashens would be important news to their families back in Scotland.

Those travelling back to Scotland for brief visits also gave news of Robert and Ann Stewart. In a letter to his brother John in July 1839, James Stewart mentioned news given of Robert in Western Australia. According to James Stewart, a nephew of Governor Stirling had recently visited Lintrose in Coupar Angus. The nephew, not named but known to have been Andrew Stirling from St. Andrews in Scotland, ‘mentioned having seen Robert last January.’ He went on to note how well Robert was doing and related how ‘he made £2000 since he went out and that he is much looked up to in the Colony and his advice...asked respecting Stock’. Stirling’s visit to Lintrose makes the association between the Stewarts, Andrew Stirling and David Murray clear. James Stewart’s reference to news from Lintrose is also evidence that the Stewart family knew, or knew of, the Murray family of Angus. Through Robert and Ann Stewart, the link with the Murray family was kept even in Western Australia, as it was with other Scots such as Neil and Mary McGlashen. The association the Stewarts had with Andrew Stirling probably developed in Western Australia after discovering their common background.

Andrew Stirling also wrote to his father about his association with David Smythe Murray in Western Australia. In a letter dated 6 July 1841, Andrew

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89 Ibid.

90 James Stewart to John Stewart, 13 July 1839 in Stewart, Letters, Acc 1086A.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.
Stirling wrote that he was sure his father would be ‘delighted to hear that David Murray has quite regained the good opinion of the Colonists & is now I believe doing very well at Fremantle & very much respected the change is most extraordinary’. Stirling did not mention why Murray fell out of favour with the colonists. Nevertheless, the personal connection the Stirlings had with the Murray family at Lintrose is evident when Andrew wrote how Murray's changed fortune would be, 'satisfying news to his mother'. As with the Stewarts, the McGlashens and Murray, Andrew Stirling continued an association in the colony that existed in Scotland and would explain why he visited Lintrose when back in Scotland in the late 1830s.

James Drummond’s correspondence to William Jackson Hooker at the Botanical Gardens in Kew, England, while not written to a family member or close friends, also shows the extent to which Drummond sought out Scottish associations in the colony. Letters written by Drummond to Hooker from the 1830s to 1858 were specifically to report on the botany of Western Australia and collections of new species. Most of the content of the letters deals with botany, but parts convey Drummond’s associations with other Scots. Exactly why Drummond names these Scots and when he stays with them is not clear in the letters, but they indicate a network of associations he held in the colony.

In 1840, on a trip south to the region around Albany, James Drummond wrote of coming across two Scotsmen, one a ‘Mr John Craigie the overseer on

93 Andrew Stirling to John Stirling, 6 July 1841, Inventory of Writs from Lintrose House, Forfarshire, GD 68/2/143.
94 Ibid.
Captain Symers' farm' and the other a Mr MacDonald.\(^{95}\) In another botanical exploration, this time in July 1842, Drummond alluded to staying the evening at 'Mr Armstrong's farm at Ravenswood'.\(^{96}\) This Mr Armstrong can only be Dalkeith-born Adam Armstrong, first owner of Ravenswood. Adam Armstrong is not, however, the only Scot James Drummond chose to stay with. In the same July 1842 letter, Drummond wrote of visiting 'a farm on Sir James Stirling's estates held by Mr John Scot (sic) an old settler at the Swan'.\(^{97}\) He then goes on to describe how Australind provided a market for Scott's produce, writing of 'Mr Scot & his industrious & kind hearted guid wife Nelly Scot'.\(^{98}\) Later in January 1847 Drummond wrote to Hooker from 'Bonnington Braes Cape Riche' where he experienced the 'greatest kindness and hospitality from Mr & Mrs Cheyne for ten days'.\(^{99}\) Drummond in fact named some native flowers for his 'kind friends Mr & Mrs Cheyne'.\(^{100}\) As the selection here indicates, James Drummond's botanical explorations took him to various parts of the colony, from the Murray region to Bunbury and Albany where he made associations with other Scots.

Comparisons can be made here with David Fitzpatrick's analysis of Irish accounts of migration to Australia in the nineteenth century. The analysis of relationships between Scots is something Fitzpatrick outlines as a major theme of Irish correspondence: companionship. As Fitzpatrick writes, Irish letters

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\(^{95}\) James Drummond to William Jackson Hooker, 5 and 12 December 1840 in Drummond, Correspondence, 1839-1855, Acc. 1951A.

\(^{96}\) James Drummond to William Jackson Hooker, 18 July 1842 in Drummond, Correspondence, Acc. 1951A.

\(^{97}\) Ibid.

\(^{98}\) Ibid. The spelling of good as 'guid' is interesting as it reflects Scottish spelling of the word.

\(^{99}\) James Drummond to William Jackson Hooker, 15 January 1847 in Drummond, Correspondence, Acc. 1951A.

\(^{100}\) Ibid.
‘illuminate the search for companions, and the desire of most writers to demonstrate that even in the colonies their social networks were of Irish fabric’. Robert Stewart’s references to familiar faces in Western Australia is evident in Irish colonial correspondence, descriptions included for the benefit of the reader to picture the migrant ‘amidst familiar faces’ and within ‘neighbourhood networks in Australia’. The major themes highlighted by Fitzpatrick in his study of Irish correspondence are applicable to Scottish correspondence showing a common migrant responses but the place of belonging that is emphasised is different.

**Perceptions of other settlers**

Out of all the writers, Robert Stewart was the most vocal in his views of English settlers in Western Australia. In 1836 Stewart wrote to his brother outlining the cheap price of wines and spirits such as brandy, rum, port and sherry and told of some farmers brewing their own beer. He went on the make the statement, possibly showing his distaste for English settlers, that as the colony was ‘Chiefly colonised by English they are rather giving (sic) to Drink’. Later he wrote to his father of ‘this Being the worst Country for Bad sorts and drinking People ever existed’. In Stewart’s opinion, English settlers were bad sorts and the worst kind of drinking people he had ever seen. This reference to drinking is also indicative of Stewart’s background as a strict Presbyterian with little tolerance for regular drinking.

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Robert Stewart also commented on what he regarded as English manners and practices. In January 1836 he writes, 'Being all English settlers they do not use much milk'. This observation may have alluded to English settlers not eating porridge or oats for breakfast like the Scottish settlers, and thus having no great need for milk. In a later letter written in August that year, Robert notified his father of a 'clergyman Established at Perth of the English form', clearly the 'other' in his mind. Stewart, a deeply religious man, was dismayed at not having heard a sermon since his arrival and scorned his neighbours for 'spending Sunday the same as Monday'. At the Canning River, with no ferry service in 1836, the trip to Perth for a service was a lengthy one. As he indicates in the letter, Stewart spent Sunday reading his bible and most likely noticed his neighbours did not do the same. Robert Stewart may have equated the lack of religious direction of his neighbours to the settlement being predominantly English.

Alexander Collie may not have agreed with Robert Stewart's comments on drinking. In 1837 Collie wrote to his brother asking, 'Could you send some good Scotch Whiskey... say 10 or 20 gallons?' Nevertheless, Collie did to an
extent share Stewart's disdain for the perceived immorality of some settlers. He wrote in 1834, 'The English fair dealing and generous merchant has been dwindled into a cunning selfish huxter'.

Nostalgia

What remains elusive in the correspondence of these few Scottish settlers is whether Scotland came to be less representative of 'home' as more years were spent in Western Australia. Nearly all extant correspondence pertains only to the first years of settlement. Furthermore, a number of the Scottish correspondents either died within a few years of settlement, moved to Eastern Australia or did not leave any further correspondence. Alexander Collie died in Albany in 1835 intending to return to Scotland and Alexander Cheyne left Albany in 1835 for Tasmania. Both John Adam and Andrew Stirling died young. John Adam died in 1847 after an accident in which he was crushed by a tree and Andrew Stirling died at Guildford in November 1844 at the age of twenty-six. Though Nicol Paterson and James and Ann Lauder lived out their lives in Western Australia no letters written to family and friends in Scotland have survived. By August 1836 Robert Stewart was showing a more positive attitude towards living in Western Australia, writing of how he, his wife and child were enjoying 'the blessings of health as ever in our life time whatever Better'. The Stewarts did not remain in Western Australia, however, and by the late 1850s were living in

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110 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 7 April 1834 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.

111 The Perth Gazette, 12 December 1835, front page; The West Australian, 13 March 1936, p. 13.

112 Cheyne, Diaries, 1833-1855, Acc. 285A.

113 The Inquirer, 16 June 1847.

114 The Inquirer, 13 November 1844.
Peter Cowan argues that for Walkinshaw Cowan at least, Western Australia came to represent home more than any affiliation with Scotland:

> [t]he new Colony had become his world, he had played a part in it through the years of its early development that could never have been given to him in anything he did in England or Scotland, and he knew this.117

This is not to say, however, that Walkinshaw Cowan did not still reflect on the family he left behind in Scotland. In October 1872, an elderly Cowan wrote in his diary of the anniversary of his departure from Scotland, leaving 'my father's house to go to Leith'. Writing this passage he apparently glances at a key he still owns to his brother's house, 'hoping to return some day and take him by surprise. Alas I never was permitted to return, and my poor Brother sleeps in the Churchyard'.118 Peter Cowan suggests this passage, written after Walkinshaw learned of a dear Scottish friend's death, represented a mood rather than any 'real concern with his native land and even his relatives'.119 I am not completely convinced; the passage still conveys the connection he felt his entire life with his family and the disjointedness he felt at leaving them.

Nostalgia for Scotland also permeates Robert Stewart’s letters. Auchgoul, Blair Athol is frequently referred to in his correspondence to family. Faitzpatrick, writing on the Irish in Australia, suggests such nostalgia was often

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115 Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 22 August 1836 in *Letters, 1835-1882*, Acc. 1086A.


the product of social isolation in Australia. In the first years of his settlement in Western Australia, Robert Stewart felt isolated and worried at the small numbers of Scots in the colony.

**Scottish Voices**

The Scottish correspondence quoted here cannot reveal every aspect of life in Western Australia in the nineteenth century. It represents facets of Scottish settlement from personal viewpoints. It conveys attempts made by Scottish settlers, as displaced persons initially, to make sense of their lives in Western Australia. What is most keenly present in the correspondence is an emphasis on creating familiarity in a foreign environment. Family and friends in Scotland recognised the need to maintain solidarity and familiarity with those at the Swan River by detailing news from home, offering religious guidance and displaying an interest in emigrating to the colony. Scottish settlers suggest familiarity through encouraging family and friends to join them in the colony, associating with other Scots, referring to 'home', desiring to use the Gaelic language and comparing their new place of residence with their Scottish origins.

Scottish settlers showed an awareness of English settlers’ predominance and the limited number of Scots in the colony. Robert Stewart, initially dismayed at the lack of Scots in the colony, formed associations with any Scots he came across in the colony. Stewart also took a somewhat negative view of English settlers, emphasising their penchant for alcohol and different practices. Alexander Collie sought to highlight his own identity in Western Australia, if

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119 Ibid.
120 Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation*, p. 615.
unconsciously, by using Scots-English in passages of his letters. In his letters Collie used the terms 'bairns', 'cauld Scotland', 'auld Scotland' and 'wee'. Collie's letter of July 1832 quotes from the Robert Burns poem 'To a Louse':

As usual I wander a little bit into the woods and gather a few bits o' floors to make me think myself a Botanist, a great naturalist...’Oh would some power the gify gie us, tae see ourselves as others see us’.121

While Robert Stewart seems critical of English settlers, portraying them as the 'other', Alexander Collie's correspondence to his brother is less opinionated. The difference may be the intended audience. Alexander Collie is writing to his brother, George, but as the Colonial Surgeon and one of the first white settlers in Western Australia, it is likely Collie wrote with hopes his personal letters would be published. This may explain his references to Robert Burns. Ian Berryman, in his study of published letters on the first years of the colony, identifies Collie as the author of five letters published in eastern Australian and British newspapers.122 Alexander Collie's letters were later collated and presented to the Parliamentary Library in England in 1912 by Professor Norman Collie, George Collie's grandson.123 On the other hand, Stewart did not show any aspirations of having his letters published and they remain as private archives in Western Australia. Nevertheless, that Collie writes at times in Scots-English and emphasises his Scottish origins suggests it is his Scottish identity he wants to be recognised.

121 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 28 July 1832 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
122 Berryman, Swan River Letters, Volume 1, p. 38, 102, 141, 186, 196, 208.
123 Coversheet for Alexander Collie's letters in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
Letters written by Robert Stewart and James Drummond provide important personal insights into other Scottish lives. Through Robert Stewart, Neil and Mary McGlashen are given a history, though slight, that is completely missing from any other records. In Robert Stewart's letters, Neil McGlashen's movements in Western Australia are not only detailed, they are given intimacy. Stewart, in referring to William Nairn's past, also gives the ex-Regiment officer a personal history. Stewart's reference to John MacPherson, however, is most revealing. While details of the lives of the MacPhersons of Toodyay and Victoria Plains are numerous and their sense of Scottishness keenly present in their lives, the only reference to the MacPhersons desiring to speak Gaelic in the colony is given in Robert Stewart's letter, describing his friendship with John MacPherson. James Drummond's references to various Scots he stays with on his journeys also provide insights. Through Drummond, we learn of John Scott and his 'guid wife' and the kindness of Mr and Mrs Cheyne at 'Bonnington Braes'. These are intimate portrayals not recoverable from other records.

Letters received by Scottish settlers in Western Australia also provide otherwise silent lives with a voice. Though it is not their voice, intimate details of their lives can be discovered. In the various letters from Elgin and the Adam family, John Adam's life in Scotland and Western Australia is given a background not evident in death records or even his indenture. An otherwise unanimated life appears fuller in the details given by family letters. Rather than knowing only that John Adam came to Western Australia from Scotland as an indentured servant, married and then died in an accident in 1847, we can account for part of his life in Alves, Elgin as a ploughman. The same is true also of Nicol Paterson; letters written by his mother, sister and brother-in-law reveal details of his family and background in Stromness, Orkney. While only one letter survives
relating to the Lauders, it names James’ Scottish family, the name of his
daughter in Western Australia and reveals the effects of his departure on the
family.

Scottish correspondence referred to in this analysis shares much in
common with migrant correspondence as a whole and certainly themes outlined
in Irish correspondence. But where Scots differ, as do other British migrants
from one another, is the identity conveyed is Scottish.
Chapter 7:

Scottish Interactions: Britishness, cultural pluralism and relations with Indigenous Western Australians

Discussion of Scottish identity has so far revolved around work, family, religion and correspondence. But understanding Scottish identity in Western Australia must also involve placing Scottish lives in relation to other English, Irish and Welsh lives in the colony. Scottish migrants did not live isolated from other British migrants, and while Scottishness provided an important context personally and in creating small Scottish communities, it was expressed in relation to other British migrant identities. In the British colonies migrants were, as Keith Robbins argues, 'more genuinely British than Great Britain because there the various peoples of Britain lived more closely alongside each other than they did at home'.

As a part of the British Empire, the Swan River colony gave Scots an opportunity to embrace a British identity. Together they represent a migrant population capable of recognising their commonality as British settlers but also sharing similar desires to maintain distinct identities.

Tracing Scottish identity in early colonial Western Australia provides an opportunity to identify the duality of Scottishness and Britishness, increasingly present in Scotland from the eighteenth century and directly faced by Scottish migrants in the British Swan River colony. As for other British migrants, Empire represented for Scots an 'opportunity to participate in a common enterprise'.

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2 Krishan Kumar, The Making of English National Identity, Cambridge University Press,
Scots emigrating to the Swan River identified with a sense of Britishness, that beyond the boundaries of Great Britain offered the possibility of benefiting from the spoils of Empire and, importantly, proving their worth alongside the English. Recognition of a sense of Britishness did not diminish Scottishness in Western Australia. As T. M Devine argues, the British Empire ‘strengthened it by powerfully reinforcing the sense of national esteem’. By the nineteenth century the Scottish elite, to whom Britishness seemed most pertinent, developed a dual allegiance, 'a political loyalty to Britain... and at the same time they were maintaining a continuing sense of identity with their native land'. As in Scotland, Britishness for political ends in Western Australia tended to be a pursuit of middle and upper-class Scots.

For the majority of working class Scots in Western Australia, a British identity did not necessarily begin as part of their cultural luggage but rather depended on everyday interactions with English, Irish and Welsh settlers. Britishness in this sense extended beyond class and political aims to represent a commonality as British migrants sharing similar experiences in the colony. These relationships began as early as the passage to the colony and came to include the creation of partnerships. No longer the majority national group as they so obviously were in Scotland, Scottish migrants came into direct contact with the other nationalities of Great Britain in a unique way. They were a small minority in a predominantly English colony where even the Irish accounted for a


4 Ibid.
higher proportion of British numbers than the Scots.

Scottish migrants were not alone in exerting their own distinctive national identity. Recognition of British citizenship and a British state still led to cultural diversity in Scots, Irish, Welsh continuing to recognise their own nationhood. As much as they identified with one another as British migrants, Scots, Irish, Welsh and even English settlers desired to show distinction. For Scottish, Irish and Welsh settlers, their cultural identity beyond a British political identity was in large part in response to the predominance of the English, as it was in the United Kingdom also. They were minority groups trying to sustain their distinctiveness.

By placing Scottish lives within the context of their interactions with other British migrants, another facet of identity is revealed. In Western Australia Scottish migrants were directly faced with their status as British migrants in a British colony. As their lives played out so too did the dualities of Scottish and British national consciousness. Other migrants experienced a similar dual consciousness in the nineteenth century. Like Scots in Western Australia, Welsh migrants in Victoria were also able to recognise a British and a distinct Welsh identity. As Bill Jones writes, for the Welsh

it was not a question of being either Welsh or British or Australian. Some wished to emphasise a British identity or/and an Australian one yet still wished to retain vestiges of Welshness and identification as Welsh.

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8 Jones, 'Welsh Identities in Colonial Ballarat', p. 43.
As a small minority group Scottish migrants knew the importance a British identity played in succeeding in the colony, and by its very nature Britishness also allowed Scots to maintain their Scottish identity. The two identities each served important ends. With time identification as British migrants changed to shared experiences as white Western Australians. What follows in the first part of this discussion is an inquiry into relations between Scots and the other British national groups in Western Australia, largely from Scottish perspectives.

Just as it is important to account for Scottish relationships with other British settlers, equally important are interactions between Scots and Indigenous Western Australians. Scottish migrants were colonisers and their relationships with Aborigines must be understood in this context. Positive relationships were formed between particular Scottish and indigenous individuals. A number of Scottish settlers did take an interest in the welfare of their indigenous neighbours and formed lasting friendships cutting across cultural differences. However, the wider reality was often one of mutual suspicion and misunderstanding. These relations, either beneficial or detrimental, show the ways in which Scottish individuals interacted with the Indigenous communities of Western Australia as British colonisers.

Scots as British Migrants
After the Treaty of Union in 1707 unifying Scotland and England under one Westminster parliament and the formation, by the Act of Union, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801, Scottish national identity represented more than the Scottish nation alone. As Richard Finlay explains, 'Scottish national identity would have to be formulated within the parameters of the emerging British state' leading to an 'increasing British dimension in Scottish identity'.

Scottish involvement within the larger British nation can be traced before the union of 1707, especially in the activities of the Lowland bourgeoisie according to Neil Davidson, but Britishness as an institutional identity really came to fruition in the century following Union. Union with England in the eighteenth century appeared to give Scots an opportunity to participate in the creation of a new British identity and, as Scots more than the English hoped, placed Scotland equally alongside England.

The new British identity of the eighteenth century was never an aspiration of all Scots and held more resonance for those in the upper end of society. The emergence of a British identity, either real or imagined, soon associated itself with the notion of 'North Britain' as a new identity for Scotland within the Union. 'North Britain' was a construction and pursuit of Scottish intellectuals and members of the Scottish aristocracy, 'more intent on persuading each other of their North Britain identity that (sic) their fellow Scots lower down the social scale'. In their attempts to be equals to the English, Scottish aristocrats and intellectuals used North Britain as an identity proving

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9 Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain,' pp. 143, 145.
10 Davidson, The Making of Scottish Nationhood, p. 112.
11 Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain,' pp. 145, 151.
their commitment and worth in the union with England, and later in the creation of the United Kingdom. James Stewart, brother to Robert Stewart of the Canning River and living in England in the 1830s, addressed letters enclosed from his brother in Western Australia in an envelope to their father, identified by James Stewart as living in 'Blair Athol, North Britain'.

Interestingly, and tellingly, England never assumed a 'South Britain' identity and English Scottophobia made it even harder for members of the Scottish elite to succeed in their attempts at a North British identity. Scottophobia and stereotyping of Scots came to the fore in the middle of the eighteenth century and was a direct reaction to Scottish success in the new unified Great Britain. There was a general feeling in England that Scots were intruding on English institutions and that the union gave the Scottish people too much significance and opportunity within the British polity. Ultimately, 'North Britain' was all but rejected by the English governing classes.

While North Britain fell short of what its proponents sought, the use of this concept can be traced in the Swan River colony in the first decade of settlement. In December 1838, William Nairne Clark submitted a personal notice to The Perth Gazette that, along with outlining action he had taken against William Temple Graham and Clark’s estranged wife whom he planned to divorce, declared his Scottish origins:

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12 Envelopes in Stewart, Letters, 1835-1882, Acc 1086A.


14 Finlay, ‘Caledonia or North Britain,’ pp. 148-149.
Here the use of ‘North Britain’ is directly placed in the context of Clark’s upper class origins. As a lawyer in Edinburgh and the son of a Perthshire Esquire, Clark fits well with the other advocates of a North British identity. Using it in Western Australia may have been an attempt to place himself within a British identity in the colony. As T. M Devine writes, ‘England and the English empire started to generate lucrative career opportunities for upper- and middle-class Scots’ and so bred in Scots of better means aspirations that embraced Britishness, a form of which Clark alluded to in the use of North Britain. William Nairn, another wealthy Scottish settler, also identified with Scotland as North Britain. Recorded in the 1832 census of the colony as a former 46th Regiment Major, Nairn gave his place of birth as ‘North Britain’. According to Robert Stewart, who later knew Nairn at the Canning River, the former major spent '30 years in the East & West Indies, the rest of the time in Britain, Sydney, Vandiemens Land and other Colonies'. William Nairn, for most of his life, operated in a British context and his identification with North Britain was as much to do with loyalty to a British state as it was a product of wealth aspiring to be a part of a larger British social scene.

16 Devine, The Scottish Nation, p. 25.
17 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156.
18 Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Senior, 22 August 1836 in Stewart, Letters, 1835-1882, Acc
While it is debatable just how far Britishness resonated for ordinary Scots in Scotland, in Britain as a whole there existed, according to Laurence Brockliss, a ‘small proportion of the educated and well-to-do who operated in an all-British context.’ As Brockliss further indicates:

this was a group confined to the aristocracy and upper reaches of the gentry, who met together...in their London houses...Occupationally the group was limited to the officer corps of the army and navy, the expatriate officials of the East India Company and the retinues of the embassies abroad.

Scots of this type came to the Swan River colony and so were more inclined to express a British identity, especially with their civil and military backgrounds. The Lieutenant Governor, James Stirling, a former Admiral in the British Navy and instigator of British settlement at the Swan, is the main representative of this group, joined also by the likes of Peter and Caroline Broun, Alexander Collie, Frederick Slade, Francis Byrne, Walter and Elizabeth Andrews, William Nairn and Adam Armstrong. All had either been involved in an official capacity in the Army and Navy or were representative of embassies abroad in the colonies.

For the Scots migrating to Western Australia, prior mobility in Great Britain and Ireland made them more inclined to consider one form of their

1086A.

19 Laurence Brockliss, 'The professions and national identity,' in Brockliss and Eastwood, A Union of Multiple Identities, p. 3.

20 Ibid. As mentioned previously, in Western Australia individuals in the civil and military service were required to be Anglicans pre-1847.

21 A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; 1837 Census of Western Australia, SROWA, Perth, CSR 58/37-80; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle.
identity as British migrants. Scots lower down the social scale, excluded from the activities of the elite and not operating in the same all-British context as outlined by Brockliss, could in fact be more inclined to recognise a British migrant identity as the result of mobility prior to departure, introducing them to the other nationalities of Great Britain and Ireland. These Scots included the Dewar and Drummond families, Peter Ambrose, Walkinshaw Cowan, John McLarty, Robert Stewart, Patrick Taylor and Nicol Paterson. Their time living outside of Scotland in other parts of Great Britain may have exposed them to Scottophobia or exclusion from English society. As a reaction, these individuals and families may have expressed identification with a British identity in order to achieve success. For, as Richard Finlay attests, British identity could be used for pragmatic reasons.

The extent to which the emerging British identity directly affected Scots of all classes by the middle of the nineteenth century is debatable. What distinguishes Scots emigrating to the Swan River from Scots who remained in Britain, however, is that they were, consciously or not, embarking on a new life in a British settlement headed by England and part of the growing British Empire. In Western Australia they were to be British subjects.

Empire

22 John Dewar to Sir George Murray, Colonial Office, 10 July 1829, AJCP, C.O 18, reel 295, piece 5, p. 379; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, reel 298, piece 10, pp. 112-156; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; Paterson, Papers 1837-1922, Acc. 3103A.

23 Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain,' p. 150.
Scots leaving for Western Australia between 1829-1850 left when the British Empire increasingly became an important part of British identity. In the nineteenth century, 'to be "British" was to be part of an international family of politics and manners, headed by England, perhaps, but nonetheless diverse'.

To Scots, imperial growth and the British Empire represented a chance to participate in an international enterprise. According to Linda Colley, 'A British imperium...enabled Scots to feel themselves peers of the English'. While seeking equality, Scots also saw in Empire a chance to show loyalty to the British state. Their role as British subjects in Western Australia may have therefore been a comfortable one for many Scottish migrants.

The Swan River, as part of an increasing British Empire, thus represented political, economic and social opportunities Scots could take advantage of as British migrants. Settlement in Western Australia was advertised in recognition of such desires, especially in appeals for investment and encouragement of the landed gentry and urban professionals. After the Napoleonic wars, officers from the army and navy, living on half-pay, regarded emigration to the Swan River as a means to invest and reap the benefits of Empire. James Affleck, Jonathon Pittrie and Thomas Little, former officers in the army, viewed the Swan River as a chance to 'make comfortable Living to our Familys' they could not achieve on half-pay and under the depleted trade conditions they mentioned in their letter.

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to the Colonial Office in 1829.\textsuperscript{27} The Swan colony also appealed to the likes of William Nairne Clark and Peter Broun, members of the Scottish gentry and aristocracy, who saw emigration as a chance to make their mark and increase their wealth. In the early years of settlement, Peter Broun was rumoured to have high debts back in the United Kingdom he thought could be settled through investment and opportunities in Western Australia.\textsuperscript{28}

The Swan River's imperial benefits also appealed to ordinary Scots. Individuals like Alexander Anderson and John Dewar saw emigration as an opportunity to aid their large families and to increase their lot as agriculturalists.\textsuperscript{29} At the Swan River they and other Scottish migrants could use Empire and a British identity to benefit their lives. As Colley writes, '[in] terms of self-respect, then, as well as for the profits it could bestow, imperialism served as Scotland's opportunity'.\textsuperscript{30}

Beyond generalities and abstract notions, a sense of Britishness affected Scots emigrating to the Swan River colony in their everyday lives. In the colony they were more intimately involved with the other nationalities of Great Britain and Ireland and rather than viewing Empire at a distance, Scottish migrants lived in that Empire. As Krishan Kumar argues, '[t]he British Empire was the integument that, even more than the integration produced by an increasing

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} James Affleck to the Colonial Office, 23 January 1829, C.O 18, reel 294, piece 5, p. 74.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Carter, \textit{Bassendean}, p. 20.
\item \textsuperscript{29} John Dewar to Sir George Murray, 10 July 1829, C.O 18, reel 295, piece 5, p. 379; Alexander Anderson to Lord Goderich, 30 March 1831, C.O 18, reel 297, piece 8, p. 18.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Colley, \textit{Britons}, p. 130.
\end{itemize}
mainland society, tightly meshed the parts of Britain together'.\textsuperscript{31} In a British colony and as British migrants, Scots could share in a common enterprise with other British migrants, as part of the British Empire.

**Interactions**

By 1841, the Irish-born in the large Scottish towns of Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock and Dundee numbered close to five per cent of the population.\textsuperscript{32} Since the seventeenth century, Ireland also continued to be a popular destination for Scots.\textsuperscript{33} From the late eighteenth century onwards Ireland's appeal waned in the presence of more interest directed to England and Wales and by 1851, 130,087 Scots were registered living in England and Wales.\textsuperscript{34} The higher incidence of mobility in the British Isles by the middle of the nineteenth century led to an increase in interactions between national groups in Britain. Not all Scots, however, developed close relationships with members of other British national groups.

Life in Western Australia provided British migrants with opportunities to interact together in an unprecedented manner. Firstly, the relatively small white population of Western Australia (Table 7.1) played an important role in bringing


\textsuperscript{33} Brock, *The Mobile Scot*, p. 25.

the various British national groups into contact with one another, especially from the perspective of Scots as a small minority.

As outlined previously in relation to Scottish settlement patterns, even though Scottish numbers exceeded ten per cent of the white population of the Plantagenet, as a whole Scots never numbered beyond four per cent of the white population in the main districts of the colony. This, coupled with the small British population as a whole, brought Scottish migrants in closer proximity to other British migrants. In small districts in Britain, national groups mainly interacted with those of the same national origins. In Western Australia, small district populations were made up of individuals from across Britain and Ireland. In a foreign environment, hundreds of miles from the other Australian colonies, realistically they only had each other. In a small population with limited resources, migrants had to some extent come together to survive (table 7.1).

Table 7.1: White Population Western Australia 1850 (Total 5293 persons)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Total White Population</th>
<th>Percentage Scots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>3190</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorkshire</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantagenet</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>11-14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toodyay</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sussex</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champion Bay</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: The Colony of Western Australia, 1850: Population’ in Blue Books, p. 134; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832. AJCP, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, SROWA, Perth, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, SROWA, Perth, CSR 58/37-80; Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880, SROWA, Accession 36; 1859 York Census; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; headstone inscriptions, Western Australian cemeteries, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003.
As Keith Robbins outlines, in the colonies the various nationalities of Great Britain ‘participated in cultural and social activities from which, in Britain itself, they would have felt excluded or which they never came across’. After initial contact on the passage to Western Australia and close settlement in the colony, British migrants interacted together economically, socially and politically in ways they may never have before or felt they could.

Renowned in the decades leading up to the middle of the nineteenth century for forming economic partnerships with each other in the main districts of the colony, Scots did form economic associations with other British migrants. In 1842 and 1843, three notable partnerships and financial settlements were published in *The Perth Gazette and Inquirer* newspapers. On 11 March 1843, John Butterworth, an English migrant in the Swan district, gave notice he had delivered to Scotsman Peter Ambrose cattle and household goods formerly owned by his son.36 While the partnership advertised their dissolution, for a time a partnership existed between Aberdeen-born Robert Ferres and English-born Richard Morrell.37 Later in May of 1842, Fifeshire Scot Andrew Stirling and W. Pearce Clifton, formerly of England, announced their establishment as 'general Merchants, and Land and Commission Agents, both at Australind and Bunbury under the firm of Clifton, Stirling, & Co'.38 From the 1840s until its advertised dissolution in 1864, Orkney-born Nicol Paterson kept a partnership with Anthony

36 'Notice' in *The Perth Gazette*, 11 March 1843, front page.
37 'Notice' in *The Inquirer*, 29 March 1843, front page.
38 'Notice' in *The Perth Gazette*, 28 May 1842, front page.
Cornish in Fremantle, mainly as general merchants.\textsuperscript{39} A notice of termination of a whaling partnership in the Plantagenet in 1847 also shows the existence of a cross-national relationship between Perthshire Scot John Craigie and English-born settlers John Thomas and Solomon Cook.\textsuperscript{40} Although only five published examples of partnerships between Scots and other British migrants have been located, these associations were nevertheless part of wider, less economic relationships.

Concerts and balls in the 1840s also provided a social outlet for British migrants to associate together. Concerts and balls were in fact a key feature of colonial Australian society from the 1840s. Local concerts were widely popular in Melbourne and balls were regularly held at the Melbourne Club.\textsuperscript{41} In Western Australia, these balls and concerts mainly took place to celebrate settlement and raise funds for church expenses. In May 1844, \textit{The Perth Gazette} advertised a forthcoming gala celebrating the 'Anniversary of the Foundation of the Colony 1ST JUNE 1844'. Scotsman William Nairn was listed with other migrants forming a committee arranging the event.\textsuperscript{42} Directly underneath this notice, a 'Tradesman's Ball & Supper', also to be held in Perth celebrating Foundation Day, was advertised.\textsuperscript{43} Tickets to the Tradesman's Ball were priced at '7s 6d each for ladies, and 12s 6d for gentlemen'.\textsuperscript{44} While both balls appealed to a

\textsuperscript{39} 'Notice' in \textit{The Inquirer}, 25 May 1864, front page.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{The Inquirer}, 14 July 1847, front page.

\textsuperscript{41} Kiddle, \textit{Men of Yesterday}, pp. 461-462.

\textsuperscript{42} 'Anniversary of the Foundation of the Colony' in \textit{The Perth Gazette}, 18 May 1844, front page.

\textsuperscript{43} 'Tradesman's Ball & Supper' in \textit{The Perth Gazette}, 18 May 1844, front page.
wide section of colonial society, their celebration of Britishness was particularly appealing to members of the upper-classes. As Pamela Statham-Drew writes in relation to a Foundation Day ball in 1837, 'few of those who considered themselves among the elite of Perth society would have missed it'. Like Melbourne, where the social year also included Tradesman's Balls along with Caledonian Theatre and St. Patrick's Day celebrations, Perth's social calendar reflected a growing colonial British society.

In 1845 an amateur concert was held to raise money for an organ for St. George's Church in Perth. The music selected at the concert indicates an emphasis on British music. In this two-act concert, the audience was treated to 'The Victories of Old England' and 'Macgregor's Gathering' in Act 1, while the two songs closing each act were 'Rule Britannia' and 'God Save the Queen'. The overtones of Empire are obvious. Colonial Victoria had similar concerts in the nineteenth century. In 1880 at Penhurst, a concert to raise money for a fence for the Mechanics' Institute included songs that 'reflected the origins of the majority of the audience'.

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44 Ibid.
45 Statham-Drew, James Stirling, p. 318.
46 Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, p. 79.
47 Account given in The Inquirer, 15 October 1845.
48 Ibid.
49 Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, p. 461.
Scottish migrants in Western Australia could also participate in Irish balls, notably in the York district from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. For some years Samuel Craig, owner of the 'Castle Hotel' in York, ran an annual evening Ball at the hotel celebrating St. Patrick's Day.\(^{50}\) Though the ball was mainly directed at Irish settlers in York and the surrounding region, the advertisement publicised the event for British settlers as a whole. Scots may have known of St. Patrick's day celebrations in Scotland, especially in areas like Glasgow and Greenock where Irish-born numbered over four per cent of the population, but they could have felt excluded from taking part and encouraged to do so for religious and cultural reasons. At York in Western Australia, a small community where British migrants lived more closely and came to know each other through shared settlement experiences, it is likely Scots intermingled with Irish settlers at Craig's annual balls.

While ambiguities existed as to what constituted Britishness, a British identity arose at times when placed in relation to what it was not. In *Britons: The Forging of the Nation 1707-1837* Linda Colley argues Britishness found its most prominent expressions in relation to the 'Other,' commonly the French and other European nations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. 'Britishness,' according to Colley, 'was superimposed over an array of internal differences in response to contact with the Other, and above all in response to conflict with the Other'.\(^{51}\) As will be discussed below, relationships with Indigenous Western Australians were guided by representations of the 'other'.

\(^{50}\) 'Notice' in *The Inquirer*, 9 March 1864, front page.
Britishness and Otherness is at times a pertinent dichotomy in relation to British identity in Western Australia. In June 1845, *The Perth Gazette* reported a recent grand ball celebrating the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo.52 The grand ball seems to have been an upper-class affair ‘with a preponderance of silken attire’.53 While the report went no further than stating the reason for celebration as the anniversary of Waterloo, this event brought together a select few from the colony to celebrate a British victory over the French. If political in nature it was also cultural in attempting to celebrate what was then deemed relevant to the British Empire. It should be recalled also that before 1850, two prominent districts of Western Australia's south were named Wellington and Nelson. While Nelson did not remain, Wellington continues to represent the area around Bunbury. A number of the first British migrants, such as English settlers John Molloy and Elijah Dawson, were retired officers from the Napoleonic wars54 and for these individuals such celebrations were particularly significant.

British identity and its relationship to the ‘Other’ also guided Western Australian settlers to later donate to the 'Indian Mutiny Relief Fund' in June 1858.55 Scots along with various other British settlers from all class strata, united in 1858 to send support to India. Since 1857 British colonists were forced into hiding following the mutiny of Indian sepoys (soldiers) from the British service who massacred the families of British soldiers.56 The mutiny not

55 'Indian Mutiny Relief Fund' in *The Inquirer*, Wednesday 9 June 1858.
only led to distress and disgust by the British government; the events also spurred British settlers in Western Australia to donate to a relief fund to help their compatriots in other regions of the Empire. The Indian Mutiny Relief Fund, part of a general fund in England, managed to unite various settlers in Western Australia. In all, twenty-five Scots joined with over three hundred other British individuals to lend support for their fellow British colonists in India.57

Scottish Colonisers

In their relationships with Indigenous Western Australians, Scots were foremost colonisers sharing the attitudes of other British settlers. Tom Stannage argues that this cultural baggage brought to the colony included ‘popular notions of racialism’ and the desire to civilise and Christianise the Aborigines. There was never a particularly Scottish response to Aborigines, but a British colonist response portraying Aborigines as the 'other'. As Don Watson writes in his study of Scottish highlanders in Gippsland, Victoria, Scots can be placed with a collective colonial experience displaying the:

kindness and brutality, self-interest and charity, memory and amnesia, decency and hypocrisy that has characterised public and private dealings with Aboriginal Australians from the beginning to the present day.58

As British colonists, Scots exhibited the same attitudes of British cultural superiority and the desire to civilise the indigenous population. Some Scots tried

57 ‘Indian Mutiny Relief Fund’ in *The Inquirer*, Wednesday 9 June 1858.
58 Watson, *Caledonia Australis*, p. xxviii.
to understand Aboriginal culture and formed lasting associations with indigenous people. Scots were, however, part of a colonising force seeking to claim their own history in Western Australia and in doing so displaced local Aborigines.

These perspectives are illustrated with particular reference to Robert M. Lyon, Francis Armstrong, Alexander Collie and Robert Stewart. These individuals, by no means representative of all Scottish lives, provide examples of Scottish relations with and perceptions of the indigenous population. If we are to understand Scottish settlement and the experiences of Scottish migrants in the colony as a whole, the interactions between Scots and the indigenous population must be looked at. As part of a colonising force, Scots shared this identity with the other British migrants.

Adam Armstrong's eldest son, Edinburgh-born Francis Fraser, spent most of his life in Western Australia as part of the Government Native Establishment, designed to record and interpret Aboriginal culture and educate the indigenous population. In the 1830s, in his official capacity as native interpreter, Francis Armstrong compiled a study of the 'Manners and Habits of the Aborigines of Western Australia'. Armstrong's contributions to knowledge of Aboriginal cultures in the Swan district were important in creating a better understanding of rituals and beliefs. Indeed, Armstrong's compilation of 1842 with George Fletcher Moore and Charles Simmonds was pivotal in detailing Aboriginal

59 The Perth Gazette, October-November 1836.
vocabulary. Armstrong was, however, a part of the British establishment. While his attempts to understand Aboriginal culture benefited British migrants and indigenous people, his efforts were part of wider attempts to civilise and Christianise Aboriginal people. Armstrong's involvement in this process began when he conducted the Native School from the 1830s, a school established in Perth to educate indigenous children.

A number of early colonists did question the treatment of indigenous people. One of the most critical of the mistreatment of Aboriginal people was Inverness Scot, Robert M. Lyon. Described as taking a benevolent interest in Aboriginal welfare and sympathetic to their rights, Lyon was one the most outspoken residents of the Swan district to plead for Aborigines of the district in the early 1830s. At an agricultural meeting in 1832, Lyon addressed the members with: 'Reflect. You have seized a land that is not yours'. In a letter to the editor of The Perth Gazette in January 1834, Lyon publicly stated his views:

The sooner the national rights of the Aboriginal inhabitants are recognised by some regular deed or charter, the better it will be for them and the British colonies in this hemisphere. It is an act of justice, as well as humanity, and therefore ought not to be delayed.

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60 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C, p. 67; Armstrong family, Papers, 1796-1886, manuscript, Acc. 2259A; Armstrong family, Papers, 1830-1953, manuscript, Acc. 721A.
61 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 1, A-C, p. 67.
62 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 3, K-Q, p. 1921; Bourke, On The Swan, p. 70.
63 Lyon quoted in Bourke, On The Swan, p. 71.
64 'To The Editor of the Perth Gazette' in The Perth Gazette, 11 January 1834, p. 215.
In a transcript of the latest agricultural meeting, placed directly below Lyon's letter, Lyon's proposals for improvements in the treatment of Aborigines were publicised. Lyon argued at the meeting that it is 'incumbent on us as a Christian nation, to show every kindness in our power to a people whom we have spoiled their country'. Lyon also requested the establishment of 'native villages' in every district of the colony. Lyon's proposals were never debated in future agricultural meetings and his efforts were of no avail. However, Lyon's views are important as those of one of the few early colonists to speak out for land rights.

While Lyon recognised the rights of the Aboriginal peoples of the Swan district and the colony as a whole, his solutions were tied to general British colonial perceptions. To Lyon, the proposed villages were to aid in giving land to Aboriginal individuals but mainly to 'communicate to these interesting people a knowledge of the Christian religion'. As Bain Attwood argues in *The Making of the Aborigines*, christianising Aborigines reshaped Aboriginal minds and hearts and was as violent an invasion as dispossession from the land. Similar sentiments to those of Lyon were expressed in an editorial letter to *The Perth Gazette* in 1833 from 'Philaleth.' In this letter the anonymous writer urged colonists to be kind to 'the native' and proposed the need to 'civilize, nay even to Christianize them'. But while Lyon was part of the British colonising force it is important to recognise that he was an outsider in the Swan River colony.

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66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
69 'To the Editor of The Perth Gazette' in *The Perth Gazette*, 1 June 1833, p. 119.
because of his views on Aboriginal rights. Lyon is in fact the focus of a chapter in Henry Reynolds’s *This Whispering in Our Hearts*.70 Along with his contemporary, Italian missionary Dr Louis Giustiniani, Lyon is praised by Reynolds for his ‘passionate involvement in the Aboriginal cause’.71 Interestingly, when Lyon spoke out against the outlawing of Aboriginal Beeliar tribe member Yagan he showed his Scottish background quite clearly, comparing Yagan to the patriot ‘Wallace of Scotland’.72

Private correspondence written by Alexander Collie and Robert Stewart reveal intimate perceptions of Aborigines. Both Collie and Stewart aimed to form their own opinions of indigenous Western Australians but there is an inherent suspicion reflected in their personal correspondence and a tendency to accept local migrant stories and reports rather than actual personal experience.

Collie and Stewart both aimed to give a description of Aborigines in their letters to family. In 1829, Alexander Collie described to his brother:

> they are of middling stature rather well proportioned in their limbs and exceedingly active in their actions, go generally wholly naked and shelter themselves in huts made of bark and branches of trees.73

Robert Stewart gave a similar description to his father in 1836 writing, ‘They live Chiefly on Kangaroo Fishes and Roots of Trees and Kill Their Game with long

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71 Ibid, p. 84.
72 Ibid, p. 73.
spears'. Both also relate the fragile relations between the British colonists and indigenous peoples. In August 1831, Collie wrote 'the natives are very friendly and often assist the settlers'. In contrast, however, he wrote later in January 1833 of Aborigines being 'very troublesome of late'. In January 1836, Robert Stewart wrote, 'the natives were very savage at first but now they are come to a better understanding'. Between 1833 and 1836 open conflicts had taken place between local Swan district Aborigines and white colonists. The outlawing of Weeip, leader of a Swan tribe, and the infamous 'Battle of Pinjarra' were used by white colonists and the local government to force Aborigines into submission, understood by Stewart as a 'better understanding'.

According to Collie, stories abounded of some of the Aborigines 'said to have braved and bullied a far superior force' of the colonists. Written only a short time after arrival as one of the first groups of colonists, this may refer to resistance by Aborigines at the arrival of the Parmelia and the Sulphur. On the other hand, Robert Stewart is more forward about the perceived superiority of white people. In a letter to his brother James, Robert writes, 'One White Man would defeat 300 of them with an Old Gun without a lock'. Collie, like

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73 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 9 June 1829 in Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
74 Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Snr, 19 January 1836, Stewart, Letters 1836-1888, Acc. 1086A.
75 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 4 August 1831 and 16 January 1833 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
76 Robert Stewart to Robert Stewart Snr, 19 January 1836, Stewart, Letters 1836-1888, Acc. 1086A.
77 Bourke, On the Swan, chapter 3.
78 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 9 June 1829 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
79 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 19 January 1836, Stewart, Letters 1836-1888, Acc. 1086A.
Armstrong and Lyon, supported the need to educate and christianise the Aborigines:

There is an excellent field for the missionary. Young boys would easily be accustomed to value the comforts of civilised life and thereby our moral and religious habits instilled into them. Even the older might, I think, be readily educated.80

Collie and Stewart also relate local stories of troubles between colonists and indigenous people in the colony. In 1831 Collie wrote to his brother, 'At the Swan River the tribes have been very troublesome killing some persons and driving off many sheep, besides spearing cows, horses & c'.81 In 1838 Robert Stewart gave a detailed description to recent incidents:

a party of natives came down from the Mountains and met with one of my neighbours stock after Beating two Boys that were minding the sheep & cattle and left them for dead...82

Then, in 1840, Stewart wrote of another incident where a European woman and child were speared in York, and when her husband came home 'he found his house burnt and only received fragments of his Wife & Child in the ruins'.83

Nevertheless, Robert Stewart did convey in his letters uncertainty as to where most of the fault lay. In 1837 he wrote of a violent incident, but did not know 'whether the Quarrel was on the part of the Whites or blacks... I never

80 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 4 August 1831 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
81 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 30 October 1831 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
82 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 1 February 1838 in Stewart, Letters 1836-1888, Acc. 1086A.
83 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 6 February 1840 in Stewart, Letters 1836-1888, Acc. 1086A.
found them [Aborigines] any thing troublesome'.

Robert Stewart also relates in letters how his experiences with indigenous individuals differed from the stories reported. In 1838 he related to brother James that Aboriginal people were 'never troublesome about my place'.

Robert Stewart’s relations with a 'Mountain Tribe' are also reported to his brother:

you get a visit from them daily down from the Mountains. If they are hungry they will bring some wood for the fire or some Water for the House but if they are not hungry they will not work for any one, and would not accept of Clothing those given them free of cost.

Later that year Robert wrote of becoming 'much attached to the Tribe that Hunts this Place', but this statement is made alongside a comment that they are 'useful to carry firewood, letters and other messages'. Although he relates tales of violence, Stewart’s opinion was influenced by personal experiences that contrasted local stories. Clearly relations with Aborigines varied between settlers.

Key Scottish individuals such as Francis Armstrong and Robert Lyon were respected within indigenous communities around Western Australia, both for their understandings of Aboriginal culture and their attempts to educate white settlers. Correspondence written by Scottish migrants Alexander Collie and Robert Stewart reveal important personal insights into relations with Indigenous

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84 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 1 November 1837 in Stewart, Letters 1836-1888, Acc. 1086A.

85 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 1 February 1838 in Stewart, Letters 1836-1888, Acc. 1086A

86 Robert Stewart to James Stewart, 19 January 1836 in Stewart, Letters 1836-1888, Acc. 1086A.

neighbours.

What is common in the approaches of Armstrong, Lyon, Collie and Stewart to indigenous Western Australians is their preconceived notion of the superiority of their own culture and the need to educate, civilise and Christianise Aborigines. Cultural boundaries played no part, however, in Alexander Collie’s friendship with an Aboriginal guide in Albany named Mokare. In August 1831 Collie wrote to his brother of Mokare’s illness:

The person who arrogates himself to the title of King of the tribe, Nakina by name, and his brother, Mokkare, who serves more especially as interpreter live at present with me, and the latter has just returned from the bush... so ill that I doubt he will recover.88

The two had by this time struck up a close friendship and Collie did all he could to make Mokare’s last days comfortable.89 According to Les Johnson, Collie made sure Mokare was surrounded by friends and family.90 Collie’s dying request was to be buried alongside Mokare in Albany.91

Distinct National Identities

As Colley writes, other nationalities of Great Britain did not become ‘Anglicised look-alikes... remaining in their own minds and behaviour, Welsh, or Scottish, or

88 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 4 August 1831 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
89 Alexander Collie to George Collie, 4 August 1831 in Collie, Letters 1828-1835, Acc. 333A.
90 Johnson, Love Thy Land, p. 31.
91 'Dr Alexander Collie: A Sketch of His Life' in The West Australian, March 13 1936.
Irish as well'. Laurence Brockliss argues further that the United Kingdom was really a union of multiple identities, and '[c]rucially there was no formal attempt to make Britishness a primary cultural identity'.

Ultimately, the United Kingdom represented 'four separate nations, whose inhabitants lived relatively happily together but continued to see themselves as English, Scots, Welsh and Irish'. On their voyages to Western Australia, Mary Bussell and John Turner both singled out the differences between national groups sharing their voyage. In 1829, Turner recorded in his diary aboard the Warrior his desire to avoid a conflict arising from quarrels between Scottish and Irish passengers. Mary Bussell's comments on her travels with other British migrants convey her own conceptions of identity. In March 1834 the James Pattison came close to an unknown ship, possibly a pirate ship, but Mary was much relieved to see 'She proved to be English'. To Bussell it was an English ship, not British, even though taking British migrants to the colonies. In a later entry, Mary recorded a debate she became engaged in with Scotsman Peter Belches whom she knew well on the voyage. As Bussell writes, when their debate over the phrasing of an expression was put to others on the ship, 'All the Scotchmen gave it in favour of Mr Belches, the English in my favour'. Mary Bussell went on to explain the cultural differences arising 'from the different acceptance of the expressions, reason and proof among the

92 Colley, Britons, p. 163.
93 Brockliss, 'Conclusion,' pp. 194-195.
94 Ibid, p. 207.
96 Fairbairn, 'Diary of Mary Bussell's Voyage in the "James Pattison"', p. 47.
Scotch, which in the sense I used it, have in England become clearly synonymous'. That she regards English as superior is apparent.

In Western Australia, this plurality of British identity is precisely why Scottishness was able to flourish in the colony without hindering Scots politically, economically or socially. Scots recognised their identity as British migrants but Britishness enabled them to identify with a sense of Scottishness. Scots shared this plurality of identity with other British migrants and a need to assert distinctiveness in a predominantly English colony. As Krishan Kumar argues, the English did not lose a sense of their distinctiveness but the Scots, Welsh and Irish:

clung to their national identities as a kind of compensation for, or counterweight against, the predominant role of the English in the United Kingdom. They were Britons but also clearly Scots, Welsh and Irish. 

The same was also true in Western Australia where before 1850 Scots, Irish and Welsh migrants clung to their national identities. Yet, even as the predominant British group in the colony, English settlers also saw a need to convey their own Englishness.

National identity in the nineteenth century allowed Scottish migrants a sense of Scottishness as well as Britishness without either conflating the other. To an extent, Scottish migrants accepted a British identity for, in a British colony, as British subjects and interacting more closely with other British individuals,

97 Ibid, p. 49.
Scots could not ignore the British foundations of the Swan River colony. In his correspondence on botany in Western Australia, Perthshire Scot James Drummond directly reflected on the British nature of the colony, writing of 'the plants of this a British colony'. By its very nature, Britishness granted cultural plurality and this is exactly why particular individuals sustained a sense of Scottishness after settling. Indeed, British migrants as a whole expressed their own cultural identities publicly in similar ways as Scottish migrants.

To an extent Scots shared a common descent with other English, Irish and Welsh settlers as British migrants establishing a colony important to the British Empire. Their perceptions of and relations with indigenous Western Australians convey the extent to which Scots lived as British colonists and portrayed Aborigines as the 'other'. They shared with their fellow British colonists similar cultural assumptions and colonial objectives.

This common British identity, problematic in reality, later came to be replaced by identification as white Western Australians. They came to share experiences establishing lives as colonists and as the first white Western Australians. Where Britishness seemed too political or abstract, a Westralian identity arose from common beginnings, differing along class lines, but nevertheless cutting across previous cultural barriers. Like their British identity, a Westralian identity also allowed for identification with previous origins. Having

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99 James Drummond to William Jackson Hooker, 28 May 1839 in Drummond, *Correspondence 1834-1851*, Acc. 1951A.
assumed the plurality of Britishness and Scottishness, a Westralian and Scottish identity fitted well.
CONCLUSION

This thesis demonstrates that Scots arriving in Western Australia before the end of 1850 have left traces of their Scottish identity on the Western Australian landscape. Given their small numbers in a predominantly English colony, Scots reacted by seeking out relationships with other Scots and maintaining their identity within the home and in small Scottish communities.

This study attempts to broaden Scottish-Australian colonial migration history by including Scottish experiences in Western Australia. Scots in Western Australia before 1850 represented around one per cent of all Scottish arrivals in Australia, and they were never more than five per cent of the white population of the Swan River Colony. In terms of numbers, Malcolm Prentis is right in asserting Western Australia was the 'least Scottish colony'.¹ But this should not lead, as it has done, to a lack of attention directed to Westralian Scots. Recognising Scottish experiences in Western Australia and placing them within the broader context of Scottish migration to Australia in the nineteenth century provides a fuller, more accurate account of Scottish migration.

In the Swan River Colony, Scots were neither supported by Scottish migration companies nor by the Presbyterian establishment and church emigration schemes. Their future in Western Australia depended on their own initiative. Scottish migrants had to promote their identity as a personal pursuit outside of Scottish institutions and public organisations that featured in colonial life of the eastern colonies.

¹ Prentis, The Scottish in Australia, p. 87.
A close, socio-biographical study of Scottish lives in Western Australia reveals some of the choices made by individuals to maintain their Scottish identity. As J. M. Bumsted argues in relation to Canada, Scots are to an extent ‘a Scot by choice’. The value in studying the lives of close to 200 identified Scots in Western Australia before the end of 1850 is in understanding personal, everyday expressions of Scottish identity.

Identifying Scottishness involves looking at two main categories of identification: individual ascriptions of identity and public expressions of Scottishness. In Western Australia, individual ascriptions of identity are revealed in the key themes such as family life, private worship and correspondence. Public expressions of Scottishness are also linked to family life but take the form of lasting testaments in headstone inscriptions and death notices. Public expressions of identity are most apparent in the creation of small Scottish communities. These communities reveal the ‘extent to which Scots abroad choose to associate with other Scots’. Work communities were particularly important to Scots in colonial Western Australia. As John M. Fraser argues, Scottish work associations represent ‘the common economic aim of “making good” achieved through combining ‘with those you knew, understood, trusted and were in frequent contact with’. Westralian Scots directly sought work relationships with other Scots and in the Plantagenet and Toodyay districts these relationships formed an important basis for maintaining their migrant


3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.
identity. Scots were also linked through small religious communities. Unlike Scots in New South Wales and Victoria, Westralian Scots waited until the late 1860s for their first Presbyterian congregation and later still for the establishment of a Presbyterian Church in 1882. It is testament to the significance Scots placed on their religion that traces of Presbyterianism in Western Australia can be found before 1869.

This thesis suggests the need to reconsider Scottish identity in the Australian colonies in the nineteenth century by looking at everyday lives and individual identities. The key focus is Scottish migrant mentalities. Understanding Scottish identity in Western Australia involves going beyond the perpetuation of identity through institutions, societies and other broad cultural forms. As Bill Jones writes of Welsh migrants in colonial Ballarat, Welsh experiences outside Wales should not be collectively encapsulated in 'a history of religions, institutions, Welsh societies and cultural forms'. Identity is thus much more personal and individually based. Westralian Scots maintained a sense of Scottishness through work, preserving faith in small religious communities and in the various manifestations of family identity.

Scots in Western Australia partly came to identify with one another as a reaction to their new lives in the colony. As Charles Tilly argues, common migrants do not necessarily have a common identity. What in effect happens is a new identification is created through mixing with others of similar origins at the destination. Tilly uses the example of Italians in the United States, and how

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5 Fraser, 'The Impact of Scots in early Australian History', p. 60.
6 Jones, 'Welsh Identities in Colonial Ballarat', p. 36.
7 Tilly, 'Transplanted Networks', p. 90.
Sicilians and Romans came to identify with one another as Italians in America.\(^8\) The same is true of Scots in Western Australia. Identification with one another in small communities around the colony was based on recognition of their status as a minority national group in Western Australia. As Eric Richards writes, in Australia ‘the various Scots sometimes coalesced into a generalised version of themselves’.\(^9\)

In their everyday lives, Scottish identity was more than Scotland; it was a region, family origins or a particular place. Individual expressions of identity that have survived in newspapers, headstone inscriptions and property names, for example, reveal a variety of Scotlands in Western Australia. Understanding Scottish identity in Western Australia means understanding the variety of representations of Scotland with different meanings for particular individuals. In this sense micro-level investigations of migrant mentalities are important for revealing the plurality of migrant identity and its personal connotations.

This thesis also extends Scottish identity beyond identification with Scotland alone. In past historiography on Scots in Australia, the emphasis has been on Scottish identity with little attention to its relationship to British identity in the nineteenth century. Investigation into Scottish lives in Western Australia reveals that they also recognised their British identity. As colonists in a British colony, they used this state identity to benefit from the spoils of Empire and succeed in the colony. More particularly middle and upper-class Scots in Western Australia used the term 'North Britain'. Scots were willing to accept a

\(^{8}\) Ibid.

British identity because British citizenship in the nineteenth century allowed for cultural diversity.\(^\text{10}\)

What should also be recognised is that by the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a growing interest in Scottish song, culture and dress throughout the rest of Britain. Alex Tyrrell argues that Queen Victoria’s trip to Scotland in 1842 gave rise to English interest in Scottishness and celebrations of the Highlands.\(^\text{11}\) So while Scots recognised both a Scottish and British identity, it can be argued that a growing interest in Scottishness in Britain as a whole by the middle of the nineteenth century allowed Scots more freedom to exert their Scottish identity. This increase in interest in Scottish culture had its parallels in Western Australia. As has been shown in this thesis, individuals like the Scottish Highland shepherds of Toodyay were celebrated in the colony for their Highland origins, dress and culture. Before 1850, there was a continual increase in Scottish clothing advertised in *The Perth Gazette* and *The Inquirer* newspapers. While items such as Glengarry hats and Scottish bonnets were most likely purchased by Scots, these items could well have been purchased by English migrants, for example, interested in Scottish culture. Balls held in the colony from the 1840s also included Scottish songs.\(^\text{12}\)

Just as Scottish migrants could be both Scottish and British, with neither identity erasing the other, so too could they exist alongside an emerging Western Australian identity. While Donald and Jessie MacPherson were proud of their

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\(^{11}\) Alex Tyrrell ‘The Queen’s “Little Trip”: The Royal Visit to Scotland in 1842’ in *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 82, no. 213 (2003); pp. 65-71.

\(^{12}\) Account of amateur concert in *The Inquirer*, 15 October 1845.
Scottish background, expressing it in the naming of their home and even their horses, in death they also represented a connection with the colony, including on their headstone that they were of ‘Glentromie, Victoria Plains’. John Scott Senior’s death notice recorded that he ‘arrived in the colony in 1831, and was the first settler in the Bunbury locality’. Scottish publicans recognised their adopted home as well. In 1859 Gavin Forrest became the inaugural owner of the ‘Vasse Hotel’ in the Wellington district. In the Toodyay district James Sinclair established the ‘Bush Inn’ in the 1840s and in the 1850s Alexander Warren owned the ‘Toodyay Hotel’.

In some instances, a Westralian Scottish identity was expressed. Mary MacPherson’s headstone inscription identifies her as: ‘BORN APRIL 5TH 1819/ AT ALVIE INVERNESSHIRE/ DIED IN THIS COLONY’. In 1856, George Skinner’s notice in *The Perth Gazette* stated his dual identification:

> GEORGE SKINNER (a fourteen-year free man), begs to announce that, in justice to himself and family, he has resolved to leave Swan River for old Caledonia...

> N.B. G. S., regrets exceedingly leaving a place he has Adopted and looked upon as his home, but the late legislative enactments compel him to retire to his native land...

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13 Headstone inscription for Donald and Jessie MacPherson, East Perth Cemetery.

14 Death notice in *The Inquirer*, 11 August 1880.

15 ‘List of Licenses’ in *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 8 February 1859, p. 3.


17 Headstone inscription for Mary MacPherson, Culham Cemetery.

18 *The Perth Gazette*, 11 July 1856, p. 2. While ‘a fourteen-year freeman’ may imply Skinner could have been a convict, he was a free settler and the only George Skinner present in the colony at that time. Skinner is using ‘free man’ much in the same sense as free settler and in opposition to the presence of convicts in the colony in 1856. Skinner was part of a group of free settlers who in June 1856 called a public meeting to petition the government protesting against the Publican’s Licensing Bill increasing taxation. See: *The Perth Gazette*, 4 July 1856, p. 2.
Here George Skinner stated his affinity with both 'old Caledonia' and 'a place he has adopted and looked upon as his home', as a Westralian Scot.

While Scottish experiences in Western Australia are the basis of this thesis, it is not suggested that Scottishness in Western Australia was completely different from the other migrant identities in the colony and in Australia as a whole in the nineteenth century. Scottishness in Western Australia can in fact be compared to broader migration studies that now emphasise ‘the remarkable resilience of at least some aspects of the immigrants’ culture through the migration process’.19 As has been shown, Irish migrants in particular shared a keen sense of family identity with the Scots. Along with other British migrants, Scots shared the desire to express national origins in the naming of hotels. In addition to Alexander Francisco's 'Crown and Thistle' and Alexander Warren's 'Bonnie Laddie/Highland Laddie', in the first decades of the colony hotels such as 'Shamrock Hotel' and the 'Devonshire Arms' complemented their Scottish equivalents.20 William Elverd of Kojonup also ran a hotel named for specific national origins, advertising in 1869 'Semblance of Old England Hotel... equal in all respects to any roadside Inn in the colony'.21 Where the Scots differed and indeed where we can trace the presence of Scottish, Irish, English and Welsh identities was the sense of place being conveyed. The ways of asserting identity were not different but the identity being put forward was: a sense of Scottishness as different to Irishness, Englishness and Welshness.

Scottishness in nineteenth-century Australia is not just about attendance at Presbyterian Churches or membership in Scottish societies. To better

19 Quote taken from Campbell, *Kingdom of the Ryans*, p. 94.

20 All mentioned: 'Publican's General License' in *Government Gazette*, 8 February 1859, p. 3.
understand the ways in which Scottish identity manifested itself in colonial Australia, attention needs to be directed to everyday lives. This thesis extends the inquiry into Scottish migration, specifically Australian studies, by focussing on Scottish lives in terms of identity. Recent scholarship on Scottish settlement in New Zealand shows how current histories of Scottish migration are now looking to identifying and debating the importance of Scottish identity as a central part of migration and settlement. It is within this broader context that this study can be placed.

The main purpose of this thesis has been to illuminate the lives of the first Scottish migrants in Western Australia and account for the ways in which they asserted their identity in the colony. This has been done through analysis of major themes such as settlement, work, family, religion and correspondence. Within each analysis individual and group understandings of identity are illustrated as reflecting Scottishness in Western Australia.

This study also offers another view of the Swan River colony from the perspective of Scottish migrants. Michael Bourke’s description of early migrant responses to the Swan district is useful in showing how the colony has generally been described in past writings on Western Australia in the nineteenth century:

The earliest settlers of Western Australia had attempted to recreate in the new colony a semblance of the life which they had known in rural England. To some extent they had succeeded in the 1830s; in the closely-settled valley of the Swan, with its market town of Guildford and its estates worked by large establishments of indentured servants and labourers, there were strong resemblances to the country society of England. Even the landscape, with its park-like river flats and backdrop of low hills, reminded travellers of the English countryside.

21 ‘Semblance of Old England’ in The Inquirer, 23 June 1869.


23 Bourke, On The Swan, p. 196.
This was certainly true for a large number of the colonists but research into the experiences of Scottish migrants reveals another picture of settlement. While Bourke refers to the large establishments and their ‘resemblances to country society of England’, Scottish families working on Yule’s property in the Swan reminded Frederick Irwin of the industry, skill and high character of Scottish establishments.24 Travelling in the Swan district in the late 1830s, Scottish settler Walkinshaw Cowan did not see an English landscape but rather hills covered with a ‘sort of herbage, which reminded me strongly of the mountain scenery of Scotland’.25 Scottish migrants wanted to recreate a semblance of Scotland and their lives reveal the need to examine migrant experiences in Western Australia from various perspectives.

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25 Cowan, A Colonial Experience, p. 11.
APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A
List of arrivals 1829-1850: Scots settling permanently in Western Australia

APPENDIX B
Lists of arrivals 1829-1850: Individuals unable to be identified as settling in or leaving the colony

APPENDIX C
Scots Who Died pre-1850 and settlement unknown

APPENDIX D
List of arrivals: Scots who left the colony

APPENDIX E
Scottish settlement by districts

APPENDIX F
John Adam’s Indenture
### APPENDIX A: PERMANENT SCOTTISH SETTLEMENT

<table>
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<th>NAME</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
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<td>Scotland</td>
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<td>*Walter Boyd Andrews</td>
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<td>Dalkeith</td>
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<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<td>Dundee</td>
<td>Well &amp; Swan</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Bouglas</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Murray</td>
</tr>
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<td>Guernsey(Scottish family)</td>
<td>Perth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McBride Broun</td>
<td>Dumfries</td>
<td>Perth/Frem</td>
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<td>Scotland</td>
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<td>Bruce Cheyne</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<td>York</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roderick Cowden</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Plantagenet</td>
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1. *A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832*. AJCP, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156; *Return for the Population For Albany 1836*, CSR 45/114-116; *1837 Census of Western Australia*, CSR 58/37-80; *Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; 1859 York Census; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888*; *Headstone inscriptions, Picton Cemetery, All Saint's Churchyard, Busselton Pioneer Cemetery, East Perth Cemetery, Culham Cemetery, Toodyay Public Cemetery, St. John's churchyard Pinjarra, Middleton Road Cemetery Albany, St. Werdburgh's Churchyard, Mount Barker, Nardie Cemetery and Fremantle Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003; Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle; Garden, Albany: A Panorama of the Sound from 1827; Richards, The Murray District of Western Australia; Jennings, Busselton: 'outstation on the Vasse; Joske, Dearest Isabella; Moir and Wardell-Johnson, The Continuing Moir Saga; Sounness, ‘The Sounness Family of Mount Barker’; The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal/Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900); Western Mail (1880-1910); Albany Advertiser (1890-1920); Albany Mail (1890-1920); The Bunbury Herald (1870-1900); Adam, Letters, 1836-1848, Acc. 2681A; Blyth, Papers, 1842-1856; Graham, Family Papers, 1852-1906, Acc. 1233A; Lauder, Correspondence, 1844 June 27, Acc. 655A; Paterson family, Papers, 1837-1922, Acc. 3103A.*
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<td>Perth</td>
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* DIED PRIOR TO 1850 BUT HAD INTENDED TO SETTLE PERMANENTLY

APPENDIX B:
UNKNOWN SCOTTISH LIVES - MAY/MAY NOT HAVE REMAINED IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

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APPENDIX C:

1 A Return of all Persons appointed to Place and to Situations at the Swan River; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156; Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; Cheyne, Diaries 1833-1855, Acc. 285A; Berryman, Swan River Letters.
SCOTS WHO DIED IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA PRIOR TO 1850 BUT HAD INTENDED TO LEAVE THE COLONY OR WHOSE INTENTIONS REMAIN UNKNOWN¹

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APPENDIX D: TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT
SCOTS WHO LEFT COLONY BEFORE 1850 OR SHORTLY THEREAFTER¹

¹ A Return of all Persons appointed to Place and to Situations at the Swan River; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156; Colonial Secretary's Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4, 1829-1888; The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal/Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900); Collie, Letters, 1828-1835, Acc. 333A; 'Inquiry into death of John MacDonald' in Colonial Secretary's Inward Correspondence, CSR 16/170.
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NAME | BIRTHPLACE | SETTLEMENT(WA) |
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George Cheyne | Edinburgh | Plantagenet |

1 A Return of all Persons appointed to Place and to Situations at the Swan River; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156; Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4; Arrivals at Fremantle 1829-1890; Moir and Wardell-Johnson, The Continuing Moir Saga; The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900); Cheyne, Diaries, 1833-1855, Acc. 285A; Stewart, Letters, 1835-1840, Acc. 1086A.
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<td>Charles Hood</td>
<td>Greenock</td>
<td>Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Jackson</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>Fremantle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Law</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Lyon</td>
<td>Inverness</td>
<td>Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neil McGlashan</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>York-Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald H. McLeod</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Middlemas</td>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Mudie</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Plantagenet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Myne</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Sussex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Neill</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Plantagenet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Pegus</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Perth/Frem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Skinner</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>York/Frem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann Stewart</td>
<td>Perthshire?</td>
<td>Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Stewart</td>
<td>Blair Athol</td>
<td>Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Stirling</td>
<td>Lanark</td>
<td>Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Thomson</td>
<td>Borders</td>
<td>Mandurah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**APPENDIX E: SCOTTISH SETTLEMENT BY DISTRICTS**

*Italicics: Scots known to have lived out their lives in each district*
**PLANTAGENET SCOTS**

Duncan Arcott          John and Elizabeth Moir  
Peter Belches          Alexander Moir  
**John Rufus Bruce**   Andrew Moir  
Charles Byrne          George Moir  
Isabella Checker (nee Moir)  William Morrison  
Alexander Cheyne (Tasmania 1834)  Andrew & Elizabeth Muir  
**Bruce Cheyne**       Andrew Muir  
George & Grace Cheyne (Scotland 1860)  John Reid Muir  
**John Cheyne (left pre-1850)**  Robert Muir  
Mary Ann & Roderick Cowden  Thomas Muir  
**John Craigie**       Robert Mudie  
Elizabeth Dunn (nee Henderson)  Robert Neill (depart 1847)  
Thomas Gillan          Agnes Piggott (nee Muir)  
Andrew Gordon          John & Jane Robertson  
Daniel Grey            James Sinclair  
Daniel Grey            John Sinclair  
Elizabeth Harris (nee Moir)  William & Mary Sounness  
Agnes Howson (nee Young)  Thomas Lyell Symers  
Thomas MacMahon        Patrick Taylor  
Charles Wallace        Elizabeth Trail  
Hugh MacDonald          Robert Wilson  
Hugh McKenzie (died 1841)  John & Mary Young  
John McLeod (died 1834)  David & Margaret Young (nee Muir)

**TOODYAY SCOTS**

1 Return for the Population For Albany 1836, CSR 45/114-116; Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes I-4; Arrivals at Fremantle 1829-1890; Moir and Wardell-Johnson, The Continuing Moir Saga; The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal/Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900); Cheyne, Diaries, Acc. 285A; Headstone inscriptions, Middleton Road Cemetery, Albany and St. Werdburgh’s Churchyard, Mount Barker, Author's photographic evidence, 2002; ’A Register of the Inhabitants of the Town & District of Albany, WA made by J. Gigg, after a House Visitation in the Month of January 1871’ in Graham, Family Papers, 1852-1906, Acc. 1233A.

2 Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes I-4; Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal/Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900);
Peter Ambrose
Alexander and Cecilia Anderson
Alexander Anderson
Cecilia Anderson
Cecilia Anderson
Elinor Anderson
Jane Anderson
Janet Anderson
John Anderson
Margaret Anderson
Mary Anderson
William Anderson
John Davidson
Unnamed Davidson brother
James Drummond
Alexander & Christiana Ferguson
James Ferguson
Charles & Jane Glass
Ewen MacKintosh
Aneas MacPherson
Donald & Janet MacPherson (nee McKnoe)
Duncan & Mary MacPherson
John MacPherson
Joseph McKnoe
William McKnoe
James & Mary Sinclair
Frederick Slade

**MURRAY SCOTS**

*Western Mail (1880-1910); Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle; Headstone inscriptions, Toodyay Public Cemetery and Nardie Cemetery, Toodyay, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.*

³ Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4; Arrivals at Fremantle, 1829-1890; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal/Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900); Western Mail (1880-1910); Erickson, Old Toodyay and Newcastle; Headstone inscriptions, St
Adam Armstrong
Adam Armstrong
Elizabeth Armstrong
George Bouglas
John McLarty
David Smythe Murray
Nicol Paterson
John Fairbairn

MANDURAH

Caroline Thomson
Robert Thomson

WELLINGTON SCOTS

John's Churchyard, Pinjarra, Author's photographic evidence, 2002; Richards, The Murray District of Western Australia.

4 Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volume 4, R-Z, p. 3057.
5 Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4; Arrivals at Fremantle 1829-1890; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal/Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900); Western Mail (1880-1910); The Bunbury Herald (1870-1900); Headstone inscriptions, Picton
Elizabeth Ferguson
Margaret & William Forrest
Alexander McAndrew
Neil & Mary McGlashan
William Ramsay
Helen & John Scott
John Scott
Robert Scott
James Mylne

**SUSSEX SCOTS**

Gaven & Mary Forrest
James Forrest
Mary Forrest
Daniel & Agnes McGregor (nee Lockhart)
Robert Lockhart
William Frederick Scott

**YORKSHIRE SCOTS**

Cemetery, Bunbury, Author's photographic evidence, 2002.


7 Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians*, volumes 1-4; Arrivals at Fremantle 1829-1890; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; 1859 York Census; The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal/Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900); Western Mail (1880-1910); Erickson, *The Dempsters*; Garden, *Northam: An Avon Valley History*. 
John Adam
Francis Byrne
Walkinshaw Cowan
James Dempster
James Lawrence
Donald H. McLeod
George Martin
William Skinner

SWAN SCOTS

8 Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River, Viz; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, C.O 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156; 1837 Census of Western Australia, CSR 58/37-80; Colonial Secretary’s Inward Correspondence 1829-1880; Erickson, Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians, volumes 1-4; Headstone inscriptions, East Perth Cemetery and Fremantle Cemetery, Author's photographic evidence, 2001-2003; Joske, Dearest Isabella; Bourke, On the Swan; The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal/Western Australian Times (1836-1930); The Inquirer and Independent Journal of Politics (1840-1900); Western Mail (1880-1910); Blyth, Papers, 1842-1856; Lauder,
Henry Anderson
Walter Boyd Andrews
Elizabeth Andrews
James Anderson
Francis Armstrong
Robert Bell
James Blyth (after Wellington)
Caroline Broun
McBride Broun
Peter Broun
William Nairne Clark
John Cleland
Alexander Collie
Christiana Davies
John & Jane Dewar
Ann Dewar
Janet Dewar
Robert Dewar
John Farquhar
Isabella Ferguson
John Ferguson
John M Ferguson
Mary Ferguson
Thomas Ferguson
John Ferres
Janet Ferres
Ellen Ferres
Robert Ferres
William Finlay
Alexander Francisco
Charles Hood
Samuel Jackson
James & Mary Lauder
Samuel Law

Correspondence, 1844 June 27, Acc. 655A.
Robert M. Lyon  
John McDonald  
Alexander McGregor  
William McKecknie  
Thomas Middlemas  
James & Mary Miller  
John Murray  
William Nairn  
John Patten  
David Patterson  
William Pegus  
John Robertson  
Anne Skinner  
George Skinner  
Bernard Smith  
Anne & John Smith  
Robert & Ann Stewart  
James Stirling  
Andrew Stirling  
James Thomson  
Margaret Thomson  
Alexander Warren  

**OTHER**  
Alexander Dewar, Greenough  
John Morrison Walker, Irwin  

**SETTLEMENT UNKNOWN**  

James Douglas  
William Fraser  
Alexander & Ann Robertson (and unnamed child)  
Peter Stewart  

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9 Returns Relative to the Settlement of the Swan River, Viz; A Return of the Population of Western Australia at 1st July 1832, AJCP, CO 18, Reel 298, Piece 10, pp. 112-156.
APPENDIX F: JOHN ADAM'S INDENTURE

An Agreement made the day of August 1837 Between
Major Fredk. Chidley Irwin
of Perth in Western Australia
of the one part and John

1 'An Agreement made the day of August 1837 Between Major Fredk. Chidley Irwin of Perth in Western Australia of the one part and John Adam of Alves, Morayshire N.B of the other part' in Adam-Cooper-Duffield-Clark, Family Papers, 1813-1913, Acc. 2544A.
Adam of Alves. Moray
Shire N.B of the other part

The said John Adam having entered the service of the said Major Irwin, and being now on his passage to Western Australia, hereby engages that he will faithfully serve and work for the said Major Irwin as he or any person appointed by him shall direct in the capacity of Agricultural Servant or Shepherd for the lesser of four years and five months, dating from the 20th of Janry 1837 being the day of his departure from England and the said John Adam further engage till the expiration of the said time he will not absent himself from the Service of the said Major Irwin without his consent in writing under his hand first obtained. In consideration whereof the said Major Irwin hereby engages to give the said John Adam the average rate of wages granted to Agricultural Servants or Shepherds in the Colony, and to supply him with the rations of food usually given to such servants in Western Australia except spirits, and in lieu of which so long as they form part of the rations usually given in the Colony, he the said John Adam is to receive the sum of two pence per time. Major Irwin further agrees to allow the said John Adam any advantages not inserted in this document which it is customary to grant to Servants holding similar situations in the colony - It being the intention of the said Major Irwin to place the said John Adam in charge of an Agricultural or Sheep while acting in such capacity such higher rate of wages are usually granted in the Colony to men entrusted with such charge. The amount of Wages above mentioned is to be deducted by reference to the arbitration of two indifferent persons one to be named by each party and in case either of the parties shall refuse to join in such nomination then both the said arbitrators to be named by the other of the said parties in dispute. And in case such referees cannot agree upon an award then it shall stand referred to the (illegible) as arbitration of such one person as the said has referred shall by any writing under their hands appoint. And the award which shall be made by the said two referees or by their (illegible) And it is hereby agreed that the submission to references as espoused shall be made a mile of any town of (illegible) jurisdiction on the application of either of the said parties to the reference. It is further agreed that the amount of passage money and other sums advanced to the said John Adam shall be deducted from his wages which are to commence from the period of his arrival in the Colony. The said John Adam not having signed Inden -tures before leaving England in consequence of being under age, hereby engages to enter into In
-dentures binding himself to the above Agreement on coming of age for the time which shall remain inexpired of the terms of servitude above men-tioned. As Witness the hands of the said par-ties.

(Signed)
F. C Irwin
John Adam

Witness to the signing by the above named Fredk. Chidley Irwin and John Adam.

(Signed)
Margaret Irwin
James Miller
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