Hearts broken here, homes wasted there: Maria S. Rye and Assisted Female Migration to Provincial Otago

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Abstract

This thesis looks at the women and the processes involved in the emigration scheme that saw single young women who emigrated to Otago as assisted immigrants. They were recruited to be domestic servants and future marriage partners because of the influx of men to the gold fields. This influx led to the Otago Provincial Government developing a scheme that promoted assisted emigrations to single females. This thesis focuses primarily on the importance of moral threats surrounding these women on their journey to New Zealand. The scheme's organisers saw moral risks to the women as the primary threat to both the immigrants and the scheme itself. There was fear of recruiting the wrong sort of women; the moral risk that the women faced in travelling without family; the moral risk to themselves and others on the voyage; and the risks when they arrived in the immigration barracks or when they left its protection for their new lives. This thesis asks if the risk to the good character and well-being of these women was as justified as authorities feared it to be. In exploring the experiences of these young women, it is clear that despite some notable exceptions, the scheme was successful in its own terms, ensuring better futures for the women themselves.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis explores the Otago assisted emigration scheme for single women in the 1860s. The journey to Otago, New Zealand was taken by many hopeful emigrants from the United Kingdom in the 1860s, but the route was not new. Since 1815 there had been a steady increase of emigration to the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand which rapidly grew in 1847 due to the famine that had plagued Ireland and would lead to the mass exodus of Irish.[1] Emigration boomed even further with the discovery of gold. When Gabriel Reid discovered gold in the Otago province in 1861, the region felt a similar impact on its population as that which the gold rushes had on California and Australia. The mass influx of men pursuing gold would lead to the introduction of schemes that promoted the emigration of single women to the province.

Female migration to New Zealand was already occurring with 2495 single women immigrating from the United Kingdom in 1858, three years before any concern of a gender imbalance became a pressing issue for the Otago provincial government.[2] The province's population was quickly inflated by thousands of men excited by the prospect of gold in the early 1860s. Prior to this, there had been a push from the provincial government to promote Otago as an up-and-coming province, and there was a sense of urgency that families, rather than single men, emigrate to the area.

A solution to rectify this presumed gender imbalance was born through the idea of assisted emigration of single, young females. This was not necessarily a new idea as assisted emigration to Otago had existed before the discovery of gold in 1861. Before this time however, assisted migration was available for only one class of women; domestic and household servants.[3] These women were already in high demand when this movement began in the United Kingdom to assist more women to emigrate.[4] Women were emigrating from the United Kingdom at a slower rate than their male counterparts, leading to concern over the United Kingdom's own population's imbalance of the sexes.[5] In the New World, however, they were faced with the opposite problem: where the New World needed young single females to balance out the surplus of men, Great Britain was dealing with the abundance of single young women who outnumbered their own young men. Several groups in the United Kingdom expressed concern over what would happen to the women who were seen as a

[1] Maria S. Rye, "Emigrant-Ship Matrons*," English Woman's Journal* 5, 25 (1860): 25.
[2] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons*,"* 26.
[3] Maria S. Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," *English Woman's Journal* 5, 28 (1860): 235.
[4] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 235.
[5] Charlotte Macdonald, "Too Many Men and Too Few Women: Gender's "Fatal Impact" in Nineteenth Century Colonies," in *The Gendered Kiwi,* ed, Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999) 18-21.

'surplus,' believing that there were too many young women amongst their population who were going to be unable to find either a husband or a job.

In 1861, Miss Maria S. Rye and her colleagues formed the Female Middle Class Emigration Society. Their work focused on increasing the accessibility of free and assisted passages to the colonies for a greater range of women instead of just domestic servants.[6] Rye, who had previously been a member of the Society for Promoting the Employment for Women, believed that there needed to be significant change in the accessibility of assisted passages. She wanted to ensure that a larger group of women were able to partake in free and assisted passages to Australia and New Zealand, where they could access a greater number of employment opportunities.[7]

Rye was well published in the *English Woman's Journal,* where she would write articles on issues such as women's employment and migration. In 1860 she argued that the situation for assisted migration to the colonies for women was extremely limited and that there were no free or assisted passages available to any other class of women outside of the domestics.[8] She advocated for more assisted passages for a larger group of women candidates and, on occasions, reflected on correspondence that she had with the colonies, particularly on the demand for more women to immigrate to them. She did not ignore the fact that female domestics were always in high demand.

Rye played a key role in promoting and assisting single, young women in their emigration to New Zealand and Australia. She personally took the same voyage as many of the young women, visiting several provinces in New Zealand and Australia, where she offered recommendations on how the system could be improved. This trip attracted attention from officials both in the United Kingdom and within the colonies, with individuals reacting both positively and negatively to her critics. Her goals for the emigration of young single women mirrored the aspirations of the Otago Provincial Government and their emigration Agents, but for each of these actors, the goals for the scheme and ideas for what success would look like differed.

With the establishment of the New Zealand provinces in 1853, emigration to New Zealand was a provincial responsibility and remained so until their abolition in 1876. Prior to the gold rush, the Otago Provincial Government had hopes of positioning itself as a premium destination for families but, after the large influx of men, it became concerned that this goal would not be realised. A solution

[6] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 235.
[7] Rye, On Assisted Emigration," 235.
[8] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 235.

to this problem was seen as promoting the emigration of single, young women from Britain to the province. It was believed that this would solve two issues: the first being to meet the constant demand for domestic servants to the area, meeting the needs of the businesses, farms and families who were crying out for domestic servants. They hoped that offering discounted passages to women who worked in domestic service would encourage more to take up the opportunity to come to Otago. Secondly, they hoped that an influx of young, single women to the area would mean that they would remain in service for longer and eventually settle and marry the young men who had also recently moved to the province. This would bring stability and young families to the region.

The most informative work on this history is Charlotte MacDonald's 1990 work, A *Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth-century New Zealand.* Her work is fundamental for its examination of the experience of the young women who emigrated and predominantly settled in Canterbury as a part of assisted female emigration schemes at the time. MacDonald set the scene for the experiences of the women at a variety of stages of their journeys and also included consideration of the experiences of women who emigrated to Otago.

This thesis aims to continue building on MacDonald's work by focusing only on the women who emigrated to Otago in 1862 and 1863, as well as Maria S. Rye's expectations, experiences of and influences on the scheme throughout its stages. It examines the perceived risk that women took by travelling to the other side of the world, where so many things were considered a risk, not only to their 'good' character, but also to their lives and relationships with their families. The research examines processes that were put in place by the State to mitigate the perceived risks. It also examines the strategies women pursued to travel alone, and sometimes, with family members. The research therefore uncovers how families used the opportunity of the subsidised passages to not only hopefully improve the lives of their daughters, sisters and cousins but also their entire families.

This research has taken advantage of recent advancements in digital technology and information access that has made previously difficult to uncover information accessible. This has allowed for the research within this thesis to build on the work of historians like MacDonald, and to look at the women who had previously been 'invisible.' Improvements in information technology have allowed increased access to a range of primary sources that were previously unavailable. For example, ship passenger lists that were printed in newspapers at the time have in recent years been digitised on *Papers Past.* It has been possible to read the passenger lists for seven ships and to identify 290 assisted female emigrants between 1862 and 1863. The Otago Settler Museum has, in recent years, also

transcribed and digitised many of the diaries of women and men who took the voyage to Otago, providing detailed and rich descriptions of their journeys.
The breakdown of those passengers is set out in the table below:

Ship	**Year**	**Departure destination**	**Number of assisted females**
Sisteria	1862	Glasgow	18
Grasmere	1862	Glasgow	30
Bombay	1862	London	7
Robert Henderson	1862	Glasgow	8
Star of Tasmania	1862	London	25
Jura	1862	Clyde	60
Victory	1863	Glasgow	142

Table 1: Ships, their departure date, departure destination and number of assisted females that each carried.

This research has involved the development of a database that incorporates information gleaned from the work of genealogists, digitised newspaper articles, letters, birth, marriage, and death records available here in New Zealand and globally. The passenger lists published on *Papers Past* have enabled a database to be created of some 200 plus women who arrived in Otago in 1862-1863. This has meant that the lives of women who MacDonald was unable to individually identify at the time of her research can now be explored in some detail.

While this research has focused mainly on who joined the assisted migration schemes and their experiences in journeying to and settling in New Zealand, it also focuses on the risks that these women faced and the processes that were put in place to mitigate those risks through the application process and the voyage that they took to get here.

This database has been developed to enable examination of the experiences that these women had throughout their assisted immigration experience, and to see whether their life paths met the objectives of either Rye or the assisted provincial government upon arrival in Otago.

This thesis is structured to present what has been discovered regarding the experience of women emigrating as part of an organised scheme. After the literature review in Chapter Two, each chapter looks at a different element of the journey of an assisted young female emigrant: from the application

and promotion of the scheme; the voyage itself; their arrival in Otago; and finally, their views on the outcomes of the scheme itself. Each chapter considers the realities and impacts that each step of the journey had on the women and how that compared to the original goals and perceptions of the Otago Provincial Government.

Chapter Three looks at the social climates of both Otago and the United Kingdom that led to the scheme that saw hundreds of young, single women emigrating from one side of the world to the other, as well as the expectations and involvement of Rye and the immigration agents.

Chapter Four looks at the voyage itself, both the experience and reflections of Rye during her voyage as well the experiences of others on board the vessels and their interactions with the assisted single, young females on board.

Chapter Five focuses on Rye's arrival to Otago and her impressions and recommendations of barracks and Government support.

Finally, Chapter Six looks at the outcomes of the scheme for the women themselves, those who travelled with their families and those who travelled alone, and compares their experiences with the expected outcomes of both Rye and the Provincial Government.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter looks at the historiography of New Zealand's goldfields and female migration in the 1860s which has been researched by historians to varying degrees over the last thirty years. The reasons that emigration occurred during this period and the effects that it had on New Zealand in the nineteenth century onward have been identified and studied by a variety of historians. As such, there is a wide-ranging historiography written on women throughout New Zealand's history, including their impact and involvement in colonial society.

Charlotte MacDonald's *A Woman of Good Character* is the most important work informing this research. It provided the foundation of understanding the history of single female emigration from the United Kingdom to New Zealand from the 1860s onwards and the journeys that those women took to get here. MacDonald's work is fundamental when looking at the history of women who were a part of the government assisted female immigration schemes that were developed and promoted by the Canterbury Provincial Government.[9] Her work was the first in-depth focus on this area of New Zealand history, and is the springboard from which this thesis was launched.

The search of gold and the gender 'imbalance' it created

The gold rushes that occurred in New Zealand across the nineteenth century have been thoroughly examined by historians, some of which have begun to scrutinize the less explored relationship that these gold rushes had with women at the time.[10] However, little of the history that has been written about the goldfields and the gold rush period in New Zealand has extended to include the lives of the women it affected.

Instead, the focus has predominantly been on the men who followed the gold and the impact that they had on the region, exemplified by the works of David Thomson and Tony Simpson.[11] That focus shifted with MacDonald's research. MacDonald's work on Canterbury and Lydon Fraser's focus on

[9] Macdonald, *A Women of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in 19th Century New Zealand,* 5.
[10] Macdonald, *A Women of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in 19th Century New Zealand;* Mein Smith, Philippa, *A Concise History of New Zealand;* Olssen, Erik, "Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-1880;" Fraser, '*No one but black strangers to spake to god help me': Irish women's migration to the West Coast;* Simpson, Tony, *The Immigrants: The Great Migration from Britain to New Zealand, 1830-1890;* Brookes, Barbara, *A History of New Zealand Women;* Kain, Jennifer S, *Insanity and Immigrantion Control in New Zealand and Australia, 1860-1930;* Eldred-Grigg, Stevan, *Diggers, Hatters and Whores: The Story of the New Zealand Gold Rushes*.
[11] Thomson, *World Without Welfare,* 85.

the West Coast provided a significant examination of the women's lives who emigrated to the Otago region after their arrival.

Over time there has been a growing interest on the social history associated with the gold rush that Otago experienced in 1861. Historians generally took for granted contemporary claims about the gender gap in Otago in the early 1860s. This perceived large gender imbalance has been questioned by a number of historians, with MacDonald making the point that the gender imbalance found in Otago as a result of the gold rush has been overstated.[12] The reality that MacDonald reiterates throughout her body of work is that although it would have been a more common experience for a colonial man to be sharing a table with another man than a woman in Otago in 1861, there has been a preoccupation in thinking that this gender imbalance is something unique to only the Otago goldfields. MacDonald asserted that gender imbalances were a natural occurrence in the nineteenth century and a feature found throughout most settler societies, but less so in New Zealand.

Phillipa Mein Smith supported MacDonald's argument, stating again that during the nineteenth century it was not unusual around the world for there to be some degree of a gender imbalance particularly in areas where they experienced their own gold rush boom; California and Victoria (Australia) experienced this. It is generally agreed[13][14][15] Within this thesis the idea of the gender imbalance the gold rushes created in Otago is only relevant in the influence that perception had on the emigration schemes which were created to counter it.

MacDonald sets the scene of female emigration in the 1860s by discussing how Otago, up until the 1860s, had a relatively steady pattern of growth until the discovery of gold in 1861 where the disproportionate migration of single men sent the province into a panic.[16] Another historian who has focused on specifically female emigration in relation to the gold rush is Lyndon Fraser. He focused on the emigration of Irish women to New Zealand's West Coast after the men who migrated to Otago for the gold rush moved on to the West Coast. The difference between these women examined by Lyndon Fraser, was that unlike the young women who emigrated to Canterbury and Otago, who came directly from the United Kingdom, the Irish women were not emigrating from the United Kingdom but instead from Australia.[17] This meant that they tended to be older than those included in MacDonald's work. Fraser found that 21.7 percent of the West Coast Irish female population were

[12] Macdonald, "Too Many Men and Too Few Women: Gender's "Fatal Impact" in Nineteenth Century Colonies," 21.
[13] Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand,* 82.
[14] Olssen, "Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-1880," 45.
[15] Olssen, "Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-1880," 45.
[16] Macdonald, *A Women of Good Character,* 5.
[17] Fraser, '*No one but black strangers to spake to god help me': Irish women's migration to the West Coast,* 50.

over the age of 35, whereas the female population of the southern goldfields saw only 5.1 percent over the age of 35.[18] Fraser found that this was largely due to emigration in the 1850s to Australia's Victoria, and as a result it was easier to get from the goldfield communities in Eastern Australia to New Zealand's West Coast.[19]

MacDonald is primarily concerned with the Canterbury scheme that saw young single women encouraged to emigrate to Canterbury, and is less concerned with the young women who settled in Otago. In 1990, when her book was first published, the historical research methods of the time made it difficult to find sources from the Otago girls themselves, with the Otago passenger lists not published with the same level of detail as the Canterbury lists were after the goldrush and the belief that many had also been destroyed.[20] MacDonald covered each step of the journey the young women took from application all the way to their life in Canterbury. Her chapters on the voyage are particularly interesting as they paint an illustrative picture of life on board the ship for these migrants, where she has looked at the diaries of women who took the voyage to Christchurch.

Lilja Sautter's research relates to this approach, in that she has examined the diaries of three younger girls who travelled from the United Kingdom to New Zealand between the 1870s and early 1880s, as a part of the Julius Vogel assisted immigration schemes that were popular during this period.[21] Unlike the women studied by MacDonald and Fraser, these diarists were in their early teens rather than young women, so their individual experiences were different in that they did not make the decision themselves to emigrate. Sautter's girls all made the journey with their parents and families, whereas these relationships have not been highlighted significantly in others' works. This differs from the work of both Fraser and MacDonald, as it is a very narrow view of the experience and it also does not include consideration of the lives of these young women or girls after the voyage. Since MacDonald's study, advances in access to information has allowed more detailed research into the women who came to Otago. Unlike Sautter's work, the lives of the women once they arrive in Otago, continues to be of focus here in this thesis, but like Sautter there is an examination of their relationships with their families as many of the young women took the journey with members of their extended families.

[18] Fraser, '*No one but black strangers to spake to god help me,'* 51.
[19] Fraser, '*No one but black strangers to spake to god help me,'*51.
[20] Macdonald, *A Women of Good Character,* 10.
[21] Sautter, "*Girlhood in Transition: Girls' shipboard diaries on journeys to New Zealand, 1879-1881,"* 4.

The 'right' kind of emigrant

Until 1876, when they were abolished, the provincial governments competed to attract immigrants. The right kind of emigrant was someone who was a hard worker who would contribute to society; a society which would hopefully reflect to some extent the best of the Victorian world they had come from. MacDonald throughout her work has highlighted the idea of women needing to be of 'good character,' specifically of good, moral character, before being accepted into emigration schemes.

Other historians have also written about goals of the various provincial governments in the 1850s and 1860s where they attempted to attract a specific kind of immigrant, be that a type of worker or people within a certain age range or individuals and families. Tony Simpson also discussed the idea of the right kind of immigrants, when he looked at how provincial governments attempted to attract young men to their regions who not only had the specific skills needed but who could also be relied upon to have 'good moral character'. This essentially meant that that would not drink all their wages away and abandon their wives and children. Simpson also touched briefly on the types of women he believed they wished to attract, which were young women whose purpose in the provinces would be wives to these young men.[22] Prior to the gold rush, there had been government assisted migration offered only to men and women seen as desirable, who had the needed skills to build this new province, with the right morals as well. This was cancelled after the goldrush boom.

The discovery of gold completely derailed the early migration scheme's efforts. The miners, who were already seen as transient people, began flocking from Victoria, Australia and California, United States to New Zealand's South Island. Many of the gold miners who journeyed to Otago were definitely not perceived as the 'right' type of immigrants. These were men who were seen as mobile, hard drinking and violent. David Thomson has illustrated, as has Barbara Brookes, that it was when there was this influx of men that migrated during the gold boom that there was also an increase in domestic conflict, violence and family abandonment. These issues included (but were not exclusive to) the abandonment of wives and children by the goldminers, as the provincial governments had feared.

Without the traditional family support that they could have previously relied on in London or Glasgow or any of the other European cities that these immigrants had come from, welfare needs became an

[22] Simpson, *The Immigrants: The Great Migration from Britain to New Zealand, 1830-1890,* 117.

issue that the provincial governments had to respond to.[23] MacDonald covered this through her work as well looking at the women refuges that were established in Christchurch to support and essentially look after abandoned or abused women. These were women that the provincial government had attracted through their assisted migration schemes who did not have the family support systems they may have had back home.[24] Margaret Tennant looked into how the provinces of New Zealand attempted to look after 'fallen and derelict women' and how attempts were made to lift them to respectability.[25] However, her research showed that the women who were identified as needing support and guidance on how to be respectable throughout the provinces (Canterbury, Auckland and Otago) did not necessarily welcome the assistance they were offered.[26] Tennant shows that by 1864 Dunedin had at least 200 full-time prostitutes within a population of 12,000, all of which would be seen as demonstrating the 'wrong' sort of moral character compared with what the provincial government would have liked to have attracted.[27]

The way the provincial governments had decided to attract immigrants was predominantly by paying for their passage from Britain to New Zealand in addition to providing land for them to live on and own once they arrived. Mein Smith and MacDonald looked at how the Otago provincial government responded to the gold rush and the 24,000 gold seekers between 1861 and 1864 (although this halved when the swarms of gold seekers learnt of the finds on the West Coast), by introducing the immigration policy that focused on recruiting single young women to the area.[28] This was in response to the gold fever that brought in rushes of men who threatened to corrupt the image of New Zealand as an ideal society. MacDonald, Simpson and Thomson all touched on the fear that the provincial governments had of not attracting the 'right' type of immigrant to settle in New Zealand and, as Tennant addresses in her work, they based this fear on the lateness of colonisation in New Zealand. They assumed to have learnt from the 'mistakes' other British territories had made.[29]

This fear that the wrong types of immigrants were settling in Otago is further examined by Catherine Coleborne's work.[30] This was the Victorian European mould that they had desired to achieve within these new colonies. They also feared whether family values and morals might lapse with the new-found freedom they could potentially find in the province. MacDonald, Coleborne, and Tennant

[23] Thomson, *World Without Welfare: New Zealand's Colonial Experiment,* 85; Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women,* 83.
[24] Macdonald, *A Women of Good Character,* 124.
[25] Tennant, "'Moral and Moral Imbeciles': Women homes in nineteenth-century New Zealand,' 491.
[26] Tennant, 'Moral and Moral Imbeciles,' 494.
[27] Tennant, 'Moral and Moral Imbeciles,'492.
[28] Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand,* 83.
[29] Tennant, 'Moral and Moral Imbeciles,' 492.
[30] Coleborne, *Insanity, Identity and Empire,* 140; Macdonald, *A Women of Good Character,* 173.

(though more focused on the initiatives to support these women) explored this fear that was extended to the vulnerability of women who migrated to these isolated areas, who were described as being alone without family support, to protect their well-being and moral character.[31] Jennifer S. Kain who has looked at immigration in both New Zealand and Australia, reiterates this idea as well, that there was a real fear among the governments that these migration schemes would fail to bring out the 'right' kind of immigrants to support that goal of a 'white healthy settler,' which would put a further strain on the provincial governments.[32]

Welfare in the provinces and what support looked like

Coleborne's investigation into the impact of social class and profession on one's mental wellbeing, focuses on the two asylums in Melbourne and Auckland for the white women of these newly formed states. It appears in her findings that those who needed the most support due to their lifestyles (such as those who were barmaids for whom the medical evidence suggested that working long hours, on their feet, in close proximation to men and surrounded by the temptation of alcohol, would have detrimental effects on a young woman) were a minority among the women found in the institution's records for the Auckland and Melbourne asylums. This is especially notable when compared to the predominance of married women in these records.[33] The argument has been made by Coleborne that the 'conditions of married life, childbirth, and related domestic worries was far more striking in social terms than the 'diseased barmaid' that is also highlighted by Stevan Elfred-Grigg.[34] There was an increasing fear that the stresses of domestic life on women, who were intended to be the foundation of these newly formed and Victorian-inspired societies, presented a great concern for the provincial governments.

A theme that seems to have been paid a good deal of attention was the impact that the goldfields, and the men they brought with them, had on new provincial towns. The impact of the men arriving on the goldfields in the provincial towns has had more attention paid to it than the impact that they had on women. David Thomson's work looked at what happened after these previously transient men decided to permanently settle in the region. This, he found, led to a large aging population that as a result needed government support since they, like MacDonald's Canterbury women, did not have family support that they would have possibly relied on back in the United Kingdom.[35] Mein Smith

[31] Coleborne, , *Insanity, Identity and Empire*, 152.
[32] Kain, *Insanity and Immigration Control in New Zealand and Australia, 1860-1930*, 2.
[33] Coleborne, *Insanity, Identity and Empire*, 148.
[34] Coleborne, *Insanity, Identity and Empire*, 149.
[35] Thomson, *World Without Welfare*, 85.

concludes in her work that women were considered an answer to this problem because they would care for those single men. She highlighted that there were fourteen new hospitals established on the goldfields in the 1860s, along with the first lunatic asylum to provide for the mentally ill. The mainly male patients were provided care when they did not have their own families to look after them, with the only alternative being to be locked in the gaol.[36] These findings suggest a connection between the government offering an aggressive scheme to attract single young women and their concerns to have care available for single men in need. The care that was provided by the Otago provincial government could have been another indicator for why assisted migration schemes targeting single young females came to be in the first place.

Women on the goldfields

MacDonald not only looked at women who migrated as a part of the Canterbury scheme but also at the women who were married to gold miners and the associated desertion that often subsequently came with being a gold miners' wife. She discussed the reality that many of these couples faced was not unique to only goldminers but many marriages in colonial New Zealand, which often involved long periods of separation, which in some instances became more permeant.[37] Fraser suggested the same occurred on the West Coast. He provided accounts of women who had migrated with their husbands but would find themselves widowed in a remote location. Where married lives were already hard for these women, they became much harder when they were widowed with children.[38]

Eldred-Grigg's work contributes to knowledge of this history by characterising different types of women on goldfields. Giving labels to those who were the wives of miners and to a second wave of women on the goldfields, he characterised them as 'Camp followers', 'Polly the grog seller', 'Soiled doves', 'Tools and tucker', 'Wives', and 'Bold women.' Within those groups, Eldred-Griggs further categorised their marriage status as: women who were single and quickly married upon arrival on the gold fields (he has indicated that it was in no way unusual for a single woman who had recently arrived to be quickly snapped up by one of the many single men in the area); women who came out as young married wives (generally a part of the second wave of women to reach the diggings); and the women who were single and appeared to stay that way in some form or another.[39]

[36] Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand,* 87-88.
[37] Macdonald, *A Women of Good Character,* 152
[38] Fraser, '*No one but black strangers to spake to god help me': Irish women's migration to the West Coast,* 57-58.
[39] Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers, Hatters and Whores: The Story of the New Zealand Gold Rushes,* 408.

Whether it is his direct intention or not, Eldred-Grigg suggested that whatever the women's profession or relationship status, it was more than likely that she at some point in her life on the goldfield would participate in sex work. For each group of women and their profession, or the label that he gave them, he introduced their role and the wages that they may have been likely to make, but consistently brings his point round to how this could be a disguise for prostitution. For instance, when he discussed the women who were barmaids or dancers, he suggested that this could often be a front for prostitution.[40] He also asserts that although the women may have in fact not been a sex worker, they could often be mistaken for one.[41] In this, Eldred-Grigg's work does not align with that of other historians such MacDonald and Fraser. Their representations of life in the goldfields show that although it was extremely hard for these women, they did have agency within their lives and, when deserted or widowed, they found ways (outside of prostitution) to make a living, such as having boarders live with them or doing a variety of domestic work, such as laundry for other miners.

Across all the authors, Coleborne, MacDonald, Eldred-Griggs, Frasers and Brooke are in agreement that for the women who were a part of settling these new colonies, tragedy could strike quickly with women being deserted by their husbands or finding themselves pregnant out of wedlock or widowed. A woman on the diggings could easily become a widow with her husband being involved in 'falls, crushing's, mangling's and other mishaps' which were frequent occurrences.[42] Eldred-Grigg suggested that no matter what occupation women had, they would undoubtedly fall to ruin, whether they were seeking the freedom of a better life, or that of a young newly wedded wife.[43] Coleborne and Brookes, on the other hand, have both argued that the gold rush era provided some women with lucrative forms of work and for some a degree of freedom they had previously not experienced in the colonial world.[44]

[40] Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers, Hatters and Whores,* 383.
[41] Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers, Hatters and Whores,* 402.
[42] Coleborne, *Insanity, Identity and Empire,* 141; Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers, Hatters and Whores,* 409.
[43] Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers, Hatters and Whores,* 409.
[44] Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women,* 83.

Chapter Three: Pre-Voyage

In the mid-nineteenth century there was growing demand from many within New Zealand for the promotion of single, young female emigration from the United Kingdom to its various provinces. With so many organizations and individuals with invested interest in this goal, there was a variety of processes put in place for before, during and after women migrants' voyages to New Zealand. The goals and introduction of the Otago Provincial Government scheme and the processes put in place by those involved in it will be set out in this chapter of the thesis. There will also be an emphasis on the social climate both in the United Kingdom and in New Zealand that laid the foundation for this ambitious scheme to be born. Alongside this, this chapter details the application process the young women had to go through to be accepted into the assisted emigration scheme, which sought to rigorously determine the character of each of those individuals.

The Otago Provincial Government's aims to attract women migrants found support in the United Kingdom from Maria S. Rye. Rye was an advocate of emigration to the colonies because it was her belief that it gave women far better prospects. She saw the colonies as an escape from what could have been, for many unmarried women, a life of poverty and eventual spinsterhood. Rye was vocal in her disappointment in the lack of promotion of emigration both in the United Kingdom and within the colonies, questioning whether it was indifference or ignorance that was hindering the potential of a greater movement. She saw emigration as a solution to the overcrowding that was occurring in Britain, as well to create growth in the 'our colonies' which, she argued, remained 'year after year uninhabited wastes without man or beast; hearts broken here, homes wasted there.'

Rye became an advocate in promoting Otago as a home for young middle-class women, because she considered that there was an abundance of opportunities for young women to engage with, such as establishing churches and working with collegiate schools.[45] She also proposed that a separate fund for domestic servants be established immediately 'for promoting the emigration of educated women.'[46] This would be the Female Middle Class Emigration Society, established in 1862 in London, United Kingdom.

The societal context in the United Kingdom that encouraged female emigration

[45] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 238.
[46] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 240.

The social climate in the United Kingdom gave weight to Rye's calls to increase emigration for young single women. William Rathbone Greg, an English essayist publishing during the time, explained the concerns that were growing over an increasing incidence of unmarried middle-class women. In his essay 'Why are Women Redundant?' Greg examined why this issue existed. He made clear in his article his belief that the problem had been an issue for some time, with 'society' having to solve it.[47] Beginning with 'the factory girls; then the distressed needlewomen; then aged and decayed governesses; latterly Magdalen', Greg identified a number of marginalised groups of women in society that from his perspective needed addressing in order for them not to be a strain on society.[48] Greg explained that to his knowledge, Great Britain did not have to deal with issues surrounding 'Woman's Rights' like their neighbours 'across the Channel and across the Atlantic,' but that they had a far more 'practical' problem in the outnumbering of unmarried women to their male counterparts.[49] However, Greg noted that even still, the women's wants, woes and difficulties 'have taken possession of our thoughts, and seem likely to occupy us busily and painfully enough for some time.'[50]

William Rathbone Greg identified three reasons for the increase in numbers of young single women in Great Britain. First, emigration; men were emigrating at a great rate to colonies such as Australia and New Zealand, as well as the United States, with his prediction being that some 500,000 men had already emigrated, whereas women were emigrating at a slower rate.[51] Secondly, Greg argued that women were now blessed with the 'luxury of age' which, he explained, enabled them to be employed for longer in occupations that allowed them luxuries outside of their class. Greg argued that this type of woman would not want to give up these 'luxuries' to settle into a marriage within her own class, when she had grown accustomed to these indulgences.[52] Greg's third and final reason for this gender imbalance was that 'so many women are single because so many men are profligate', and men at the time were more interested in taking mistresses than marrying because middle class women were seen as too expensive to keep.[53]

Like Rye, Greg's solution to this the problem of 'surplus' women was emigration. It was his belief that 'when female emigration has done its work and drained away the excess and the special obliviousness of the redundancy; when women have thus become far and fewer in proportion, men

[47] Greg, *Why are women redundant?,* 4.
[48] Greg, *Why are women redundant?,* 4-5.
[49] Greg, *Why are women redundant?,* 5.
[50] Greg, *Why are women redundant?,* 5.
[51] Greg, *Why are women redundant?* 18.
[52] Greg, *Why are women redundant?* 22.
[53] Greg, *Why are women redundant?* 25.

will have to bid higher for the possession of them, and will find it necessary to make them wives instead of mistresses.'[54] Demographic problems can be seen in this quote as leading to immorality, so the solution was not just to solve social problems, but improve social morality at the same time.

While Greg was concerned with the effects on society at large, Miss Maria S. Rye had a greater focus on the well-being of women. Regardless, they both argued that there was a need for assisted emigration to the colonies so that a larger group of women were able to access the free and assisted passages to Australia and New Zealand.[55] In 1860, Rye demonstrated that the situation for assisted migration to the colonies for women was limited only to domestic servants. There was at this time no free or assisted passage available for any other class of women.[56] Greg also acknowledged that domestic or household servants were always in high demand in colonies and that they were also in high demand in Great Britain, making them in his view, the only class of women who were not redundant.[57]

Without describing hundreds of thousands of women as 'redundant', Rye did expect that household servants were always going to be in demand in the colonies. Rye made much of a comment she received in a letter; 'That the demand for female domestics has never ceased, and never will cease until the relative proportion of the sexes among the settlers is even'.[58] This constant demand for female domestics was in her view partly due to the common experience for these women to emigrate as a domestic servant but then on arrival to either New Zealand or Australia find themselves in marriages that were, in her view, above their class. Not only would they stop being domestic servants, but would then also require hired domestic labour for their own households.[59]

Rye argued that there were plenty more women who were willing and ready to emigrate to the colonies where they could see that their 'prospects may be improved and their position established.' These women were educated but may have had limited employment opportunities within the United Kingdom.[60] Rye described these women as ready to emigrate and just as willing and able to work in the new environments as domestic servants, but had yet to be given the same opportunity to do so.[61]Rye also acknowledged that the possibility of husbands in the colonies was an argument to increase emigration of women of different classes so that men who had already settled there were

[54] Greg, *Why are women redundant?* 28.
[55] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 235.
[56] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 235.
[57] Greg, *Why are women redundant?* 25.
[58] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 235.
[59] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 236.
[60] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 235.
[61] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 236.

able to marry within their own class, rather than beneath them. She claimed that many men were marrying their household servants as they did not have the time to return to the United Kingdom to meet someone of their own class, so as a result were marrying out of necessity rather than appropriate choice.[62]

The work of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society was based on the view that if there was more opportunity for accessible assisted emigration schemes it would improve the quality of lives of more women. It had been believed that there was such a surplus of women in the United Kingdom that it would have been better for those individuals who were unable to find employment or a husband to go 'to the bush' and not 'crowd the towns.'[63] It had been Rye's perception that life in the colonies for women migrants was more enjoyable than the lives they could have expected to have in Great Britain. Left there, they would face what she described as 'the lonely care-worn life with its incessant toil and inadequate payment in a labour stock land.'[64]

Greg had not cared for the argument that women should and could have been employed in a greater number of occupations; he insisted that they should not have been working if they could have avoided it and the more access they had to work removed them from where they should be: the home. He contended that regardless of class, each woman who was unable to find a husband in the United Kingdom because of this imbalance should not have to go to work. Work was seen as a place where they could potentially expose themselves to various temptations which again would encourage them away from their rightful place in their homes. Rather, those women should have embraced emigration to the colonies where he believed they would have been more likely to find a husband because of the opposite gender imbalance experienced there.[65]

Greg categorised the occupations women were allowed to work in, and the dangers that accompanied them in doing so. He began with the girls in the manufacturing districts who worked in the mills, who he believed should be at home 'performing, or preparing and learning to perform, the functions and labours of domestic life.' Secondly, young women in the cities who worked as seamstresses who were being put at risk due to being exposed to 'insidious temptations.' Thirdly, the women who were 'more or less well educated' spent most of their lives as governesses, only to end up having to retire to a 'lonely and destitute old age,' with their 'hearts withering, because they have nothing to do, and none to love, cherish, and obey.' Fourth, he described the single middle-class women who filled the void

[62] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 236.
[63] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 237.
[64] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 237.
[65] Greg, *Why are women redundant?,* 5.

of a husband by becoming 'involuntary takers of the veil.' Finally, the highest class of women who, in Greg's view, due to the lack of interest in seeking a husband was likely to be subjected to a life of boredom. He insisted that it was the duty of the public to find a solution to all these women who were not married, because working was not the right place for them; the right place for them is in the home, married, and living a life complete with domestic duty.[66]

Greg argued that women should not have been allowed access to a greater variety of occupations either, because this in turn would be disrespectful to the men who worked them. Why would a women do a job when a man could do it? [67] His conclusion was that with emigration 500,000 women could be immediately moved from Great Britain 'where they are redundant, to the colonies, where they are sorely needed, all who remain at home will rise in value,'. The women who remained would have also become more appealing to their male counterparts and as a result increase their chances in finding themselves a marriage.[68]

Rye's advocacy of emigration to the colonies was on different terms to Greg's. It was her belief that it simply gave women far better prospects. She saw the colonies as an escape from what could have been, for many unmarried women, a life of poverty and eventual spinsterhood. She proposed that a separate fund to that which had already been established for domestic servants should immediately be founded to raise funds 'for promoting the emigration of educated women,' which she promoted through her writing and talks she held in the United Kingdom.[69]

There were several organisations interested in the idea of female emigration. In 1854, the British Ladies' Female Emigration Society was formed with the aim of facilitating the emigration of single women from Britain to the colonies. They had several objectives:

1. To establish homes for reception of female emigrants where they may be instructed and prepared, prior to leaving their native country. (Like Rye has suggested, this would have been the first time for most of these single women to have left their family homes and cities, and as stated previously, they would quite often have to travel some distance to the port before departing to the new world. This objective was however never achieved – they couldn't get the funding for it.)

[66] Greg, *Why are women redundant?* 6.
[67] Greg, *Why are women redundant?* 33.
[68] Greg, *Why are women redundant?* 38.
[69] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 240.

2. To provide visitation at the ports where the emigrants are formed into industrial classes and supplied with means for their instruction and employment during the voyage through the agency of committees.
3. To secure the appointment of judicious and efficient matrons for the superintendence of the young women during the voyage. (Others on these journeys could potentially cause 'risk' to the moral characters of the women, so the matron played an extremely important role. It was imperative to have a good matron because a bad one could be disastrous.)
4. To form corresponding societies in the colonies for the protection and assistance of the female immigrants on their arrival. This was one of the main goals of Maria Rye during her visit to the different provinces of New Zealand and Australia. Particularly in New Zealand, where she had already seen evidence of how much smoother the immigration of single women worked when relationships were established in Australia.[70]

In 1862, the Female Middle Class Emigration Society was formed, with the focus and aim of helping single women from the middle classes emigrate to the colonies. The society's principles were similar to the Canterbury Emigration Society, which Macdonald explored, but with some differences in how it would operate. While the Canterbury scheme saw the provincial government paying for half the passage, the new society would be managed by wealthy English ladies.[71] The Canterbury Provincial Government had been offering and supplied assisted passages to a greater range of people, with assisted passages being provided to labourers, farmers and shepherds, while domestic servants had been given completely free passages to the province.[72] The wealthy women of the new society would advance the entire fare of the passage as well as pay for items that the young women would need for their journey with the agreement being that the money would be repaid by the women once they were settled.[73]

The context that led to the Otago's calls for women

[70] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 31-32.
[71] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 240.
[72] OP8/176. 25 May. 1866.
[73] Rye, "On Assisted Emigration," 240.

After the gold rush that hit Otago in 1861, the Provincial Government of Otago determined that that they needed to have women emigrating to Dunedin and the wider Otago region to offset the male-dominated imbalance they saw because of the gold rush. The Otago Provincial Government expected that by having a more balanced population between the sexes this would lead to a more stable community. Women would help to anchor the single men in the area, while also supposably preventing them from engaging in habits that would lead to drunkenness and prostitution, which they feared would impact the region's reputation and therefore not present itself as a place of desire to the young families they were hoping to attract.[74]

The trip to New Zealand was a hard voyage to promote to the single women of the United Kingdom. A limited number of companies had held contracts for the conveyance of emigrants to New Zealand, with most of them going to Willis, Gann and Company, and the Albion line of the Patrick Henderson & Company who were based in Glasgow. Further on in the scheme, Shaw Savill, a breakaway firm, also gained an increased share of the business.[75] Due to there being such a small number of agents who organised the passages to the colonies, there was little incentive to improve the ships, and the conditions for travel were poor. The updated 1855 Passenger Act established by the United Kingdom put strict rules in place for light and ventilation, as well as provisions supplied for passengers on board all passenger ships leaving the United Kingdom. Those rules had to be enforced by immigration agents and imposed penalties if those rules were not met. However, the journey was known to be unpleasant and the emigration of single women remained low.[76]

The Emigration Agents and the scheme's goals for female emigration to Otago.

From as early as April 1862 emigration agents in the United Kingdom and the Superintendent of Otago began discussing the passage of single females. Edinburgh Agents James Crawford and John Auld had written to the Superintendent on 17 of April 1862 in praise of the success of the gold fields; 'The fact of such an enormous quantity of Gold having been obtained and the absence of almost all crime, except drunkenness, speaks much for the moral of the people,' but of also the difficulties they anticipated at their end in promoting the scheme to women.[77] They had provided information on the possible practical organisation and promotion of the scheme through their letters, also detailing the

[74] Simpson, Tony, *The Immigrants*, 126.
[75] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,*
[76] "Imperial Act 1855, 19 & 20 VICT c 119 (1840), New Zealand Legal Information Institute." 944-948.
[77] OP8/24. 14 April. 1862.

challenges that they could with the promotion itself as well as the requirements that women needed to meet to qualify for the assistance, and general information about the procedures relating to the voyage. Even though they were able to find single young women who were maybe interested in emigrating to Otago, they noted that many of these women could not always afford the trip.[78] They had also heard the rumours that Rye and her contemporaries in Edinburgh, who they labelled as "bible women," believed that there was an abundance of 'industrious young females, who would readily proceed to Otago had they funds at their disposal.'[79]
Agents Auld and Crawford were eventually commissioned to carry out the Otago emigration scheme in the United Kingdom, being made responsible for the recruitment of 1200 young women in Edinburgh and London, to emigrate as domestic servants in 1862-1863. The approximate £8 they contributed to the fare made only a small proportion of the £135 cost of the journey.[80]

Even though assisted passages were already being promoted and fares supplemented by the Otago Provincial Government and by Maria Rye and the Female Middle Class Emigration Society, young women emigrants were still required to pay between £8 and £10 for their journey before paying the rest of the fee (£260) when they found employment in the province.[81] Maria S. Rye held that a free passage 'was generally unwise' and that 'a girl who could not bring £10 towards her fare better not be sent to the colonies.'[82] However, that contribution to the fare was far out of reach for many young women.

It had also been difficult for the immigration agents to find young women who met the criteria that called for them among other things to provide 'strict and satisfactory evidence of moral character and efficiency,' since they did not want to be responsible for allowing women who emigrated to Otago who may have risked the reputation of the scheme and the province.[83]

Agents Auld and Crawford became frustrated by the strict terms the women needed to meet to qualify for the assisted passage. Women were required to be aged between 12 and 35, unmarried and show that they were of good moral character before they could be granted assisted passage by the Provincial Government. During the first season they only managed to recruit a handful for the first ships.[84] The Agents petitioned the Provincial Government, arguing for a relaxing of some of the conditions the

[78] OP8 24. 14 April. 1862.
[79] OP8/24. 14 April. 1862.
[80] OP8/21. 25 February. 1862.
[81] Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 263.
[82] Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 263.
[83] OP8/23. 25 March. 1862.
[84] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character*, 26.

women were expected to meet and asking the Superintendent to allow them some authority to offer more liberal terms to 'respectable females'.[85] They also suggested to the Provincial Council a range of ways as to how they could promote the region as a more attractive option to the women compared to other New Zealand regions and British colonies that were also competing for them. They suggested that the wages the domestic servants could expect to receive in Dunedin should be promoted and, compared to the other colonies and regions, Dunedin wages were more attractive when compared to those in Toronto, Canada, where they could expect between £13 to £18 a year, whereas in Otago they could expect their wages per year to be from £20 to £30.[86]

Finding applicants with enough money to pay for their fare was a challenge. Agents Auld and Crawford suggested that one solution that could potentially solve this particular problem lay with some of the societies in the UK providing security in paying the balance of the passage money, where the applicants themselves were unable to pay. Rye had also been in favour of this move.[87] The agents were already in communication with the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women.[88] The Society's Emigration Secretary Mrs. Colonel McDougall expressed in her correspondence that their main concern was access to funds, so that they were able to actually pay for the passages of the women. The cost at the time would equate to £7.10 per girl and to dispatch a number of them would cost a considerably large sum.[89] By March 1863, the Agents had given up on this idea and reminded the Superintendent that if it was their intent to promote and encourage female emigration to the colony to the scale that they wished, then the Provincial Government would have to pay for it.[90]

Challenges to the scheme's conditions were not only evident in the United Kingdom, as there was some resistance to it in New Zealand. Mr. Allen, an immigration agent in New Zealand, stated in correspondence to the Superintendent that it would be irresponsible of them to assist anyone who was not a 'hard-working domestic servant' as they were he believed the 'only suitable class for the colony.'[91] Allen argued that in his experience the 'introduction of needlework and governesses from the large towns' in the United Kingdom 'into the Province' was inappropriate as they were unsuitable as wives to the working-class men of Otago and that they were unable to perform the duties required of them as domestic servants.[92] Not only would this be unfair to those who employed them but he

[85] OP8/23. 25 March. 1862.
[86] OP8/24. 14 April. 1862.
[87] OP8/23. 25 March. 1862.
[88] OP8/24. 14 April. 1862.
[89] OP8/24. 14 April. 1862.
[90] OP8/23. 25 March. 1862.
[91] "The Invercargill Times".
[92] "The Invercargill Times."

expressed concern over what this would do to the women themselves, remarking that it would cause them to lose heart and possibly lead them to 'moral ruin.'[93] He warned that it was a waste of money for the Government to be 'spending the public money in assisting females of these classes,' believing that they would not fit into this new world.[94] For the Agents of the Provincial Government morality was at the centre of their concerns.

The challenges of attracting single women to the Otago scheme was evident in correspondence between the United Kingdom-based agents and the Otago Provincial Government. Agent Auld wrote again to the Otago Superintendent in 1866 to discuss the question of how they could get a better class of immigrant more like the assisted immigrants arriving in Canterbury.[95] Where the Canterbury scheme had been open to assisting a much larger group of people and offered completely free passages to domestic servants, the Otago scheme did not. Auld noted that he was receiving inquiries every day in regards to assisted passages from 'labourers, shepherds, farm servants and female domestic servants: but when informed that only single females can be assisted, in the great majority of cases, nothing more is heard from them.' Even though there was a great need and opportunities for them, they either could not afford the journey themselves because they did not qualify for the assisted passage or, in the case of the domestic servant,s they did not wish to travel alone.[96] The agents believed that this enabled Canterbury to attract a better class of servants as they were able to travel with friends or relatives more easily.[97] By only offering assisted passages to single females, the Otago scheme was unable to compete with the Canterbury scheme.[98]

The application processes for emigration assistance

The application process for the assisted passage was rigorous. Moral character was an essential prerequisite. All the women who were applying for the assisted passage had to prove to the Agents that they would be a stabilising entity in the colony, which meant that they had to be 'sober, industrious, and of good moral character.'[99]

The moral sentiments were repeated throughout each section of the application form. Applicants were required to have three references to attest to their moral character before being granted the assisted

[93] "The Invercargill Times."
[94] "The Invercargill Times."
[95] OP8/176. 25 May. 1866.
[96] OP8/176. 25 May. 1866.
[97] OP8/176. 25 May. 1866.
[98] OP8/176. 25 May. 1866.
[99] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.

passage. The first requirement that they had to meet was outlined and repeated throughout their information packet, that assisted passages to the Otago Settlement will be granted to 'eligible SINGLE FEMALES, above Twelve, and not exceeding Thirty-Five Years of Age' provided they meet a range of conditions.[100] This resulted in the female population being targeted being comparatively younger than other provinces. In the West Coast, for example, the mainly Irish women migrants were older, with 21.7 percent of them being over the age of 35.[101] This was because of different contexts for migration, however; many of the Irish women who emigrated to the West Coast had already emigrated to the colony of Victoria in the 1850s and moved on from there to the West Coast goldrush.[102]

There were occasions where exceptions to the age conditions were made, as had been called for by Agents Auld and Crawford. For example, Mrs. Mary Buchanan Rothesay was granted the assisted passage even though she was older than the age requirements and was technically married.[103] The Agents decided to make the exception due to her having no children and having been deserted by her husband a number of years prior, and because of her good character.[104] When they made inquiries into her references they found that they all attested that she demonstrated 'a good moral character' and was 'highly spoken of as an active and good worker.'[105] Her references also insisted that she would be more 'likely to make a useful emigrant than many younger person.'[106] This testament to her character had to be demonstrated through a range of certificates that she was required to provide in order to have been granted the assisted passage.[107]

1. The certificates Mrs Rothesay provided were needed from every applicant confirm their physical health, moral character and single status.[108] Four types of certificates were needed, as outlined below: A certificate from a Medical Attendant, either a Physician or a Surgeon, would confirm that to the best of their 'knowledge and belief' she was in 'good health, and free from any *bodily* or *mental* defect.' It would also confirm that the woman had either been vaccinated for smallpox or had already had small pox, and that either way she 'entirely free from any disorder usually considered infectious or contagious.'
2. A certificate from Employers or others would confirm that the woman 'is qualified and able for the occupation that she professes, and that she is a sober, honest, and industrious person'.

[100] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.

[103] OP8/42. 11 September. 1862.
[104] OP8/42. 11 September. 1862.
[105] OP8/42. 11 September. 1862.
[106] OP8/42. 11 September. 1862.
[107] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[108] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.

3. A certificate 'from the Applicant's Minister or Clergyman bearing that she is of good moral character, and also whether she is a Member of a Christian Church'.
4. A certificate 'from a respectable Householder, certifying, of his own knowledge, that the Applicant is unmarried.'[109]

Each applicant had to declare that all the information they provided was true. If when they arrived for their voyage and it was found that they did suffer from any bodily or mental defect in the routine pre-boarding medical checks then they would not be allowed to embark on to the vessel and they would lose their full deposit for the journey.[110] Along with their health declaration they also had to declare that it was their intention to settle in Otago and that they would not leave the province for at least three years after their arrival.[111] If they were to move from the region within those three years then they would have to repay the Provincial Treasurer of the Province of Otago the full amount of the passage money that had been advanced to them.[112] They would also risk losing their assisted passage if any of the information that they provided changed due to change of circumstances, or was found to be untrue and they did not immediately contact the Agents to inform them of the changes.[113] This could result in them losing their assisted passage. It would also require the applicant to again repay the fronted passage in full and would not be allowed to proceed to the province.[114]

Despite the rigour of the application process, it was not always fool-proof and on occasion some young women were deemed unsuitable upon arrival in Otago. The 'Star of Tasmania' which had a smooth voyage, according to both the Captain and the Surgeon, proved itself an example of this.[115] Upon arrival in the Dunedin, the 25 female immigrants who were assisted by the Government were labelled as unsuitable for the colony, 'as very few of them have been brought up to domestic service.'[116]

Several women applying for the assisted passage and even being granted the assistance were then found to be frauds. On the *Jura's* voyage, 1862, four women who had presented themselves as single women were found to be married.[117] This caused problems for the Agents, in particular when one

[109] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[110] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[111] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[112] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[113] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[114] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[115] OP8/55. 6 November. 1862.
[116] OP8/55. 6 November. 1862.
[117] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.

went on without paying the full reimbursement of her passage fare.[118] The three other women on this voyage had their husbands on board the same voyage as them, travelling with the single men and with the fourth women's husband travelling earlier on the 'Robert Henderson'.[119]

Preparing for the voyage

When the women applied for the assisted migration scheme, they were also given information on what they needed to provide for the voyage. Included in the information pack attached to the application form were outlines of what would have been provided on board the ship for all the passengers as well as lists of what they individually were instructed to bring on with them. [120] The journey would be at least three months long and what was explained as essential items were also suggested as the bare minimum. Provided on the ship for the emigrants included: Provisions, Medicine, and Medical Attendance, Cooking and Cooking Utensils, which were supplied 'on board without charge to Emigrants.'[121] These were conditions that needed to have been met by the vessel before it left for the Dunedin ports. Those things were outlined in correspondence between Agents Auld and Crawford to the Otago Superintendent in February 1862. They included the 'Conditions For Conveyance of Steerage Passengers to Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand. From London, Glasgow, or Leith.'[122] The range of requirements had to be met by both the agents and the contractors. The Agents had to begin by giving six weeks' notice of when a vessel would be wanted and it was the responsibility of the agents to decide how many passengers each ship would carry.[123] Provisions for meeting the dietary requirements for each of the passengers were expected to be of the best quality and to meet the 'dietary scale,' including the following:

Biscuits	3 1/2lbs.	Rice	1/2lb.	Pepper	¼ oz.
Beef	1 ¼ "	Peas	1 ½ "	Mustard	1/2"
Pork	1 "	Butter	4 oz.	Pickles	½ gill.
Preserved meats	½"	Suet	6 "	Vinegar	¼ "
Soups	½"	Tea	3"	Preserved vegetables, one portion	
Oatmeal	2"	Raisins	½ "	Water	21 qts.
Flour	2 "	Salt	2 oz.	Lime Juice	6 oz.

[118] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[119] "The Invercargill Times."
[120] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[121] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[122] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[123] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.

Table 2: Passengers were supplied with provisions following the Dietary Scale per week of the voyage.

There had to be medical comforts provided on each ship and a medical officer would not be appointed until they had been approved by the Agents.[124] It was also the Contractor's responsibility to have the ship ready by the provided date, and if there were delays there was a resulting fine of £25 per day that had to be paid by the Contractors to the Agents.[125]

What the passengers should take with them was outlined in a kit list to each applicant, which instructed the women (and the men and children that also took the journey) on what they would need to bring themselves. These included mattresses measuring 5 feet 9 inches by 18 inches, as well as bolsters, blankets, counterpanes, and canvas bags which would be expected to contain linen, combs, brushes, and then also knives, forks, spoons, metal plates, hook pots and drinking mugs.[126] For clothing they were instructed to bring a minimum of six shifts, two warm and strong flannel petticoats, six pairs of stockings, two pairs of strong shoes, and two strong gowns one which must be warm. The range of clothes suggested the vast change of climate they would experience on their voyage.[127] The information pack added that this amount of clothing would by no means be sufficient for securing comfort on the voyage; the more clothing they were able to pack, the better their health and comfort would be throughout their voyage, which typically lasted three months.[128] They would also need to pack with them three sheets for each berth, four towels and two pounds of marine soap per person.[129] The emigrants would not be allowed to embark on this journey unless they had the required supply of clothing and other necessities, and their supply would be checked by an Officer at the Port before allowing them on board.[130]

The point of taking as much as possible was reiterated in the diaries of the women who took the voyage, often dedicating an early entry where they provided advice to family and friends back home. They would list the things that they recommended others should bring with them to make the experience more comfortable for themselves. Isa Henderson, who travelled to Otago on the *Nelson*, recommended in her journal of the voyage that everyone who intended on taking the same voyage make sure that they bring 'food suitable for children, sago, arrowroot, corn flour' and that if any of

[124] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[125] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[126] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[127] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[128] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[129] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[130] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.

her friends were able to afford it that that should invest in a cabin passage which was deemed far more comfortable than the steerage where the assisted females and those who could not afford a cabin would sleep for the duration of the journey.[131]

With the situation in both the United Kingdom and Otago seeing the need for women to be moved across the globe, the assisted migration of women to the Otago Province began in 1862. These women would spend some three to five months on a voyage to the opposite side of the world, if they met the strict requirements set down by the Otago Provincial Government. Hope of a better life awaited them, but they did have to make the long voyage first. It was one that not all of them left unscathed, as the next chapter will show.

[131] Entry for 28 July, 1863, Isa Henderson, Diary kept on board ship *Nelson*, C052, TOSM.

Chapter Four: The Voyage to New Zealand

This chapter will examine the journey that the young women emigrants undertook across the world. The voyage brought with it many risks, both from the people who took the journey with them - the other passengers and those who were responsible for the safety of the women - and the sickness that could often be rampant on board. Rye took a voyage herself to assess the safety onboard these ships and to share her observations with her counterparts back home as well as those responsible for the girls in New Zealand once she arrived.

Rye made the journey in 1863 with 100 single women under her charge, after having already dispatched 400 women to the colony.[132] Her account of the journey was given significant attention at the time. Her experiences and observations were printed regularly in the *English Woman's Journal* as well as local New Zealand papers. Her accounts offer an insight into the experience of the voyage which highlighted both the day-to-day activities and the interactions between her and others on the ship. Yet, due to her status, her experience cannot be viewed as truly representative of the women she shared her journey with.

The diaries of other women (and some men) on board the various ships carrying assisted female migrants provide some insight into the experiences of the women themselves. These show day-to-day life on the voyage commenting on things such as the weather, maritime rituals specifically Neptune's visit when they crossed the equator, sightseeing, various marine life and illnesses, accidents, births and deaths. They also explored the relationships between different passengers. All this helped to paint a picture of life on the voyage for the young women who took part on the assisted emigration scheme. These diaries were also written often as a guide to those back home who were also considering taking the journey to New Zealand.[133] However, the women who described the voyage in the most detail were those in the first-class cabins, who would also have had a different experience of the voyage to those who were on an assisted passage ticket. Unlike Rye, they had not necessarily been vocal advocates for the increased emigration of young, single women before their voyage. Their thoughts of the voyage, even though shared with family and friends back home, were unlike Rye's, not being published to a greater audience.

[132] Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 263-4.
[133] Sautter, *Girlhood in Transition,* 10.

Rye's account of her journey to New Zealand (and then on to Australia) captured the interest at the time of those both in the United Kingdom and in the provinces due to her involvement in the increase of female emigration. She promoted the emigration of middle-class women, as opposed to the emigration agents who primarily promoted the emigration of domestic servants. Rye had hoped to save them from the grim alternative that had awaited them in the cold, over-populated cities of London and Glasgow. But some in the colonies believed the objective was not to help women gain employment but instead to ship them out to be brides. Some even termed the ships that carried them 'bride ships'. Rye however was undeterred by whatever rumours were spreading around her intentions and set sail on the *John Duncan* from London on the 3 November 1863 for Dunedin, Otago.

Before she departed there was an evening arrangement held on the first to farewell her in the rooms of the Social Sciences Association where 70 people attended. These guests were either personally involved with her or had an invested interest in her work and her voyage.[134] There were speeches in her honour and discussion over the work that she hoped to achieve in the colonies; her intention was to make connections with those in the provinces so that assisted single female migration could be more easily achieved.[135] There was also discussion over what should be done while she was away. A Mr. Chadwick asked how many applications she had had from single women from Manchester, 'and whether the parochial authorities there had afforded any facilities?' Rye answered that she had received 2000 applications from the single women of Manchester, but that the parochial authorities had, rather than assist their applications, 'thrown every obstruction in the way.'[136] She stated that they had suggested that 'she wished to take away the best of the girls, who would soon be wanted again for factories,' but that they were happy for her to facilitate the passages of the mill girls, which she found offensive, as if the mill girls would be 'bad' immigrants – an idea that she resented.[137] Either way it was clear that there was no holding back when Rye was questioned over her view of the government's support of immigration.

The voyage: Rye's perspective and the roles of those in official positions on board.

[134] Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 261.
[135] Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 261.
[136] Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 263.
[137] Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 263.

The voyage to New Zealand was generally an unpleasant one for those outside of the first-class cabins, but even then, the day-to-day lives of those in steerage and in the first-class cabins was not all that different. There were not many opportunities for the women to wash and dry their clothes throughout the voyage. Throughout the three-to-five-month journey they would experience both extremes in the seasons, from the high temperatures of the tropics to the extreme southerly cold.[138] Along with the challenging weather conditions that came with a voyage such as this, it was a lot to ask of oneself to spend three to five months on a ship. Going to an unknown place on the other side of the world surrounded by strangers was not going to be for everyone. While some thrived on the voyage, others found the 'shipboard discipline stifling.'[139] As Charlotte Macdonald has found, 'the experience was an unforgettable drama in which novelty, excitement and enjoyment were mixed with terror, misery and tedium,' for the women who braved the experience.[140] The same appears to have applied for the Otago women migrants.

For many of the girls who were taking the voyage to New Zealand, their journey started before they boarded the ship, with many who lived outside of Glasgow and London having to travel some distance before even reaching the docks where they planned to depart. Before the ship departed, they would then have to be checked alongside all the other passengers by the surgeon onboard the ship to make sure that they were well enough to travel and that they had told to truth on their application forms. This would take some time and often meant that they could be sitting about for some hours before they got on board. In some cases, they might have had to wait multiple days before they set sail. Some women would be denied setting off on the voyage if the doctor found them to be in poor health or, as in some cases, pregnant. During this time the single women who were on assisted passages would be found waiting on the docks. They would be visited by the British Ladies' Female Emigration Society who would provide reading and sewing materials and give advice to the appointed matron taking the journey.

On the day of her departure, Rye had many of her friends attend to her on the docks before she took the small boat to the *John Duncan* sitting in the middle of the river opposite the town of Gravesend.[141] The 100 girls that she would be responsible for - that is her and the appointed matron Mrs. White, who Rye doesn't mention in any of her correspondence - were reported to be excited to be travelling with her, according to Bessie Parks who accompanied Rye on her final day on the docks.[142] It was

[138] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character,* 77.
[139] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character,* 73.
[140] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character,* 73.
[141] Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 264.
[142] Diamond, *Emigration and Empire: the Life of Maria S. Rye,'* 101; Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 264.

here that Rye and the other women of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society spotted a young girl surrounded by the bustle of all that was going on sitting, quietly knitting in a corner. They inquired 'have you not begun too soon; you can hardly expect your work to last so long as the voyage?' to which she replied 'OH! I have fourteen pounds of cotton to knit up, and there are four Skye girls with us, who have promised to teach us all sorts of knitting.'[143]

Rye gave a detailed account of the journey and her experiences in number of published pieces, some that she wrote with the intent that they be published in papers such as the *Lyttleton Times,* and others that were more private, such as a letter that she sent to her friend Charlotte Webber after she arrived in Otago. This was a letter that, although sent to Webber, was also intended to be shared with their other friends, Madame Bodichen, Mr. Cookson and Bessie Parkes, as she only had time to write one. The letter, however, was published with only some slight omissions, as it was decided that it contained such interesting and graphic information about Rye's journey and impressions of Otago that consent had been given for it to be printed in the *English Woman's Journal.*[144]

Rye's other published works detail similar aspects of her journey and impressions of Dunedin, but her letter to her friend Webber is far more detailed on the events that occurred on the ship. In both, she expressed that she is impressed with the *John Duncan,* particularly its captain, stating that 'the captain is a good man, and capital sailor.' [145] In her piece in the *Lyttleton Times,* (which labels women she journeyed with as 'spinster emigrants') she states that in terms of the journey 'the less said the better' but she made sure to note that the captain of the John Duncan 'was first rate, the crew good, and the food excellent and plentiful' suggested that she may have had quite a different meal from those who had experienced the journey without her status.[146] The food for the emigrants had been described as plentiful, unappealing and breadless by those in steerage, which was where the single women that she was accompanying spent the duration of their voyage.[147]

There were other passengers on the emigrant ship as it was deemed impractical for there to be ships for paying passengers and different ships that only carried the government-assisted passengers. This was an issue of concern for some. Parties, both in the United Kingdom such as the organisations that Rye and her contemporaries were associated with as well as the provincial governments and immigration Agents, were worried about the influence of other passengers on the wellbeing of the

[143] Parkes, "XLVIII. – The Departure of Miss Rye for the Colonies," 264.
[144] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.
[145] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260; "Miss Rye on Emigration."
[146] "Miss Rye on Emigration."
[147] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,*

single females on the voyages to New Zealand. Agents suggested offering a small number of assisted passages to 'married persons' could improve things [148] Other forms of assisted passages had been suspended at this point in time in the Otago region, but the Agents believed that by having more married people and even families on the voyage would help put families and parents at ease with the idea of sending their daughters alone on this journey. They believed that by having families onboard would also offer another sense of protection to these women.[149]

The main concern for Rye was around the kind of care that was being taken in regard to the female passenger's wellbeing and more specifically what care was being taken in regards to protection put in place to protect both their physical being and their morality. Sometimes this was less to do with the general 'healthiness' of the passengers but rather Rye's concern about the possible consequences of bringing together a group of people who had conflicting interests: 'the mixture of sexes and ages, the different nations represented – for Irish, German, and Welsh as constantly sailing together.'[150] The young, single men who travelled in the first class cabins and steerage with the assisted females, were thought to be menaces on these voyages; they had too much free time on their hands, as well as money to spend on drink and 'favours,' and they were able to roam freely on the ship, beyond the restraint of the surgeon-superintendent.[151] Rye was concerned about who was looking after the 'masses' to make sure that they would not, as she feared, 'morally fester and corrupt each other.'[152] It was not just the mixing of the genders but also the age and different regions that they had come from which led Rye to believe this would lead to such corruption of the character of the single women.

Rye had worked hard to get the women this far which meant that it was imperative that there was somebody on board the ship whose focus was to watch over the interests of the single women. Supervision was seen as imperative for the care of these women in that it would hopefully prevent them from encountering or falling to risk. Those in charge feared that these young women were just as likely to cause damage to themselves and their own character, as from those who they shared the voyage with them. The argument could be made that the ideas surrounding the care of these women was just as much to protect themselves as it could be to protect the reputation of the scheme and those who were instrumental in organising it.

[148] OP8/23. 25 March. 1862.
[149] OP8/23. 25 March. 1862.
[150] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 26-27.
[151] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,*
[152] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 26-27.

Since the New Zealand emigrant and passenger trade was seen as too small to justify the separation of government assisted passengers and the cabin passengers who had paid for their journey, a high trust model was applied by the companies running the ship.[153] The Agents believed that the first-class passengers would oversee the actions of the captain or surgeon, and vice versa, holding them accountable on these voyages. There had already been several occasions that the captain, members of the crew, the surgeon, and the upper-class passengers had been frequent perpetrators of abuse that the women suffered throughout the voyage.[154] It was due to these encounters that they alone could not be trusted alone to oversee the wellbeing of these single women.

Rye reiterated in both pieces that she believed the captain on the *John Duncan* was exemplary. She was also understanding that the men in positions of power on the voyage did not have the time, or sometimes even the capability, to be responsible for the single women on the ship. Formally it was the overall responsibility of the surgeon-superintendent to oversee the supervision and management of the government assisted emigrants which included the assisted single females, while also looking after their medical care.[155] He would be responsible for them from the moment they had their final medical check before boarding the ship until they disembarked at the end of the voyage.[156] However, they did not always have the best reputation and, as mentioned previously, could be the perpetrator of both moral corruption and violence committed against the assisted single women on board. Rye divided ship surgeons into two kinds:

1. They planned to proceed to the colonies to settle there anyway, so working on board the ship was a good opportunity to have their passage paid for while also being paid
   or
2. Their abilities were not of a nature in which they were able to find a position in the United Kingdom, leaving them to be seen as useless surgeons – in her opinion.[157]

The surgeon's position on ships that took the voyage to colonies was not an attractive position: being in close contact with your patients for what could be five months was the least desirable opening for

[153] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,* 81.
[154] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,* 74.
[155] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,* 80.
[156] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,* 80.
[157] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 27.

the surgeons.[158] The pay was also low and a return voyage was not always guaranteed, though as Rye argues when it comes to the return voyage from the colonies, there was a huge disparity in pay between the surgeons, the officers and the matrons. The surgeons seeking a return passage could receive up to £1,560 (returning from New South Wales) whereas the officers on the same ship could expect to receive a maximum salary after four voyages of £50 a year with a bonus of £30 for a return passage from the colonies. The matrons, who had to live the closest to the passengers, received £5 per voyage which equated to threepence farthing a day.[159]

The voyage kept the surgeon busy. Rye recounts that during her journey the women passengers could be sick for a long time. They would not have experienced seasickness before and were sick for at least the first three weeks of the voyage.[160] Sickness was not uncommon on these voyages as the journey was hard, but it was fair to expect if you were an adult taking this journey and you were in good health prior to it, you were expected to survive. Children and babies on the other hand were not always as lucky.

The doctors or the surgeons on board the ship were not always the most popular member of crew and they had many critics on board the ships. Criticisms were made by various passengers on various voyages in regards to the Doctors and Surgeons on board due to their apparent incompetence. Helen Alexander who travelled on the *Viola* recorded in her diary a time where she required some medicine from the Doctor or as she describes him as 'the man who calls himself our Dr. but he is a poor apology for one' and expressed her gratitude that she was not too sick so she did not need to rely on him for his medical care. On the voyage of the *Prince of Wales* an unnamed man wrote in his own diary that rather than the surgeon performing medical duties on board, he often found himself tending to people on board. He applied medical attentions to the Captain and other crew members, even extracting teeth for the Captain which did not please the Surgeon. He also helped a number of crew members with cuts that they gained on board.[161] The lack of care the surgeon was able to provide for the Captain had the Captain threatening to throw the surgeon out of the cabin, and the first mate threatening to throw him overboard as a result of a different dispute.[162]

[158] Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,* 80.
[159] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 28.
[160] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.
[161] Entry for 26 March and 22 April, 1863, Diary kept on board ship *Prince of Wales*, C216, OSEM.
[162] Entry for 1 May, 1863. Diary kept on board ship *Prince of Wales*, C216. OSEM.

Matrons

Rye continuously advocated the importance of the ship's matron. Matrons were seen by Rye and others as playing an extremely important role in the journey. For the young single women who emigrated to all the colonies, including New Zealand, there was a need perceived by those both in the United Kingdom and in the provincial governments for the young single women to be supervised on the long voyages, in addition to training to keep their good character intact. Matrons were seen as an essential part of the emigration process from as early on as 1846. Rye noted an instance where a lady (name unknown) had been invited to visit an emigrant ship in Plymouth Sound in 1848, where she saw that between thirty and forty single young women were on board the emigrant ship with up to two hundred other emigrants.[163] She was shocked to have seen that there was no matron or teacher on board, and more surprised that it was not common practice at the time for there to be so.[164] The importance of ship matrons was further emphasised when in 1849 the 'The British Ladies' Female Emigration Society' on its formation saw that matrons were appointed to every single ship carrying single women.[165]

Rye argued the importance of the job of the matron, by explaining the way an emigrant ship was set up and how the Passengers Act 1855 had improved some of the conditions for them.[166] The amendments made to the 1855 Passenger Act were created by the Government of the United Kingdom and had to be maintained by the ship owners, these were checked and enforced by Emigration Officers at the Port of Clearance.[167] There was an increased importance put in place to boost the 'general healthiness of the government emigrant ships,' which meant that there had to be enough space for all onboard and a 'provision made for light and ventilation,' essentials that one would have hoped to have had when living on ship for upwards of three months.[168] An account of passenger Thomas Reid who travelled on the *Robert Henderson* discussed how different ships were known for having more pleasant amenities, depending on where they set sail from.[169] Isa Henderson who travelled on the *Nelson* in steerage recorded in her diary entries that upon seeing the first-class cabin she was extremely envious, reporting that 'I would never think of coming home in any other way if I could

[163] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 31.
[164] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 31.
[165] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 27.
[166] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 26.
[167] "Imperial Act 1855, 19 & 20 VICT c 119 (1840), New Zealand Legal Information Institute."
[168] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 26.
[169] Entry for 17 November, 1862, Thomas Reid, Diary kept on board ship *Robert Henderson.*

get it.'[170] There had been, since the update in the Passenger Act 1855, changes to the bedding and the type of food on board these ships that although described as 'coarse' were at least 'plentiful'.[171]

The role of the matron was one of utmost importance for any ship's single women passengers. They were the only person on the ship whose interest was to be totally fixed on the supervision and wellbeing of the single women she oversaw. The quality of life for these matrons, who may be responsible to between fifty and three hundred women on these voyages, was far from glamourous.[172] A matron's responsibilities went beyond just supervising young women and preventing them from placing themselves in risky situations. In some cases, the matron also had to find 'suitable employment, in cleaning, washing, needlework, ect., as well as to give them religious instruction, and to teach them reading and writing.'[173] Rye detailed the activities that were set up to occupy the girls she held charge over. They held classes every day at three o'clock, Bible lessons on Sunday, 'reading, writing, arithmetic, and work alternatively every day, and singing and dancing at night, wind and weather permitting.' Rye described this time as like being at school for four months.[174] These had all been activities that were expected to be encouraged and organised by the matrons on board the ship. The matron of these ships was expected to see that the time on the ship was spent preparing these young women for domestic service in the colony they were headed to, as well as making sure that they would be 'useful members of society.'[175] It was their role to protect the character of the single women on board who were seen as being unable or incapable of doing this themselves.[176]

Upon completing the journey herself, Rye believed that the rumours and tales of immorality on emigration ships were likely to be true, and she reiterated her argument that a responsible government would make sure that when a large group of women travelled on these emigration ships, a women over the age of 40 should be employed to travel with them.[177] A good matron would protect them from their own naivety because the question remained, what would or could become of these girls during these 16 week long voyages otherwise?[178] This was especially so when the ships were not only transporting young women but brandies and wine as well as young, single men. What sort mischief could that create?[179]

[170] Entry for 31 July, 1863, Isa Henderson, Diary kept on board ship *Nelson*, C052, TOSM.
[171] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 26.
[172] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 28.
[173] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 28.
[174] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.
[175] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 28.
[176] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 28.
[177] "Miss Rye on Emigration."
[178] "Miss Rye on Emigration."
[179] "Miss Rye on Emigration."

The role of the matron was not only Rye's concern. She also worried about the emigration agents. In their correspondence with the Provincial Government, agents would include information on the appointment of matrons. On the 1 August 1862, Crawford and Auld announced the departure of the *Servilla* for Otago, carrying 127 single females. They informed the Provincial Government that they had appointed a matron for this voyage, a women named Mrs Crawford and that she was to receive 'considerations of her performing the duties,' which allowed for her to travel with her husband and daughter with additional financial compensation.[180] Due to issues with matrons in the past, the agents outlined the reasons for selecting the matron for the *Pladda*. They explained that the woman that they had selected was travelling with her husband and daughter and they noted her respectability, to them she appeared to be the 'best qualified' for the role.[181] They also stated that there was a large number of assisted females who would need extra supervision on this voyage, and for this reason they had arranged with the Captain that on the arrival of the ship in Dunedin, when the women were discharged 'in a proper manner', the matron would be paid an extra sum of ten pounds.[182] Upon the arrival of the *Pladda* in Dunedin 101 days later, the Agents confirmed the suitability of the assisted females, stating they would definitely be of 'suitable class for supplying the demand for female labour in the colony, being composed of an equal number of town and country servants' unlike those on the *Star of Tasmania*, whose assisted females were all deemed unsuitable for domestic service on arrival to the Dunedin.[183] The Captain and Surgeon on the *Servilla* were commended for their conduct on board the ship, and that the Matron, Mrs. Crawford was noted to have 'performed her duties among them with great faithfulness and prudence,' with there being no reported cases of delinquency reported from her.[184]

Difficulties with matrons on board

While the example of Mrs. Crawford shows the vital and welcome role of matrons, in other voyages matrons were regarded much more critically. There were occasionally issues with matrons where they would find themselves at odds with others on board their ships. Some even lost their position before the voyage had concluded. This occurred on the *Prince of Wales*, where the matron Caroline Randall

[180] OP8/36. 1 August. 1862.
[181] OP8/42. 11 September. 1862.
[182] OP8/42. 11 September. 1862.
[183] OP8/56. 6 November. 1862; OP8/55. 11 November. 1862.
[184] OP8/56. 6 November. 1862.

had an argument with someone else on the ship and was as a result replaced by Mrs Falconer.[185] It was not unusual based on various diaries that the matrons and women who saw themselves as holding senior positions (such as the wives of upper-class men or Pastors) on board the ship would find themselves at odds with one another. An example occurred between Isabella Bronthron and the matron and governess on board the *Helensee*. As a result of Bronthron's comments regarding the matron's health and the impact this had on the provision of education for her charges, the relationship between the two deteriorated. She stated in her diaries that prior to their trip in Edinburgh they had discussed meeting once a week on the voyage, but that this had not happened with the Matron being unwell.[186]

Isabella Bronthron, along with her husband, were active participants in shipboard life and took interest in educating the young girls and women on board. She had early on proposed the idea of running a Sabbath class, a job that was an expected part of the matron's role.[187] However, the matron fell sick early on in the voyage so Bronthron discussed the idea with the governess Miss McG who was travelling with the matron, and they divided the children based on ages.[188] This led to tension between Bronthron, the matron, and the governess over the teaching of the Catechism. As the voyage continued, Bronthron became more critical of the matron's performance and believed that she was not fulfilling her duties.[189] She also expressed concern over the influence the matron may have had on the young women and became infuriated when she heard rumours of 'disgraceful doings' among some of them.[190] In her diary she reflected on her disappointment with the matron and wondered how she had got the role. It was her belief that it was important for there to be a 'female that stands in the position of matron to a passenger ship' but they have to be known for their 'respectability and weight of character' which she could not see in that young woman.[191] She hoped that this matron would not lead many of the girls into evil and that 'God grant that such poor ones may realize their sin and danger ere it be too late.'[192]

In her letters, Rye emphasised the need for someone to keep a close eye on the single women, for not all of them behaved as she believed that they should.[193] The captain had put in strict rules which Rye

[185] Entry for 30 March 1863, Diary kept on board ship *Prince of Wales*, C216, OSEM.
[186] Entry for 8 and 11 August 1863, Mrs David (Isabella) Bronthron, Diary kept on board ship *Helenslee*, C011, TOSM.
[187] Entry for 16 July 1863, Mrs David (Isabella) Bronthron, Diary kept on board ship *Helenslee*, C011, TOSM.
[188] Entry for 16 July 1863, Mrs David (Isabella) Bronthron, Diary kept on board ship *Helenslee*, C011, TOSM.
[189] Entry for 8 August 1863, Mrs David (Isabella) Bronthron, Diary kept on board ship *Helenslee*, C011, TOSM.
[190] Entry 27 August 1863, Mrs David (Isabella) Bronthron, Diary kept on board ship *Helenslee*, C011, TOSM.
[191] Entry 27 August 1863, Mrs David (Isabella) Bronthron, Diary kept on board ship *Helenslee*, C011, TOSM.
[192] Entry 27 August, 1863, Mrs David (Isabella) Bronthron, Diary kept on board ship *Helenslee*, C011, TOSM.
[193] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.

believed should be upheld. One rule was that single women were not allowed on the deck after 8pm where the crew and male passengers were located.[194] For the 'good girls' this seemed not to be an issue, but those who already found the voyage to be filled with oppressions and less freedom than they possibly expected, pushed these boundaries continually.[195]

Policing this requirement came to a head one night when Rye was already in her cabin for the night.[196] The weary captain who had continually asked a group of girls to leave the deck at 8pm had finally had enough and had three of the women placed in handcuffs and taken down to solitary confinement.[197] This caused a great commotion, with the male passengers coming to the defence of the handcuffed girls. The stewards on board went down below to Rye's cabin to get firearms as the male passengers who called for the liberation of the women were now refusing to obey the captain's orders as well.[198]

Rye, who described the incident as an almost mutiny, did not refer to this event in her piece in the *Lyttleton Times*, but acknowledged that it was no wonder that captains dreaded taking on these voyages carrying such a large body of women when these sorts of incidents could occur.[199] Her telling of this story appeared as a turning point during this particular voyage, and she centred herself in it. She controlled the narrative and placed herself as the saviour. After that evening when tensions were high on board, she argued that her church sermons given on the deck to the male passengers seemed to settle everyone.[200]

Rye stepping into the captain's shoes and leading the prayers for the male passengers was unusual. Any male amongst the first-class passengers could have taken this role of the captain if they presented the moral authority appropriate for his age and rank in leading the prayers. It was an extraordinary testament to the will and forceful personality of Rye who at thirty-three had been chosen to take this position. As Diamond concluded in her work 'Emigration and Empire: The Life of Maria S. Rye,' it is through this event that it was revealed that Rye was 'already becoming de-sexed by fame.' She was still relatively young, but her fame was so unusual that in many men's eyes she was rendered as asexual.[201]

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[194] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.
[195] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.
[196] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.
[197] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.
[198] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.
[199] "Miss Rye on Emigration."
[200] Rye, "XLI. – Another Mail From Miss Rye," 260.
[201] Diamond, *Emigration and Empire: the Life of Maria S. Rye,'* 101.

John Smith Flemming detailed an event similar to the one Rye recounted, but he sided with the women. He recorded the dissatisfaction that was growing on board the ship towards the doctor, who was already relatively unpopular due to his lack of care, but resentment had grown further due to his strict dealings with the single women.[202] He reported that the doctor's strictness towards the single females was uncalled for since many of them, even though they were travelling within the scheme, actually had parents or brothers also on board the ship.[203] The doctor was locking the girls below down in their rooms from 6pm at night to 7am the following day, and they were not allowed to dance with the men or even go and listen to Mr. Helm who was providing a service that evening at 5 o'clock.[204]

Isa [Isabella] Henderson who took the voyage to Dunedin was a single woman but not of the single female emigration scheme, but was going on to meet her fiancé. She had paid her own way and for a £2 discount on her passage had one of the worst beds on the ship.[205] Unlike most other women who also kept diaries on board the ship, she slept in the steerage area with the other single women. Having that position within the ship's community, she was able to provide a different perspective about events and people of the ship. Her choice to be in steerage was a decision she expressed some regret for because, upon seeing the cabins, she recorded that she would definitely prefer to take a cabin in the future if she ever returned home.[206] She was directly involved within the community life of the ship, sometimes looking after sick women and babies and even going on to dress the babies who died for their funerals. She did this on a number of occasions as a way of sparing the parents, for whom she expressed deep sympathy and respect.[207] Many things shocked her, in particular an 'ungodly' married couple who she described as making the voyage uncomfortable to everyone on board. Although she did not go into what they specifically did to cause discontent amongst the passengers she does comment on her belief that their five children would be very poorly brought up.[208]

Henderson shared her observations of the doctor on board the ship who did not impress her. She even alluded to him being responsible for the deaths of small children on board, a regular occurrence at the time.[209] She recorded that on one occasion the women were encouraged by the master and matron, the people responsible for the young women's wellbeing, to humiliate the doctor. On the 19 August

[202] Entry for 2 March 1862, John Smith Flemming, Diary kept on board ship *Zealandia,* C041, TOSM.
[203] Entry for 2 March 1862, John Smith Flemming, Diary kept on board ship *Zealandia,* C041, TOSM.
[204] Entry for 2 March 1862, John Smith Flemming, Diary kept on board ship *Zealandia,* C041, TOSM.
[205] Entry for 17 July 1863, Isa Henderson, Diary kept on board ship *Nelson,* C052, TOSM.
[206] Entry for 31 July 1863, Isa Henderson, Diary kept on board ship *Nelson,* C052, TOSM.
[207] Entry for 23 September, 1863, Isa Henderson, Diary kept on board ship *Nelson,* C052, TOSM.
[208] Entry for 1 August, 1863, Isa Henderson, Diary kept on board ship *Nelson,* C052, TOSM.
[209] Entry for 27 September, 1863, Isa Henderson, Diary kept on board ship *Nelson,* C052, TOSM.

she recorded 'the most disgraceful conduct' writing how the young females had stripped the 'old doctor' of his trousers when he and the captain had come down for the night.[210]

The records of passengers on board these voyages support Rye's belief that someone was needed to closely supervise the young single female migrants. The records also validate the agents' concerns that they needed to be careful with whom they selected for the matron role as the wrong person may lead the young women further astray.

The voyage: The experience of the passengers onboard

Sickness on board the ships

Rye did not discuss sickness onboard the ship, although she did mention the seasickness which she witnessed amongst the girls early on in the voyage. In the diaries of others onboard various ships, sickness was continuously observed and commented on, highlighting that these experiences were not a part of the lives that they had left behind. Even though sickness and death onboard the ships were expected and common, they were still events of interest amongst the passengers. The records of both men and women on board these ships demonstrate this interest.

The *Lady Egidia*, which travelled from Glasgow to Otago in 1861, transported both cabin passengers and government assisted migrants as well as cargo as was common practice on passenger ships.[211] It left on the 15 October 1860 carrying 400 passengers and arrived in Port Chalmers, Otago on 28 January 1861. During this voyage, seven children were born; however, 32 children died, one of whom had been born on the ship.[212]

There were several families who both had a child born on the ship and lost a child on this journey. The McLeans, for example, had their son born on the ship on 6th December and then had to deal with the death of their two-year-old daughter only four days later.[213] Another family who experienced both deaths and births of children on this voyage was the Easton family. Not only did the daughter who was born on 27th December pass away less than a month later on the 12th January, but they also suffered the death of their 15-month-old daughter Janet barely a month earlier.[214]

[210] Entry for 27 September, 1863, Isa Henderson, Diary kept on board ship *Nelson*, C052, TOSM.
[211] "The Egidia." Otago Witness, 2 February 1861, 4.
[212]"The Egidia." Otago Witness, 2 February 1861, 4.
[213] "The Egidia." Otago Witness, 2 February 1861, 4.
[214] "The Egidia." Otago Witness, 2 February 1861, 4.

Childbirth was not uncommon on voyages to Dunedin, and even some of the single female passengers gave birth onboard. The single women who were found to be pregnant on these assisted voyages were deemed to be 'bad characters' but it was such a common occurrence for there to be births amongst the assisted single female emigrants that one of the two kits that the British Ladies' Female Emigration Society provided on emigrant ships contained items for newborns such as one dozen diapers and three infant shirts.[215]

The voyage of the *Arima* also experienced a significant number of deaths, which did not discriminate between the adults and children on board. This voyage was recorded by two female passengers; one, an assisted female immigrant Mary Brown, and Mrs. Charles Connor who was the wife of a minister on board the ship. The diaries of these two women who migrated to Dunedin in 1862 varied in their level of detail and in the different aspects of the journey they focused. Mary Brown's diary was far briefer in detail compared to that of Mrs. Charles Connor however, they both record the day-to-day life on the ship, with their weeks evolving around the sabbath.

Church for these two women and others who also recorded their journeys was often at the centre of their voyage. Mary Brown mentioned the first sabbath on board the ship; 'We had service today by our Minister and it was very well attended. I think all are on board except about six, and I think all was well pleased with the minister. He seems to be a very fine man and be very much interested in our welfare.'[216] Mrs. Charles Connor did not detail the services on the ship as frequently, but because she was the minister's wife she had closer contact to the people and families that are mentioned by both her and Mary Brown's diaries. This is particularly evident in her interactions with the individuals who passed away during the voyage, with death on this voyage taking hold of people of all ages and sexes, with some families experiencing it more than once.

Deaths on board the voyages were recounted in many passengers' diary entries. The frequency of those records highlight the risk that was being taken by those who choose to emigrate to Dunedin in the 1860s. Both Mary Brown and Mrs. Charles Connor, recorded deaths often as well reporting any illnesses that people were suffering throughout the voyage. Although there were health checks for all passengers before they boarded the ship there were several emigrants who were emigrating to New Zealand for the kinder climate that they had heard of, in hope that it would help their own ill health. In the United Kingdom, New Zealand had been painted as a healthier land with there even being the

[215] Rye, "Emigrant ship matrons," 32.
[216] Entry for 30 November 1862, Mary Brown, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C015, TOSM.

perception that its climate could cure tuberculosis.[217] There is evidence of a young man suffering from tuberculosis on board the *Arima, who* Brown and Connor both mention in their diaries. Mary Brown's entry on his decline was brief, probably because as a single woman she would have little contact with the married men on the ship. She recorded on 17th September: 'He was just a fortnight married when he left. He came for health and his getting worse. The young man is dead. He died about 5 o'clock.'[218]

Mrs Charles Connor's diary entry on the same day is far richer in detail, sharing intimate details about the man and her involvement in his health and death, she described how he looked prior to his death and the relationship he had with his new wife: 'Mr. McAlister was a handsome young man – a gentlemen in manners and appearance. He had beautiful eyes and a great profusion of auburn hair. I know nothing of their circumstances, but they seemed to have made every preparation for comfort on the voyage. They were married only a week or two before they came on board. He was too weak to go alone, they were engaged, and he wished her to accompany him.' [219]

These entries demonstrate how the lives and deaths of other passengers onboard these voyages were experiences that influenced how the single women made meaning of the voyages themselves.

'Madness' on board

The voyage was not only a risk to young women's due physical health, but their mental well-being was also put to the test during these voyages. The concern from the agents and the interested societies over the well-being of these women during these voyages had some basis with cases of 'madness' enveloping the young single female passengers on a few ships. Being stuck on board the ship for such a long period of time in what could be quite depressing conditions (damp, dark and often stinking) could easily affect the women's mental health. This was the case for several of the assisted female emigrants who had chosen to take on the adventure.

Helen Laurie, who travelled on the *Grasmere* along with 31 other assisted female emigrants from 1 May to 26 August 1862 is an example of the toll the voyage could have on one's mental well-being.[220] Laurie's mental health deteriorated throughout the journey. She appeared to have 'lost her reason' and was reported to the officials once she arrived in Dunedin as occasionally alternating between

[217] Sautter, 7.
[218] Entry for 17 December 1862, Mary Brown, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C015, TOSM.
[219] Entry for 17 December 1862, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[220] "Port Chalmers. – August 26." Otago Daily Times, 26 August 1862, 4.

crying and singing throughout the voyage. Within the diaries there were several descriptions by passengers mentioning young women who appeared to lose their reason.

Another case was Janet Caldwell, an 18-year-old who travelled alone on the *Arima*, and was described as keeping to herself from the very beginning of the journey. Once she was discovered to having 'gone mad' her progression was quick. Mary Brown and Mrs. Charles Connor both detailed her experience and her impact on them in varying degrees in their diaries. Their records demonstrated the risk that these women took to start their new lives, that the voyage was a risk itself and the impact it could have on the mental well-being of these young women.

For both Helen Laurie and Janet Caldwell, their experiences were detailed by older married women who travelled on the same voyage, and both were met with great sympathy for what they were experiencing. They also both made the writer extremely appreciative that they were not experiencing the same loss of reason. The difference between these two cases is that Helen Laurie survived her voyage whereas Janet Caldwell did not.[221]

Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell detailed Helen Laurie's descent into 'madness' on board the *Grasmere*. Wilhelmina's diary is extremely detailed and recorded much detail of the voyage from the day-to-day activities, the weather, the food, the different events on board, and the other passengers, to the people who were sick. In Riddell's entry on Thursday 19 June, she records that she was 'most sad to relate one young girl has gone out of her reason. I have never seen one or heard one before, but it is a terrible thing, and how thankful ought we be, that we have the use of our reason.'[222] Riddell details the day before her observation of Laurie's turn, on the 18th when there was an altercation between two passengers over one of the girls on board, she reflected that it was bound to occur due to the closeness of everyone living onboard but that she herself was relieved to be married rather than single when taking this voyage.[223]

Laurie's progression moved quickly. She was described on the 20 June as a 'raving maniac' going from sometimes crying to sometime singing, all the while keeping most of the passengers up during the night due to 'her raving'.[224] She was given medicine at night which helped her sleep and kept her quiet, though she was described as being no better overall.[225] On 22nd June Wilhelmina helped calm

[221] Entry for 8 January 1863, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[222] Entry for 19 June 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.
[223] Entry for 18 June 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.
[224] Entry for 20 June 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.
[225] Entry for 21 June 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.

Helen during the night by reading her Psalms, as did Mrs. Connor's husband in their care of Janet Caldwell.[226] Though unlike Wilhelmina, Connor, noted that they had to be quiet when they said hymns for Janet Caldwell, because other passengers in her view were quick to blame religion for anything bad that occurred on their journey.[227] Helen Laurie also had to be restrained most of the time. By the 27 June, Laurie had to have her hands tied and was restrained in her bed. Wilhelmina explains this as being due to the difficulties of Laurie not wanting to lie down. If someone was not watching her then she would attempt to shave her head and take off her clothes; she was determined to be 'like Adam and Eve.'[228] Her behaviour continued to be concerning and, on the 4 July, she was confined to a straight-jacket and her feet were tied.[229] On 6 July, on the Sabbath, when Wilhelmina went to check on her in the hospital, she had escaped and managed to get up to the main hold. She is described again as a 'poor maniac' sitting on an empty barrel in the pouring rain where the sailors had managed to place her, 'she has nothing on sark and the straight jacket.'[230] Once they got her back to her bed and dressed, they had to clean up her place since she had destroyed it. She then attempted to escape again but was caught by the doctor as she tried to pass him, and as a result was again tied to the bed.[231] There is no further mention of Helen Laurie in the diary of the Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, other than to say that she seemed quiet some days, and on others she was 'crying all the time and saying all sorts of things.'[232] Upon her arrival in Port Chalmers, Helen Laurie was assessed by the medical staff at Dunedin Hospital and was deemed a lunatic.[233] She was not discharged until 12 January 1863.[234]

Both Mary Brown and Mrs Connor's diaries tell the story of 18-year-old Janet Caldwell, who had 'gone wrong in her mind' during their voyage.[235] Mrs Connor first mentioned her on 29th December, noting that there were a lot of passengers sick, with some of girls being in 'hysterics.' She was particularly concerned with Janet Caldwell who she described as very ill, 'we think she is becoming insane.'[236] Two days later she confirmed this fear, 'The girl referred to above is really insane,' and that if was not continuously watched then she would injure herself with the doctor on board already fearing that she might not recover at least while they were still in the tropics.[237] Her illness progressed

[226] Entry for 7 January 1863, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[227] Entry for 7 January 1863, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[228] Entry for 17June 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.
[229] Entry for 4 July 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.
[230] Entry for 6 July 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.
[231] Entry for 6 July 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.
[232] Entry for 21 July 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.
[233] Kain, Jennifer S, *Insanity and Immigration Control in New Zealand and Australia, 1860-1930,* 24.
[234] "Helen Laurie" 1863, DAHI D266 19850, Item 1, Archives New Zealand, Dunedin.
[235] Entry for 2 January 1863, Mary Brown, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C015, TOSM.
[236] Entry for 29 December 1862, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[237] Entry for 31 December 1862, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.

quickly. On New Year's Day she was described as unable to be controlled, and that she had begun 'raving' about a little sister, who was not on board this voyage.[238] They used chloroform to calm her.[239] Mary Brown mentioned her the following day stating that the young women had lost her mind and was very much disturbed, but that there was not any place to put her, she had to be there with them.[240] Over the following days Janet refused to eat and appeared to be lucid at times, but at other times did not speak at all.[241] When Mr Connor spent time with her, 'she asked him to sing a hymn named "the bleeding Lamb". He repeated part and hummed the chorus. He was afraid of her becoming excited.' They were fearful of her becoming over excited and again were concerned about their religious intervention being blamed for the women's condition.[242] Janet Caldwell did not survive the journey and died on board the ship on the 8 January 1863.

These are two cases of what several emigration officials feared might occur when the promotion of single female emigration began. Both of their experiences appear similar, each of them were described as having lost their reason or minds, each were described as becoming more difficult to deal with to the point where they could not be left alone in fear that they would hurt themselves.[243] They became the responsibility of the collective, with married couples who were cabin passengers overseeing them, as well as the minister, doctor and other members of the crew keeping watch for them. Both had to be restrained to protect themselves and others on board on numerous occasions and medicine such chloroform was used to subdue them as they were often described as constantly making noise whether it made sense to the listener or not.[244]

The diary records of some male passengers also provide details of when there were disturbances among the female passengers. W. T Smith, who took the voyage on the *Ben Lomond* arriving in Dunedin in 1863, commented on an event that set one of the young Irish girls on his ship in to 'madness'. After she had spent the early part of the journey in the hospital wing and was well enough to be released, she found her things had been stolen.[245] As a result, the girls on board the ship had all their things searched, they were all sat down at the opposite end of the ship with a rope across their legs to keep them in their place.[246] The other girls tormented the poor girl whose things were missing,

[238] Entry for 1 January 1863, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[239] Entry for 1 January 1863, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[240] Entry for 2 January 1863, Mary Brown, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C015, TOSM.
[241] Entry for 5-6 January 1863, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[242] Entry for 7 January 1863, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[243] Entry for 31 December 1862, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM; Entry for 19 June, 1862, Wilhelmina B. Glendinning Riddell, Diary kept on board *Grasmere*, C089, TOSM.
[244] Entry for 2 January 1863, Mrs Charles Connor, Diary kept on board ship *Arima*, C028, TOSM.
[245] Entry for 8 November 1863, W. T Smith, Diary kept on board ship *Ben Lomond*, C100, TOSM.
[246] Entry for 8 November 1863, W. T Smith, Diary kept on board ship *Ben Lomond*, C100, TOSM.

telling her 'that she never had them' to begin with.[247] Smith reflected that the young Irish girl got herself into a state where she was threatening to hurt herself, and again taken down to the hospital where her cries could be heard throughout the ship.[248] This was his only mention of her. Another passenger, John Smith Flemming, who took the *Zealandia* to Dunedin, also recorded early on in his voyage of a woman having a moment of 'madness.' He determined that it was in 'consequence of her physical and nervous system having been over strained' with the all the new experiences they were faced with on the ship resulting in several other girls also having fainted from exhaustion that morning.[249]

The experiences of mental illness would have direct consequences on the immigration process itself, with the immigration agents being asked to justify the women's selection to the scheme.[250] The United Kingdom agents Crawford and Auld were forced to explain, for example, what had occurred with Helen Laurie to the Otago Superintendent. How could this woman who had supposedly gone 'mad' on this voyage, have been allowed on it in the first place? How had a medical officer signed her off as being an industrious woman of good moral character, when this was the result? They said in their correspondence that they had met with the medical man who had provided Helen Laurie with her certificate, declaring her competence, and that he relayed to them that she had been a domestic servant for him before her application.[251] In all the time that she came to his house 'he never observed the slightest tendency of insanity.'[252] The agents expressed the view that due to medic's reputation amongst his peers and his profession in the city, they were all surprised by the events onboard the ship. Expressing their upset about this case, they iterated that they would do 'all in our power to prevent them in the future.'[253] Because the situation was occurring regularly, calls were made for tighter restrictions on who was accepted onto the scheme and greater accountability placed on the agents who approved applications before the journey.

The diary entries from passengers on board these ships demonstrate the realities for some of the young women that Rye and other officials do not, possibly due to the distance between them and the girls. They also show that despite the hardship of the voyage most of the women onboard these vessels made it to Otago relatively unscathed. Those like Janet and Helen are relatively few, but do

[247] Entry for 8 November 1863, W. T Smith, Diary kept on board ship *Ben Lomond,* C100, TOSM.
[248] Entry for 8 November 1863, W. T Smith, Diary kept on board ship *Ben Lomond,* C100, TOSM.
[249]Entry for 12 February 1862, John Smith Flemming, Diary kept on board ship *Zealandia*, C041, TOSM.
[250] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[251] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[252] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[253] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.

demonstrate that the heat, lack of food and familiar support systems could have a severe negative impact on the health and well-being of these young women.

Chapter Five: Arriving in Otago, Rye and Her Critics.

To say that Maria Rye was disappointed with the conditions that the young women were met with when they arrived in Otago could be seen as a grave understatement. Rye expected that the young women would find themselves quickly employed and provided for upon their arrival to the province; there had, of course, been a strong demand for young female domestics from the public and the provincial government. She also expected that those who did not already have employment or family and friends in the region could be safely housed in the female barracks. She had argued before her own journey that there was an abundance of employment opportunities for a wide range of women here in Dunedin, and that the women she had advocated to provide passages to were willing and ready to work hard in jobs that they were unable to find in their hometowns. However, what she was met with upon her arrival did not meet the standards that she had expected from the region or for the women she had advocated for. On seeing it for herself, she made her dissatisfaction with the conditions of the female barracks, the agents, and their processes known.

Rye's criticism began immediately upon disembarkation, when she found everything was in confusion and disorder. She was unimpressed to find that there was not even a shop on the docks, where they could at least have bought the bare necessities of life.[254] She complained that they were not being provided with items that would allow them to wash their clothes after the voyage, or water that they could drink without having to go to a public-house down the street, or even a 'bench at which the poor girls can sit, nor table, however rude, upon which they can place their food.'[255]

For the single women who already had family members or friends in Dunedin or the wider Otago region, they would have gone and stayed with them. However, those who arrived without already having any family connection or arranged employment would have to stay at female barracks. Rye was not impressed by the barracks. They were a large wooden building, located in the centre of town and designated to provide housing for the single women.[256] They had originally been used to house family emigrants from Scotland, as well as single males and females.[257] They had been repurposed to just house the assisted single females as the scheme grew. Rye was shocked that the barracks which now solely housed the single female stood less than 200 feet apart from where the recently migrated police from Melbourne had their own sleeping quarters.[258] In her eyes, this risked the women's good,

[254] "Miss Rye on Emigration." Lyttelton Times, 29 August 1863, 5.
[255] "Miss Rye on Emigration." Lyttelton Times, 29 August 1863, 5.
[256] "Miss Rye on Emigration." Lyttelton Times, 29 August 1863, 5.
[257] "Miss Rye on Emigration." Lyttelton Times, 29 August 1863, 5.
[258] "Miss Rye on Emigration." Lyttelton Times, 29 August 1863, 5.

moral characters as well as their safety. The women who stayed there were supposed to be under the watchful eye of another matron (as they had been onboard the ship), until they found employment or marriage. It was also Rye's view, that the barracks were affecting public opinion of female immigration, even turning against them, due to the 'abominable' conditions they experienced.[259]

Rye did not consider that the women were being provided with the appropriate resources and assistances they needed. Her concerns were made known in her letters home and republished in local newspapers in both the Otago region and in the *English Women's Journal.* While Rye was concerned about the women's physical well-being, the moral reputation was even more important in her view. She reported that at the time of her visit there was two or three illegitimate children and their mothers - not from Rye's young women - residing there, while up in the attics there was a group of women who were working in prostitution.[260]

Rye's concerns were also raised in the provincial legislature in 1863 during a debate between John Richard Harris and Superintendent Major Richardson.[261] In his nomination speech Harris (after Rye's reports on her visit was published) questioned Richardson and his administration's treatment of the women that were introduced to Otago's population.[262] Harris argued that it was the government's greatest duty to take the greatest care of these women, rather than to leave them to 'arrive in hundreds like flocks of sheep, without adequate provision being made for them.'[263] He used the barracks as an example of inadequate facilities and care that was being provided for these new emigrants, stating that it is a place without protection for the women.[264] His argument was fueled by Rye's criticisms, and he the argued that due to the poor conditions of the barracks and the lack of government support for these women to find employment, many were turning to prostitution or he feared that they might have to.[265]

Rye wrote to Mr Thomas Dick, who was the Provincial Secretary, to remark on the care and protection of the women who stayed at the Otago female barracks. She detailed the barrack's inadequacies as she had seen or heard from witnesses, in a letter titled 'Immoralities and Improprieties in the Female Immigration Barracks, Dunedin, Otago'.[266] She explained that she was horrified by the actions of the

[259] "Miss Rye on Emigration." Lyttelton Times, 29 August 1863, 5.
[260] "Miss Rye on Emigration." Lyttelton Times, 29 August 1863, 5.
[261] "The Superintendency." Otago Witness, 21 March 1863, 8.
[262] "The Superintendency." Otago Witness, 21 March 1863, 8.
[263] "The Superintendency." Otago Witness, 21 March 1863, 8.
[264] "The Superintendency." Otago Witness, 21 March 1863, 8.
[265] "The Superintendency." Otago Witness, 21 March 1863, 8.
[266] Rye, Maria S. "Immoralities and Improprieties in the Female Immigration Barracks, Dunedin, Otago." 1863. Microfilm. Otago: Otago Provincial Government, 1863.

sub-matron and her daughters who were known to bring men into the barracks and drink with them. She further reported that there was no matron in the barracks to watch over the girls and that as a result there were often men found drinking and talking to the young women. She believed that in some cases men who were found loitering in the barracks were sometimes police that they had had to call upon when other men had been found there. She accused, on one occasion, the surgeon on the *John Duncan,* whom she had spoken so highly about in her original letters, as one of those visiting the female barracks while drunk and lying in the bunk of one of the girls. As a result, it was her belief that he had been was locked up in police cells for 24 hours.

Mr. Dick denied Rye and Harris's claims, even after Rye had named the girls whom she believed to have taken to the streets and identified the ships that they had come to Dunedin on.[267] She stated that their bad behaviours would have a detrimental effect on the good moral character of the girls that she had brought out with her and others already residing in the barracks. Reiterating her earlier concerns regarding the accommodation and how it alone was not fit for the women, she proposed that the young women should be moved to another area of town to protect their respectability.[268] Dick responded to Rye and her accusations addressing each issue that she presented to him. Regarding her accusation towards to Mr Shields, the surgeon, he clarified that he was merely visiting and that Rye's accusation of him laying down in one of the bunks was untrue, he was apparently only sitting on the edge of one of the beds and when the girls found him he was 'rather the worse of drink' so a policemen was sent for to have him expelled but that he was probably only in the building for a matter of minutes.

The issue of policemen visiting the barracks was another basis for argument between Mr Dick and Miss Rye. On 20th February Miss Rye stated that a Miss William was witness to there being policemen in the kitchen of the barracks (something that Miss Rye and Mr Dick agree was not allowed).[269] In response, Mr Dick claimed that 'Miss William denies that she told Miss Rye about there being two policemen in the kitchen at this date.'[270] Dick also rebutted Rye's claims of there being a number of illegitimate children and their mothers living in the barracks, with one of the examples being that a woman had been given respite in the barracks after coming to them when her husband had deserted her. There was also only two women (not three as Rye claimed), the other women's child was dead.

[267] "Immoralities and Improprieties in the Female Immigration Barracks, Dunedin, Otago." OP7/11. 10 March. 1863. Section XV.
[268] "Immoralities and Improprieties in the Female Immigration Barracks, Dunedin, Otago." OP7/11. 10 March. 1863. Section XXVI.
[269] "Immoralities and Improprieties in the Female Immigration Barracks, Dunedin, Otago." OP7/11. 20 February. 1863. Section IV.
[270] Dick, Thomas. "Answers to Miss Rye's charges of "immoralities and improprieties" in the Female Immigration Barracks" OP7/11. 1863. Section IV.

He questioned what she would have wanted them to have done with these vulnerable women, and stated that it would have been cruel to turn them away.[271]

Dick is not the only person of note who disagreed with Rye's accusations. Rye argued, both prior to her voyage and on arrival, that there were plentiful employment opportunities within the Otago region, and that there was near constant and consistent demand for domestic servants. However, the women did not readily find employment. This argument was not shared by one of Rye's contemporaries and a former ship matron herself, Caroline Alpenny. She made the point that the conditions of the barracks could not have been too bad because she was finding that the young single women who were occupying them were becoming picky over the opportunities presented to them when they arrived to the province.[272] Harris blamed the limited support from the provincial government and the poor conditions of the barracks as a reason that the women were unable to find employment.

Caroline Alpenny, who worked for the Central Registry Office in Dunedin, was tasked with placing women into service positions once they arrived in Dunedin.[273] She believed that the barracks being free accommodation was actually enabling assisted female emigrants to decline positions of work that she deemed to be quite acceptable and that also had good wages attached to them.[274] Alpenny explained that she was overrun with people requesting servants, 'varying from ten to fifty per day,' but that she was finding it difficult to fill these positions partially due to the 'scarcity of girls wanting places' and secondly due to the 'unwillingness of those out of employ to take places.'[275]. Alpenny had advertisements in the local newspapers that called for 'Governesses, Barmaids, and General Domestic servants' to come and register on Princess Street in Dunedin.[276] There was also a constant stream of more specific advertisements from individuals calling for women to fill positions titled as 'female general servants,' 'waitresses,' 'female domestic servants,' 'nursemaid,' 'experienced female cook,' 'housemaid,' 'nurse girl'.[277] Some were even more specific, such as Alpenny's advertisement

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[271] 'however, respectable the women were who occupied the barrack it would be cruel to turn these two girls away because of their condition.' "Answers to Miss Rye's charges of "immoralities and improprieties" in the Female Immigration Barracks" OP7/11. 1863. Section XI.
[272] "Original Correspondence. Assisted Immigrations (To the Editor of the Daily Times.)" Otago Daily Times, 16 February 1864, 5.
[273] "Original Correspondence. Assisted Immigrations (To the Editor of the Daily Times.)" Otago Daily Times, 16 February 1864, 5.
[274] "Original Correspondence. Assisted Immigrations (To the Editor of the Daily Times.)" Otago Daily Times, 16 February 1864, 5.
[275] "Original Correspondence. Assisted Immigrations (To the Editor of the Daily Times.)" Otago Daily Times, 16 February 1864, 5."
[276] "Dunedin Advertisements" Lake Wakatip Mail, 27 May 1863, 1.
[277] "Wanted, all people to know Mrs Alpenny's Registry Office, Princess Street, Dunedin." Otago Daily Times, 21 July 1863, 3; "Wanted." Otago Daily Times, 6 October 1863, 3; "Wanted." Otago Daily Times, 11 December 1862, 3.

for a 'respectable girl to mind a baby and make herself useful.'[278] A domestic position might cover a range of roles that were shown in the way they were advertised. One family's advertisements called for 'a respectable female household servant, for a gentleman's family' and would also outline that the employee would be expected to do housework but also 'milk one or two cows.'[279] Work contexts for the girls could be significantly different to what they had experienced back home, because in New Zealand the young women were expected to work alongside the lady of the house rather than in a more structured, defined role which they may have been more accustomed to back in the United Kingdom.

Alpenny blamed the fact that barracks lodging was free and did not have a time limit on the stay of the individual, which she believed encouraged some of these young women to refuse to accept positions in services, the very object of them coming out to New Zealand.[280] She agreed with Rye in one instance, stating that the 'idleness' that these young women found themselves in and being left to their own devices, did put their characters at risk. With the women being allowed to pass their time however they liked, she was finding them to be acquiring habits that she deemed made them both unfit for service and as wives.[281]

Alpenny proposed that the barracks should only be a temporary accommodation, especially with the growing complaints of the conditions that they were in.[282] She argued that due to what she called the kindness of the government, the women stayed in the barracks where there was a 'fostering of great evil' in them.[283] Alpenny stated that the young women who took their time in securing employment were nine out ten times more likely to behave poorly for their employers and were 'saucy, independent, and unwilling to work,' whereas those who saw the barracks as only being as a pitstop on their journey were the best servants. Those who would never consider the barracks a long-term home were taking on employment quickly upon their arrival.[284]

It was not just those in places of power who were critical of the barracks and their conditions. Rye argued that the barracks were also affecting the public's opinions of female immigration, even turning them against it, due to the 'abominable' conditions for the women themselves.[285] She gave the

[278] "Wanted All People to know Mrs Alpenny's, Registry Office, Princess Street, Dunedin"
[279] "Wanted"
[280] "Original Correspondence. Assisted Immigrations (To the Editor of the Daily Times.)"
[281] "Original Correspondence. Assisted Immigrations (To the Editor of the Daily Times.)"
[282] "Original Correspondence. Assisted Immigrations (To the Editor of the Daily Times.)"
[283] "Original Correspondence. Assisted Immigrations (To the Editor of the Daily Times.)"
[284] "Original Correspondence. Assisted Immigrations (To the Editor of the Daily Times.)"
[285] "Miss Rye on Emigration."

example of meeting a stock driver on her arrival who criticised the government and the care that they provided in the barracks over the women.[286]

Despite their very different views, Rye, Harris and Alpenny all agreed over the appalling state of the barracks and the detrimental consequences for the physical and moral well-being of the women living in them. Each of them expressed concern over the women who were living within them. The question remains, however, were they really concerned with the welfare of the women or were they concerned with the impact that the fallen women might have on their emigration schemes?

Rye appeared to lose confidence in the moral character of the young woman she was assisting in their emigration to Dunedin, in time coming to describe them as 'wild girls' with no interest in working.[287] Rye protested that this was completely against her recommendation and that these women described as 'wild girls' should be warned and not supported with assisted passage for their migration. She claimed it was entirely irresponsible and a sure way of sending them to 'immediate and certain destruction.'[288] However, she was likely more concerned of the mounting criticisms that she was facing, both at home and in the colonies, and the effects that it was having on her and the scheme's reputation.

[286] "Miss Rye on Emigration."
[287] "Miss Rye on Emigration."
[288] "Miss Rye on Emigration."

Chapter Six: The Realities of the Scheme for Women who Accessed it and the Outcomes for them in New Zealand

Outcomes

Rye and others of her status argued that there were plenty of areas for improvement on how the girls were received once they arrived in Otago. But how did the young single women who took part in the scheme get on here in Dunedin? Since Macdonald's original research, the passenger lists have been discovered in the digitized newspapers of the time period. This has allowed for a database to be created for this thesis which, using other births, deaths, marriages databases, along with *PapersPast* and genealogical sites such as *Ancestry.com*, has been better able to explore the lives of these women who settled in Otago. Within this database this thesis can demonstrate where their lives took some of these women, both those who found success through marriage and children, and for a small group for who life was not necessarily easier here in New Zealand.

A scheme for single women, an opportunity for families.

For many of the young single women who settled in Otago, their lives would have been seen as successful. The original goals and plans for the scheme were that these women would arrive and go into paid domestic work. Although the wages that domestic servants could expect to receive in Dunedin were higher than those in other colonies and in Britain, they did not account for the increased living costs that the young single women were met with when they arrived in New Zealand. With the cost of clothing and manufactured goods being considerably higher, this reduced the higher wage advantage.[289] Alpenny had made it clear – as demonstrated in the previous chapter - that there was plenty of work available for these young women, with a constant slew of advertisements of various domestic positions advertised in local newspapers. Even though there was plenty of work available, it did not mean that the work was particularly appealing. Although there was a wide range of positions in domestic work, it was inherently different to the work they may have expected or been used to in the United Kingdom. Roles there were far more defined and there were often multiple domestic servants within one household, whereas in New Zealand they may have been the only servant in a household. They would be far more isolated within these positions from others, especially in the country but also in the towns, and the work was very repetitive. This led to servants moving from household to household often and for some a career change. Prostitution however, afforded some

[289] Macdonald, "The "Social Evil": Prostitution and the passage of the contagious diseases act (1869)," 24.

young women a degree of independence that domestic service did not and offered in some cases an increase income.[290] More often women found themselves upon their arrival in Dunedin and their departure from the Barracks quickly married often to a man who had also recently emigrated to the province from Britain.

Mary Gall for instance, who was born in Dundee, Forfarshire, took part in the scheme and emigrated to Dunedin when she was 25 years old on the *Star of Tasmania*.[291] Within one year of her arrival, she was married to a John Mainland.[292] Throughout their marriage they had seven children predominately in Oamaru where she settled for the majority of her life in New Zealand and where she died in 1916 at the age of 79.[293]

Helen Sinclair, who was born in Scotland in 1839 and took assisted passage to Dunedin on the *Jura* in 1862, was married to a Thomas Fraser November that very same year.[294] They went on to have seven children in Invercargill and Wellington, the latter being where she died in 1905 at 66 years old. Her husband died when she was only 39 in 1878.[295]

Euphemia Elliot arrived on the *Star of Tasmania* in 1862 and spent the rest of her life in Dunedin dying in 1907 at 79-80 years old.[296] During her time, she married a William Jacob Marsh but they did not have any children.[297]

Emily Christina Lea also arrived on the *Star of Tasmania* at 19 years old.[298] She married the following year a John Hislop who was a Dunedin jeweller. They had seven children together before her death

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[290] Macdonald, "The "Social Evil": Prostitution and the passage of the contagious diseases act (1869)," 24.
[291] "Shipping Intelligence." Otago Daily Times, 23 October 1862, 4.
[292] Mary Gall, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[293]Mary Gall, "Birth record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[294] RutherfordV. "Victoria Rutherford Family Tree, Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/44667147/person/24878003512/facts
[295] [295] RutherfordV. "Victoria Rutherford Family Tree, Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/44667147/person/24878003512/facts
[296] Euphemia Elliot, "Death record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[297] Euphemia Elliot, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021)https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[298] Ancestry.com, "Emily Cristina Lea" *England & Wales, Civil Registration Birth Index, 1837-1915* [database on-line], Ancestry.com https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=8912&h=18134240&tid=&pid=&queryId=d468861a44c458d6b74b086c84131f88&usePUB=true&_phsrc=Luh375&_phstart=successSource; ; Ancestry.com, "Emily Cristina Lea in India, select Births and Baptisms, 1786-1947" *India, Select Births and Baptisms, 1786-1947* [database on-line], Ancestry.com https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1171276:9899

at the age of 29, only eighteen months after the death of her sixth child Lilly, and only a month after the birth of her seventh child Margaret. Emily died on the 26th of October 1872.[299]

Although in a minority, there were families who saw this scheme as an opportunity for their whole family to emigrate to the region and they were able to get a substantially assisted passage for several of their daughters which made paying for other members of the family presumably more feasible.

The Agents themselves had, in their correspondence with the provincial government, suggested that they offer a small number of assisted passages to married couples to appeal more to both the young single women they were trying to attract and their families, in hope that this would encourage them to support their daughters in emigrating.[300] Emigrating with family or friends was more attractive than emigrating as an individual, as could be seen when compared to the emigration schemes that were running in Canterbury at a similar time; they were offering assistance to a greater group of people and even offering free passages to domestic servants, which allowed for more families to emigrate together.[301]

Even though the Otago Provincial Government did not offer those types of assistance they were attracting more families to the region than they possibly would have otherwise. Like other provinces, they had originally wanted the region to be seen as a destination for families to come and settle. This goal had to be adapted due to the impact that the gold rush had on the region. Shifting the goal to bring young women to the region as domestic servants but also as stabilisers would have changed the gender balance in the region but they would not have been able to predict that an unexpected consequence of the scheme was that families of multiple generations would also emigrate to the region.

The *Jura*, which left the Clyde on the 16 June 1862, transported supposedly 59 assisted single female emigrants, but for several of the women onboard they were either travelling with other family members or in some cases following family who had already emigrated. There were at least five families on board this ship that had more than one daughter making use of the scheme. These included the Marwicks, the Forresters, the Lindsays, the Helms, the Armstrongs and the McDonalds. The Marwicks had two daughters on board, Isabella and Ann (sometimes Annie, sometimes Anne); the Forresters had mother Margaret and her two daughters Rebecca and Jeanie; the Lindsays had

[299] "Death." Otago Daily Times, 29 October 1872, 2
[300] OP8/23. 25 March. 1862.
[301] OP8/176. 25 May. 1866.

daughters Jane and Margaret; the Helms had all four of their daughter's Janet, Isabella, Margaret and Mary; the Armstrongs had Margaret and Johan; and lastly the McDonalds had their four daughters, Isabella, Margaret, Jane and Helen.[302] Each of these families appeared to be making the same journey and while there were some similarities between them, all of their settlements after the voyage appear different.

The Marwick family's emigration was not just isolated to Isabella and Ann, the youngest two daughters of Thomas and Ann Marwick. The family had ten children and eight of them emigrated from Scotland. Six of those eight ended up emigrating and spending the rest of their lives in Otago district.[303] Isabella and Ann Marwick both took part in the single, female emigration scheme. They travelled from the Clyde on the 16 June 1862 with 57 other assisted females to Dunedin.[304] They followed two of their older sisters, with Mary Mainland Marwick the second oldest sister of the Marwick family having emigrated to New Zealand as a government emigrant 1857.[305] She married a Richard Craigie in 1859 and they had two children respectfully in 1860 and 1861. She then died at the age of 27 in Otago in February 1862 mere months before her sisters took their own voyage to the region.[306]

Isabella was the older sister, being 19 when she left Scotland. When she reached 21 she married her sister's husband Richard Craigie in October 1863.[307] A marriage that at the time, although not uncommon, was illegal as it would still be almost another twenty years until the Deceased Wife's Sister Marriage Act would allow for the legalization of the marriage between a man and his deceased wife's sister.[308] This marriage however saw them have nine children over the next twenty years before Isabella's death in 1887 at the age of 45.[309]

Her sister Ann, the youngest of the Marwick children born in 1845 was only 17 when she emigrated to Dunedin. She married her husband James Firth Knarston in 1870 and had one daughter in 1873

[302] "Port Chalmers. August 27." Otago Daily Times, 28 August 1862, 4.
[303] Noted in my database, through multiple sources such as New Zealand's Births, Deaths and Marriage records and Ancestry.com
[304] "Port Chalmers. August 27." Otago Daily Times, 28 August 1862, 4.
[305] Marwick Family Tree, Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/83529944/person/122263849786/facts
[306] Marwick Family Tree, Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/83529944/person/122263849786/facts
[307] Isabella Marwick, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[308] Deceased Wife's Sister Marriage Act 1880, New Zealand Legal Information Acr (NZLII) accessed, 10 July 2021.
[309] Isabella (Marwick) Craigie, "Death record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/

before dying at only 31 in 1876.[310] They both arrived in New Zealand as young women together and married within ten years of their arrival. With there not being a trace of them outside of these marriage, birth and death records we can presume that they found employment in domestic service positions as they intended to when they were granted the assisted passage. Isabella remained in the Otago region for the next twenty years and Ann remained there for the remainder of her short life. In terms of the Agents goal for the scheme, these women could both be described as a 'stabilizing' force.

Their older sister Elizabeth (Betsy) Marwick emigrated to New Zealand around the same time as Mary, although as an already married women with children. She had been married to her husband Hugh Gordon Yorston in 1842. They emigrated to New Zealand between 1855 and 1859, with seven children and proceeded to have another four children in Otago.[311] Their two brothers, Thomas and Isaac, also ended up in Otago, and two of their other brothers, Hugh Alfred and William Gibson Marwick, ended up in Australia in the early 1850s, having made a stop on the way in New Zealand in 1852 where Hugh Alfred's daughter died onboard the voyage. He was in Australia the following year where his wife Margaret gave birth to their second daughter, Annie Maria, in Victoria, leaving one sister (Margaret) and one brother (John) in Scotland, as well as their parents (Thomas and Ann).[312]

The case of the Marwick family demonstrates how these were not individual decisions being made when it came to emigration from England, but rather involved the whole family. They were making the decision to emigrate to Dunedin based on the actions of each other.

The Forresters were also a family that made use of the scheme to emigrate together. Although the application process stated that women had to be younger than 35 to receive assistance there were exceptions made on occasion to women who had good references, were unmarried and who could demonstrate that they would be good domestic servants. This trio of women was Margaret, Rebecca and Jeanie; a mother and her daughters. In terms of being single assisted females they all received the assisted passage even though Margaret was 50 at the time she emigrated.[313] Rebecca was 30 and Jeanie was 29.[314] Margaret had been a widow since 1852 when her husband Andrew Thompson

[310] Ann Marwick, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/.
[311] Marwick Family Tree, Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/83529944/person/122263849786/facts
[312] Marwick Family Tree, Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/83529944/person/122263849786/facts
[313] "Port Chalmers. August 27." Otago Daily Times, 28 August 1862, 4.
[314] Ancestry.com "Rebecca Forrester in Australia and New Zealand, Find a Grave Index, 1800s-Current" Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/163088601:60528?tid=&pid=&queryId=ec6cc674ee4fb8cad4280732ff0d3e5e&_phsrc=Luh81&_phstart=successSource

Forrester died.[315] Each remained unmarried for the remainder of their lives in the Otago region, with Margaret dying in 1873.[316] Rebecca, remained in the Otago region until her death in 1918 at 81 years old; she never married. Jeanie, whose full name was Jane Wilson, or at her death Jeanie Wilson Forrester, also remained unmarried but did settle in Dunedin for the remainder of her life dying in 1913 at 76 years of age.[317]

Jeanie and Rebecca had both been listed as cooks on the passenger information and in the 1851 census they were both listed as musline darners.[318] Margaret was listed as a domestic servant as were most of the assisted females on the *Jura*. They would have all been able to find employment in the Dunedin region. As demonstrated by Alpenny and the local newspapers, there was a constant stream of positions advertised with these titles. Although they were older than the Marwick girls and none of them married after they arrived, they still all remained in the province for the remainder of their lives arguably fulfilling the goals the Agents and the Provincial Government had for the scheme.

The third family, the Helms, were also a family that emigrated together. The daughters, Janet, Isabella, Margaret and Mary all emigrated as domestic servants to Otago though, unlike the Forresters, they did remain there. They also were not the only members of their family to take part in the voyage, with it appearing that their brother and father also emigrated with them.[319] Even if the brothers Thomas, George and their father John did not emigrate with the girls themselves, they did all end up in the same place together which was Southland, New Zealand.

The Helms demonstrated the autonomy of people whose daughters had been described as 'surplus' in the United Kingdom. They clearly show that there were families who saw the assisted single female emigration scheme as not only an opportunity for their daughters to emigrate to somewhere that had been advertised to them as providing more opportunities and a better life, but the discounted fare allowed their whole family that opportunity.

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[315] Ancestry.com "Margaret Forrester in the 1851 Scotland Census Database," *1851 Scotland Census* [database on-line], Ancestry.com https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/2597847:1076?tid=&pid=&queryId=813dbb84b1adf8269bca975d0afcfe24&_phsrc=Luh83&_phstart=successSource

[316] Margaret Forrester, "Death record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/

[317] Jeanie Wilson Forrester, "Death record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/

[318] "Port Chalmers. August 27." Otago Daily Times, 28 August 1862, 4.

[319] Gardner Marshall Connell, Ancestry.com. https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/66788752/person/34532050694/facts

Jane Lindsay, a 26-year-old and her 17-year-old sister Margaret were both domestic servants. They had both received the assistance as a part of the assisted young, single female emigration scheme, however Jane at the time of the voyage was not actually single as she had married six days before the voyage to a James Gray on the 10 June.[320] Their parents Lillias and William, also emigrated on the *Jura*, as well as potentially their three brothers, John, James and William.[321] The whole family settled in either Dunedin or Southland for the remainder of their lives.

The Lindsays, like the Helms, saw the advantage of having their daughters take part in the assisted female emigration scheme to discount the total fare that the family themselves would have had to pay if they had decided to emigrate. It was naive of the government to think that they could promote the assisted passages to single young women and that they would all just emigrate by themselves.

The fourth family, the McDonalds, also had four daughters who emigrated on the *Jura;* Isabella, Margaret, Jane and Helen. This was the only family from this ship that did not have all their daughters remain in New Zealand. Helen, who after emigrating to Otago, married a William Hay 1867 and they emigrated together in 1884 to California, where she and her husband remained for the rest of their lives.[322] She died two years after him at the age of 80 in 1924.[323] As for her sisters, Isabella the second oldest who was only 18 when she emigrated, married her husband Geo Caird in Dunedin in 1865. She had her first child in Dunedin in 1866 and from there they moved to the West Coast before setting in Canterbury.[324] She died in 1921 at the age of 76, after having seven children.[325] Jane who was only 13 when she emigrated, married her husband in 1867 at 18 years old.[326] She like her sister Isabella stayed in the Otago region for some time before eventually settling in Canterbury by 1879. She died in 1905 at the age of 55 after having eight children.[327] Their sister Margaret who was 15 at the time she emigrated, married a Joseph Brunt in 1868 and she died in Canterbury in 1920 at 74.

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[320] Baber McLeod Family Tree, Ancestry.com. https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/30792987/person/26443637568/facts
[321] Baber McLeod Family Tree, Ancestry.com. https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/30792987/person/26443637568/facts
[322] "Port Chalmers. August 27." Otago Daily Times, 28 August 1862, 4.
[323] Ancestry.com, "Helen McDonald in the New Zealand, Civil Registration Marriage Index, 1840-1901," *New Zealand, Civil Registration Marriage Index, 1840-1901,* Ancestry.com https://www.ancestry.com.au/discoveryui-content/view/35945:62565?tid=&pid=&queryId=6ae46e94343f707285ee886a2e7ea53e&_phsrc=Luh441&_phstart=successSource
[324] Isabella (McDonald) Caird, "Birth record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[325] Isabella (McDonald) Caird, "Death record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[326] Jane McDonald, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[327] Jane McDonald, "Death record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/

These girls were all under twenty when they emigrated to Dunedin and were all able to participate in the scheme, even Jane who was only 13 at the time. The requirements of the scheme meant that anyone over the age of 12 could apply but it was rare for someone that young to emigrate without a sister.[328] For this family, their mother Jane died three years before their emigration. Their father also emigrated out to Otago, seeing this scheme as an opportunity for the whole family to emigrate. This could also have been due to the idea at the time of it being an Englishman's responsibility to support his family and more so the women in his family; sending his young daughters to the other side of the world alone would have at the time been quite a strange thing to do even with the promotion of specifically single, young female emigration. [329]

The fifth and final family on the *Jura* was the Armstrong sisters.[330] Margaret and Johan were 21 and 17 when they emigrated and they were both married within a few years of their emigration.[331] Margaret did not remain in New Zealand but moved over to Australia where she married a James Elder Brown in 1866 and had two sons James and George.[332] They did move back to Otago by 1870 and remained there until her death in 1917.[333] Her younger sister Johan married in 1863 one month before her 18th birthday to Hector Morrison and between 1864 and 1889 they had ten children.[334] She lived in New Zealand for the remainder of her life, settling in Southland after she had had her children in Otago. She died at 83 years old in 1923.[335]

They, like others, were accompanied by their sister Jane who married Alexander Sutherland in January of 1862 and who had also emigrated on the *Jura* and settled in the Otago region for the remainder of their lives, with their nine children.[336] Their younger siblings and their parents all ended up in Victoria, Australia by the 1870s.

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[328] OP8/75. 19 February. 1863.
[329] Brookes, Barbara, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 79.
[330] "Port Chalmers. August 27." Otago Daily Times, 28 August 1862, 4.
[331] Margaret Armstrong, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/; Johan Armstrong , "Marriagg record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[332] Ancestry.com, "Margaret Watson Armstrong in the Australia, Marriage Index, 1788-1950," *Australia Marriage Index, 1788-1950* [database on-line], Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/4470306:1780?ssrc=pt&tid=114633111&pid=132312979295
[333] Margaret (Armstrong) Elder Brown, "Death record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/;
[334] Johan (Armstrong) Morrison, "Birth record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[335] Johan (Armstrong) Morrison, "Death record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[336] Jane Armstrong, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/

The *Jura* was by no means the only ship that carried siblings: Sisters Margaret and Agnes Barr migrated to Dunedin in 1863 on the *Victory* from Glasgow.[337] Daughters of William and Mary Barr, they were not the only members of their family who made the decision to emigrate to New Zealand; their sisters Mary and Susan also took the journey to settle in New Zealand. Margaret and Agnes had followed their sister Mary to the province. Mary and her husband James Stevenson, who she married in 1852, were living in New Zealand by 1853 where they had their daughter on the 14 September that year.[338] They stayed in the Taieri region of Otago for the remainder of their lives, with Margaret dying in their home in March of 1873.[339] Mary died at the age 80 in Dunedin City in 1914.[340] Margaret married in 1865 to a Robert Henderson, and prior to her death at only 35 years of age, she had six children.[341] Her sister Agnes, who took the voyage with her, married the following year in 1864 to a John Stevenson, and they had two children.[342] The youngest of the sisters, Susan, followed all of her older sisters and was living in New Zealand by 1872 where she married Hugh Roxburgh that year.[343] Susan and Hugh had 14 children throughout their marriage, her final child was born in 1891 two years before Hugh died in 1893 at 49 years of age, with Susan following two years later on the 7 July in 1895 at 46 years of age.[344]

The women's experiences illustrate that a lot of the concerns held by Rye were not always justified. The majority of the women who took part in the scheme arrived in New Zealand and promptly settled. Some of these women had family support with them, which could be deemed an as an advantage, but even those who came out alone followed a similar trajectory. They met the goals of the Agents by not just starting their own families but also by bringing out their extended families and settling in the region. The area was clearly still attractive to families even after the influx of men from the gold rush.

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[337] "Port Chalmers – July 8th." Otago Daily Times, 9 July 1863, 4
[338] "Births." Otago Witness, 17 September 1853, 2
[339] "Death." Otago Witness, 22 March 1873, 12.
[340] Ancestry.com, "Margaret Robertson in the New Zealand, Cemetery Records, 1800-2007," *New Zealand, Cemetery Records, 1800-2007* [database on-line], Ancestry.com https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1575543:60547
[341] Margaret Barr, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[342] Agnes Barr, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[343] Susan Barr, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[344] Ancestry.com, "Susan Carolline Roxburdh in the New Zealand, Cemetery, Records, 1800-2007," 1800-2007," *New Zealand, Cemetery Records, 1800-2007* [database on-line], Ancestry.com https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1570402:60547

Harsh reality for some

During this era of assisted migration, it was imperative for the women who took these assisted passages to prove their good moral character before they granted assistance. However, moving to the other side of the world would be challenging; this would be a new environment with many leaving their only support systems behind, so it really should have been no surprise when some did fall in to destitute or unsavoury situations. Ann Doull, who emigrated from the Clyde on 16 June 1862 on the *Jura* as a domestic servant, found herself married two years later and lived in Otago until her death in 1911.[345] The only other reference of her, as is with so many of these women, is when they appear in the courts. For Doull, it was when she was awarded bail after attempting suicide.[346]

Many examples that have been discussed demonstrate that women successfully settled in the region having married and started a family. There were some whose lives in the region did not go smoothly, but these women were in the minority group. When the scheme for assisted migration of females was introduced to Otago in 1862, it was the norm for the newspapers to print the names of the assisted females in their passengers lists upon their arrival to the province. A great number of women took up the three-to-four-month journey that it would take them to reach Otago's Port Chalmers from ports in London and Glasgow, but there is not a lot known about the women who did make this journey once they arrived here. When going through and looking at these individuals through newspaper articles, ancestry records, the records of births, deaths and marriages, many are easy to lose track of if they did not marry or have children. The women who stand out are those who make the newspapers, normally for some scandal or another. These are the women that Rye wished to distance from the scheme, stating that it was irresponsible for them to provide passage for women who life in the colonies could lead to destruction.[347]

In colonial New Zealand, these young single women were a constant source of concern for those worried about the morality of the colony. Even though many who passed judgement and concern for these new immigrants had only migrated to Dunedin and other significant provinces such as Auckland and Christchurch the previous decades, there was already great concern over the character of these newer immigrants.[348] One concern that grew throughout the provinces, in particular in Dunedin after the gold-rushes, stemmed from Britain which was the question of what should be done to reform prostitutes. Prostitution was originally not seen as an issue that concerned European female settlers

[345] Ann Doull, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[346] "Criminal Session." Evening Star, 5 July 1872, 2.
[347] "Miss Rye on Emigration."
[348] Tennant, "'Magadalenes and Moral Imbecilies': Womens homes in nineteenth-century New Zealand," 492.

when there were better wages for women as domestics and an abundance of 'decent well-to-do' men readily available to be husbands. Why would women fall or even choose to end up in prostitution?

However, with that independence there also came a greater level of risk to their character, which is one of the reasons we know the names of some of these women who were deemed 'immoral'. Margaret King who came out to Dunedin from London on the *Star of Tasmania* in 1862 was mentioned in the Otago Daily Times in 1871 with another assisted migrant Mary Cameron who had come out on *Jura* in 1862, in a report detailing the Mayor's Court. [349] They were recorded as being witnesses at an establishment that was being charged with 'BREACH OF THE LICENSING ORDINANCE'. They were both described as 'reputed prostitutes.'[350] Margaret King, who was first spotted on the property after a detective followed a little boy of around six years going into the establishment carrying 'an empty jug in one hand and a shilling in the other.' The Detective who questioned the young boy was told he was 'going into the house for some beer.'[351] The Detective found King in the passage way; it was upon her being discovered that she took the jug from the small boy and threw it at the Detective's face.[352] Mary Cameron was also found here. The father of the young boy said that he had given him the money to get him a beer and that he had been served by Mary, demonstrating that all parties of those mentioned in the event were familiar enough with each other.

Some women made the newspapers at a very early stage after disembarking. This was the case for Helen Laurie, who we already know arrived on the *Grasmere* on the 1 May 1862 and arriving in Otago on the 26 August that same year.[353] As we already know, she upon her arrival was deemed a lunatic by the medical staff examining the new arrivals. She was not only member from this group to make it into the newspapers after their arrival. A women named Ellen Thomson found herself in the pages a number times for a variety of crimes such as vagrancy and alleged abortions that she performed on herself.[354] While working as a housekeeper, she got blood poisoning from cutting her hand on the broken edge of a dish, leaving her permanently incapacitated.[355]
Ellen Thomson demonstrates that even those who did go into domestic service were still at risk of having an incredibly hard life here in the province.[356] Without the support of family, life could be

[349] "Majors Court." Otago Daily Times, 26 January 1871, 3.
[350] "Majors Court." Otago Daily Times, 26 January 1871, 3.
[351] "Majors Court." Otago Daily Times, 26 January 1871, 3.
[352] "Majors Court." Otago Daily Times, 26 January 1871, 3.
[353] "Port Chalmers. – August 26." Otago Daily Times, 26 August 1862, 4.
[354] "Saturday, Dec. 4. Alleged Abortion." Marlborough Express, 4 December 1909, 5; "Magistrates' Court." Globe, 2 June 1878, 2.
[355] "Deaths." Otago Daily Times, 21 July 1933, 6. 6
[356] "Magistrates' Court." Globe, 2 June 1878, 2.

incredibly challenging, something that was not as clearly seen with the women who did emigrate out with a built-in support system. Mary Robertson, one of the thirty-one women onboard the *Grasmere* journey, also found herself in the papers. She made an appearance in the court where she was charged with a first offence of drunkenness, with a male and a female accomplice.[357] However, others from this voyage found themselves married rather swiftly after their arrival, such as Bridget Megley who was married within a year of arriving to a man named James Farrell.[358]

Helen Anderson, who arrived in the Otago port on the ship named the *Bombay* on the 10 June 1862 from London, went on to make frequent appearances in the newspapers for a range of charges. There was the time when she was brought to court under the Vagrancy Act, after a Constable found her and another woman, Isabella Leckie, in the company of drunken man in a house that belonged to none of them.[359] The tenant of the house had left earlier in the week and the padlock that they had used to lock their house had been smashed within a day of them leaving.[360] Both women were lucky not to be charged in this instance, whereas their male counterpart was charged with drunkenness. There were multiple occasions when Leckie was charged with drunkenness and on at least one occasion court had to be adjourned due to her not being sober for the occasion.[361] On at least four occasions Leckie was sentenced to imprisonment: first for twenty-four hours on a charge of drunkenness, secondly, for twelve months for larceny.

There are also at least two instances where Anderson was charged with indecency: once when she was described by the Court as being 'without exception the worse woman in Christchurch,' and she was sentenced to twelve months hard labour.[362] The second time for indecency when she was being charged for committing an act of indecency in public in a paddock with a man named John Newton which was witnessed by a 'large number of people.'[363] Judge Anderson described her as 'a rogue and a vagabond.'[364] This case also demonstrates the different attitudes to women and men's sexuality during the time period. Only Helen Anderson was charged in this case to two years imprisonment with hard labour with the justification that she was a repeat offender, whereas her accomplice John Newton was discharged with a caution due to him having no previous convictions and also having

[357] "Police Court. – Thursday." Daily Southern Cross, 4 March 1870, 4.
[358] Bridget Megley, "Marriage record," Births, Deaths , and Marriages Online (2021) https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/

[359] "Magistrates' Court." Globe, 23 October 1878, 3.
[360] "Magistrates' Court." Globe, 23 October 1878, 3.
[361] "Christchurch." Star (Christchurch), 27 July 1878, 2.
[362] "Magistrates' Court." Globe, 12 September 1877, 2.
[363] "Magisterial." Star (Christchurch 28 October 1878, 2.
"Magisterial." Star (Christchurch 28 October 1878, 2.
[365] "Magisterial." Star (Christchurch 28 October 1878, 2

called a witness on his behalf.[365] When it came to public acts of sex and prostitution and looking at ways to reform the 'problem', the focus was on the women involved and there was little mention of their male counterparts and their participation in said events.

Drunkenness was considered an evil the province had hoped to avoid by focusing on importing these young single women to balance out the men but, as has been seen in the life of Helen Anderson, it could arrive with them. Jane McDonald who immigrated on the *Robert Henderson* was also charged with 'habitual drunkenness.' After working with some Irish, she had celebrated St. Patricks day with them by having a drink. However, 'His Worship' made the point that if this had been her first offence, he would have taken St. Patricks Day in to account but she had six previous convictions 'staring him in the face' so she was sentenced with three months' imprisonment.[366]

These examples of women whose lives were clearly not easy after emigrating to Dunedin are a small minority of the women who took part in the scheme. It can be challenging to determine what happened to the women who arrived in Otago and did not make an impact that saw them in the papers or in the births, marriages and death records. It could be assumed that they went on and fulfilled the original expectations of the scheme, finding themselves in domestic service positions throughout the region. From 1880, the number of women and girls who were in paid domestic help was in sharp decline even though domestic work was still the primary occupation for single women.[367] These cases reflect what happened to women who lacked support in the province and present the consequences of their actions compared to their male counterparts.

[365] "Magisterial." Star (Christchurch 28 October 1878, 2
[366] "Resident Magistrate's Court." Evening Star, 19 March 1874, 2.
[367] 'Why was there no answer to the 'Servant Problem'? Paid domestic work and the making of white New Zealand, 1840s-1950s, 15.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The single female emigration scheme was an attempt to redress a gender imbalance in both the United Kingdom and New Zealand. From its very beginning, those who were responsible for the promotion and organisation of the scheme were concerned with the idea of moral risk. The moral risk that could undo the lives and reputations of the young women for whom they were responsible, and the moral risk which could undermine the scheme's credibility. This thesis deals with this idea of moral risk and the impact that it had on the running of the scheme, considering questions such as why was the scheme so concerned with moral risk? How did those involved perceive the risk would manifest itself and what did they do to manage this risk? How did the women themselves navigate these threats to their reputation? It finally assessed the extent of the success they had in their new country.

The assisted female emigration scheme was envisaged as addressing a perceived need of both countries, concerned they had either too many or not enough single women in their respective societies. However, to resolve this problem by shifting large numbers of single women across the world posed moral risks, given that the women would be beyond the control of family or employers. The promoters of the scheme, in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, believed that women were safe when their families, or the men or women who were their employers, were telling them what to do. On their own, it was believed that they would be perpetually at risk. This view is reflected even in the application process. Each woman was required to have several men from different facets of their lives declare that they were of good, moral character before they were granted their passage. The organisers held to account those who recruited and gave passage to these young women for protecting their moral character. They put measures in place on the voyage to keep these young women safe and to offer assurances to the communities that they left behind.

Such concerns are highlighted in the voyage to Otago. Here, the perceived moral risk was most likely to manifest. On these voyages everything was presumed to be a threat to the wellbeing of the women, including the women themselves. The men and other passengers were seen as potentially being able to lead the young women into trouble; there was concern that the men who worked onboard could take advantage of them, and they themselves could not be trusted to look after themselves. The matron was appointed to manage these threats, supposedly an older woman whose whole focus was on the safety and wellbeing of the women in her charge. However, for all but a handful of women, this level of protection proved unnecessary, with some of the precautions that were put in place causing more disruption than less.

Some of the young women were not even travelling alone, as it was assumed, others were not as single as they declared. Many of these young women came with sisters, brothers, parents, and in the occasional case, undeclared husbands (or future husbands) who paid their own fare for the voyage.

Maria S. Rye demonstrated genuine concern for the young women she encouraged to emigrate to Otago, which included but went beyond their moral wellbeing. In taking the voyage herself, she was disappointed in what she found waiting for them upon their arrival in New Zealand. She was particularly concerned with the Female Emigration Barracks, which housed the small number of women who did not have other arrangements for their housing upon arrival to Otago. Rye also complained of the lack of suitable employment opportunities, but her fears were not shown to have ground, nor shared by those in Otago - both Thomas Dick and Caroline Alpenny rebutted the concerns that Rye had over both issues. Alpenny responded that there were employment opportunities aplenty, with not enough young women to fill them. The ample employment opportunities for these freshly emigrated women in Otago were stark contrast to what they had been able to expect in the United Kingdom, where there they had been described as 'redundant' and 'surplus'. Even though Rye and Alpenny both had complaints surrounding the work ethic of some of the girls, with Alpenny in calling them lazy and fussy, the work here was considerably different to that of the work they may have experienced at home and many were able to be selective, giving them greater autonomy in their lives than they may have previously had.

Otago had been advertised as a land of opportunity for women both in terms of greater employment opportunities but also marriage prospects. Most of the women of this study seemed to make the most of the opportunities that the emigration scheme offered them, and either found themselves employed with plenty of options or married shortly after their arrival. Rye may have had her constant criticisms and genuine concerns over nearly every element or organisation of the journey that the young women took, but most of the young women arrived and settled in Otago relatively unscathed. Those travelling with family members were even less likely to fall to ruin and even those who did travel by themselves followed a similar trajectory to those who emigrated with their families.

Women who were seen as 'surplus' in the United Kingdom soon found marriage within the first few years of their arrival in Dunedin. Even though we cannot determine how most felt throughout their experience, we can speculate that they lived a life that may have fulfilled their hopes, a life that they would not have experienced if they had not partaken in the scheme. Many of the women who did emigrate settled in the region for the remainder of their lives, marrying other new emigrants and having children. Some even have future generations of family still in the area such Isabella Booth

who emigrated with her sister on the *Victory* and married a farmer named John Freeland. Freelands remain in the area today.

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