QUEENSLAND IMMIGRATION AND THE BLACK BALL LINE

by WARWICK FOOTE

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After separation on 1 December 1859 the First Parliament of the new Colony of Queensland resolved on 31 May 1860 that a select committee be appointed to consider and report on the best means of promoting immigration to the Colony.

The committee sat during June, July and August 1860. Its object was "to elicit opinions as to the best mode of inducing a cheap, healthy and continuous flow of immigration to Queensland and to gain evidence as to the working, satisfactorily or otherwise, of the present and other systems which have been in use for some years".

These systems, which were conducted under the control of the Imperial Emigration Commissioners in England, were —

Free immigration, under which the conveyance of immigrants to the Colony was entirely at the cost of the Government;

Remittance immigration, under which a remission of 80 per cent on all purchases of land was made to parties sending home for their friends; and

Assisted immigration, by which the immigrants were required to repay a large portion of their passage money within a certain period after their arrival in the Colony¹.

The select committee recommended, among other things —

(a) That the Government make arrangements for the introduction of any number of immigrants, the cost of whose passage may be guaranteed by responsible parties in the Colony . . . these immigrants to be entitled to a land order on production of a certificate from their employer to

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the effect that they have fulfilled the conditions of their agreement to repay to him the amount of their passage money;

- (b) That parties importing their own servants or friends be allowed a remission in the shape of a land order to the amount of f.18 for every statute adult (a statute adult being anyone over the age of 12 years, or two children between the ages of one year and 12 years);
- (c) That these conditions be extended to all individuals paying their own passages from the United Kingdom and who are able and willing to settle down upon the land at once or after two or three years' residence in the Colony;
- (d) That a selecting agent be appointed in Great Britain, one who possessing a thorough knowledge of the country and its requirements should adopt active measures for disseminating the knowledge of the new Colony by means of lectures and advertisements and pointing out to those who would be desirable immigrants the many advantages offered by Queensland; and
- (e) That all parties emigrating to Queensland and all ships conveying them be under the supervision of the Emigration Commissioners in England.

As a result of the committee's recommendations the Queensland Government instituted a system of immigration known as the land order system to supplement that carried out under the control of the Emigration Commissioners.

Originally the land order system provided that every adult immigrant who paid his or her own passage to Queensland was to be granted a land order for 18 acres and, after two years' residence in the Colony, a further order for 12 acres. The orders were valued at £18 and £12 respectively. A shipowner who brought free passengers or assisted passengers to Queensland at his own expense was to be given a land order for £18 for each adult immigrant carried. These provisions were altered from time to time. Furthermore, assisted passages were to be granted to any immigrant who was unable to pay his full fair and free passages were to be given to female domestic servants and persons whose circumstances were such as to warrant the granting of a free passage.

PAYMENT IN LAND ORDERS

The land order system operated under the Immigration Regulations promulgated under the Alienation of Crown Lands Act. From the Government's point of view, the immediate advantage to be gained from the system was that, by paying a shipowner in land orders instead of in cash, the young Colony was saved the need of calling upon its meagre financial resources to meet the cost of immigration of free and assisted passengers. However, as was to be discovered later, the granting and circulation of a large number of land orders resulted in a drastic reduction in the sale of Crown lands, on which the Colony relied heavily for its revenue.

So, immigration to Queensland was to be carried out by two means — the carriage of free and assisted immigrants by ships chartered by the Imperial Emigration Commissioners; and the carriage of free, assisted and fare-paying immigrants by ships chartered by the selecting agent for Queensland, as recommended in the committee's report.

On 9 October 1860 Mr. Henry Jordan, then one of the members for Brisbane in the Queensland Parliament, was appointed as Emigration Agent in England, and after resigning from Parliament on 17 October sailed for London, arriving there in 1861, and took up duty.

In later recalling his activities upon his arrival he stated -

"When I arrived in England . . . I saw several large shipping firms and proposed to them that they should put on a ship to the Colony, and be willing to accept our land orders in payment for a large proportion of the passengers. One and all of the shippers, however, at once refused. They did not know the name of the Colony; they knew a place called Moreton Bay, but there was no trade to Moreton Bay — no freight; and a passenger trade without freight would not pay. And as for my proposal that I should pay them for a large proportion of the passengers with land orders, they quite laughed at the idea.

Finally I met Mr. Taylor, the only member of the firm of Mackay, Baines & Co. then resident in London, and prevailed upon him to put on a ship to the Colony — the Wansfell'.²

Mackay, Baines & Co. operated the Black Ball Line, which was formed in 1852 in England. Its founders were James Baines, a Liverpool shipowner, and Thomas Miller Mackay, a shipwright. The line had its head office in Liverpool. It is not to be confused with an earlier line of the same name formed in New York in 1816 and engaged in the North Atlantic passenger and cargo trade. Later, in 1858, Mackay established a separate office in London, but the two firms of James Baines & Co. and T. M. Mackay always worked together closely in the operation of the Black Ball Line.

The ship that is generally regarded as the first of the line was the *Marco Polo*. She, together with other Black Ball ships — among them the celebrated *Lightning, James Baines, Champion of the Seas* and *Donald McKay* — carried thousands of immigrants to Port Phillip during the 1850s. Some of the line's ships also carried troops during the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. It was during the immigration boom to Victoria that the fortunes of the Black Ball Line were at their highest.

The arrangements entered into by Jordan with Mackay, Baines & Co. were set out in a memorandum of agreement dated 20 February 1863. They provided that emigrants approved by the Queensland office in London were to be conveyed to the Colony in such ships as were required by the Queensland Immigration Regulations; that for the carriage of free and assisted passengers the shipowners were to receive for each passenger carried an £18 land order and, in addition, a cash payment of £2.17.0 for passengers despatched to Moreton Bay and £3.17.0 for those despatched to northern ports; that each year three ships were to sail from Glasgow and Liverpool; that half of the whole of the emigration was to go direct to the northern ports; that at least three ships a year sailing from London were to call at Plymouth for passengers.³

As stated, as a result of the approaches by Jordan, Mr. Taylor agreed to despatch to Moreton Bay the ship *Wansfell*. This, the pioneer vessel in the Black Ball Line's Queensland immigration venture, arrived in Moreton Bay on 10 November 1861 with 300 immigrants. In October of the previous year another Black Ball ship, the *Montmorency*, had arrived in Moreton Bay with immigrants, but she was under charter to the Emigration Commissioners and should not, therefore, be regarded as making that voyage under the terms of the arrangements entered into between Jordan and the Black Ball Line.

Upon disembarking her passengers, the Wansfell commenced loading a cargo of wool and cedar logs. This was completed in

March 1862 and the ship sailed for London on the 18th. Wool, tallow, cotton, cedar, hides, skins and bones were to form the bulk of the cargoes carried from Moreton Bay to England by the Black Ball ships. With one or two exceptions in later years, the disembarkation of passengers and the loading of cargo were carried out in Moreton Bay off the mouth of the river — passengers brought ashore and cargo taken to the ships by small local steamers and sailing vessels. The process of loading sometimes took as long as six months, depending on the wool seasons, the time taken to process wool and transport it by river steamer from Ipswich or Brisbane to the bay, and the milling and shipment of cedar logs from Mooloolah, Noosa and other near-north coast settlements.

The Wansfell was followed, in 1862, by the Saldanha, Whirlwind, Montmorency, City of Brisbane, Erin-Go-Brach, Young Australia, Maryborough, Sultana, Ocean Chief and Prince Consort. The Ariadne and Utopia came under charter to the Emigration Commissioners.

The line's agency in Brisbane was conducted jointly by Bright Bros., for the ships from Liverpool, and J. & G. Harris, for those from London.

LONG HARD VOYAGES

Generally, the voyages of the early immigrant ships were marked by hardship and suffering. Cramped and dark accommodation, wet bunks, shortage of food and water, and weeks at sea with little to occupy the mind were part and parcel of the long voyage from England, round the Cape of Good Hope to Queensland. Quite often, in the gales of the Roaring Forties, passengers were battened down below hatches for days on end in a sweltering, stifling atmosphere, in almost total darkness and without adequate ventilation. There, up to 500 men, women and children did their cooking, ate their meals and slept. The sanitary arrangements were, at best, primitive. The majority of migrants made little effort to keep their quarters clean. The stench that rose from the crowded steerage decks when the hatches were lifted as the gales abated was sickening. The worst suffering of all, however, was caused by sickness, particularly measles and scarlatina among the children and the dreaded disease of the days of sail — typhoid.

The trials and tribulations of the passengers on the *Erin-Go-Brach* illustrate some of the abject misery suffered by many of our early settlers. Four days after sailing from Cork with 431 Irish

immigrants, typhoid broke out on board. The disease spread quickly with the result that, of the passengers, 54 — mostly young children — died. As well, in gales in the South Atlantic the ship was swept by huge seas that caused extensive damage and smashed the freshwater casks. After putting into Cape Town to replenish supplies, the ship set off on the long haul across the Southern Ocean and arrived in Moreton Bay on 31 July 1862. She was immediately put into quarantine by the port health officer (Dr. Hobbs) and the passengers were put ashore in a temporary quarantine station set up on St. Helena Island. They were released on 8 August and brought up the river, landing in Brisbane on the 10th — six months after setting out from their homeland!

In the following year, 1863, immigrants were brought to Queensland by the famous Flying Cloud, the Queen of the Colonies, Light Brigade, Sunda, Golden City and Star of England. These and many other Black Ball vessels were former American clippers built in ports along the eastern seaboard for the emigration boom following the California gold rush of 1849. The majority of them were built of softwood and they were fast and capable of carrying large cargoes. In the early 1859s they carried thousands of people and a variety of goods, at high freight rates, from the eastern States to San Francisco. In 1857, however, America was hit by a severe depression and freight rates fell to the lowest level.⁴ Four years later the nation was in the grip of civil war. American shipowners had little or no use for their vessels and they were laid up. James Baines, together with other British shipowners, bought a large number of these California clippers, at ridiculously low prices, refitted them in England and sent them off to Australia and New Zealand with immigrants. Besides these vessels, the fleet of Baines and Mackay contained a number of softwood ships built in the Maritime Provinces of Canada as well as oak and teak vessels built in England and Scotland.

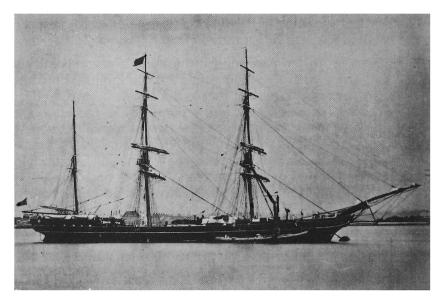
In 1863 a select committee was appointed by the Queensland Parliament to enquire into and report on the operation and working of the immigration laws. In its report dated 11 September 1863 the committee expressed the view that it would be "dangerous to abolish the land order system which had produced a great influx of immigrants to the Colony". The committee also recommended that migration to the Colony should not be confined exclusively to one line of ships if the conveyance of immigrants could be satisfactorily secured by the employment of ships of other firms. From the evidence presented to it the com-

mittee found that the observance of cleanliness had not been so well enforced on ships of the Black Ball Line as on those chartered by the Emigration Commissioners.

It is pertinent to compare some of the conditions on board the Black Ball ships with those obtaining on the Emigration Commissioners' vessels. Whereas the commissioners employed an efficient means of classifying and separating the passengers the single men were placed in the fore part of the ship, the married couples amidships and the single females in the after part in the ships of the Black Ball Line there was no such separation. As has been pointed out, besides carrying free and assisted, or steerage, passengers, the Black Ball ships carried cabin passengers. And it was the cabin passengers who, it was alleged, were the cause of immorality and bad behaviour on board. Allegations were made to the effect that so-called gentlemen who travelled as cabin passengers took liquor on board, frequently got drunk and sold liquor to the steerage passengers. Furthermore, it was claimed that some of the ships' masters, officers and surgeons drank to excess, failed to maintain discipline and paid little heed to the passengers' well-being, either physical or moral. It was alleged, I hasten to add, that this state of affairs was condoned by the Black Ball Line.

Among the passengers brought to Queensland in 1863 were a large number of distressed cotton workers and their families from Lancashire. As the result of the outbreak of the American Civil War on 12 April 1861 the shipment of cotton from the southern States to the mills of England ceased. Lancashire was striken with mass unemployment, abject povety and sickness. More than 2000 cotton mills closed down and thousands of operatives were thrown out of work. Near starvation was rampant. To help relieve the misery, the Queensland Government, through Mr. Jordan, offered free and assisted passages to distressed mill workers. More than 1700 of these emaciated, poverty-striken people (representing 1300 statute adults) were brought to Queensland on Black Ball ships such as the Beejapore, Hannah More, Light Brigade, Cairngorm, Rockhampton, Young Australia, Fiery Star, Wansfell and Golden Dream. The death-rate among these wretched people, many of whom were unable to withstand the rigours of the long voyage, was of course quite high.

Other immigrants who arrived in Queensland in 1863 were members of the newly formed Lancashire and Queensland Cooperative Emigration Society, which was formed to engage in



LIGHT BRIGADE — A typical example of the American wooden clipper ships bought by the Black Ball Line. Formerly the "Ocean Telegraph".

cotton-growing in the Colony. The first batch of society members came on the *Sunda*, arriving in Moreton Bay on 25 September.

One of the ships bringing distressed cotton operatives, the *Rockhampton*, arrived in Keppel Bay on 12 October 1863 from Liverpool. The health officer who inspected the ship found the accommodation to be dirty and badly ventillated. The steerage accommodation was condemned by him as being probably the poorest of any immigrant ship. On the 116-day voyage, 26 of the 460 passengers died.

Living conditions on board the *Rockhampton* were the subject of charges and counter-charge as set out in various letters written at the end of 1863 and in early 1864. It had been claimed, among other things, that too many passengers were carried in the ship in proportion to its tonnage and that in one cabin, about 8 or 9 ft. square, 12 persons were berthed. In answering this charge, the emigration officer who superintended the arrangements on board prior to sailing stated in a letter dated 29 January 1864 —

"The registered tonnage of the *Rockhampton* is 1065 tons; by the Passengers Act, 1855 she could have carried 537½ adults. I do not consider the berthing of 12 adults in a cabin 9 ft. square (not being a separate compartment) as contrary to the 21st section of the Passengers Act, 1855. (That section

provides that two tiers of berths are allowed, each berth to be not less than 18 in. wide and 6 ft. long for each statute adult). With two tiers of berths, each 6 ft. long and 18 in. wide, there would be room for 12 adults in a space 6 ft. long and 9 ft. wide, which would give only 54 feet, whereas, supposing the dimensions of the stateroom in the *Rockhampton* to have been 9 ft. wide by 9 ft. long, there would be 81 ft., giving 27 ft. more than allowed by the Act. Thus according to the 21st clause of the Act, it is evident there was ample space in the room for the whole number of 12 persons, even supposing them to have been all adults".⁷

The ship's subsequent arrival in Moreton Bay on 26 October sparked off a controversy that raged for nearly three years over the conditions on immigrant ships, particularly those of the Black Ball Line. It became the target for severe criticism levelled particularly by those people, including some members of Parliament, who were opposed to the land order system.

MONOPOLY RESENTED

On Friday, 30 October 1863 a large public meeting was held in the School of Arts in Brisbane, at which the monopoly held by the Black Ball Line in the conveyance of steerage passengers was condemned, as were the land order system, the need to have in England a paid selecting agent when immigration was being carried out successfully under the control of the Emigration Commissioners and the conduct of masters, officers and surgeon-superintendents of the Black Ball Line.⁸

It is worth while at this point to consider the role of the medical officers on immigrant ships generally and to compare the position of the surgeon-superintendents on the Black Ball ships with that of those on ships chartered by the Emigration Commissioners.

Firstly, section 41 of the Passengers Act of 1855 required all surgeon-superintendents on British passenger ships to sign articles. In other words, in law the medical officer was virtually in no better position than an ordinary crew member. Besides having the responsibility of caring for the health of passengers, the surgeon-superintendent was expected to maintain discipline and good moral conduct among the passengers.

The surgeons were paid a certain sum for each voyage and what was termed a capitation fee, or gratuity, for each statute adult landed safely at the port of disembarkation.

Now it must be realised that the Emigration Commissioners had had the control of emigration from Great Britain to her colonies for many years before the Black Ball Line commenced the carriage of immigrants to Australia. They had, therefore, what might be described as first call on those medical practitioners in Britain who desired to go to sea as ships' medical officers and were, therefore, able to some extent to be selective. Over the years the Emigration Commissioners had obtained the services of wellqualified medical practitioners and did everything in their power to retain their services. For example, the surgeons in the Commissioners' employ were highly paid, were given a return passage to England after completion of the outward voyage and were paid a capitation fee that increased with the number of voyages made as ships' surgeon. For example, for his first voyage the surgeon on a Commissioners' ship might receive a salary of £50 and 5s. per head for each statute adult landed safely in the Colony; for his second voyage, the £50 and 7s.6d. per head; and for his third voyage the maximum fee, of 10s. per head, for each adult landed. Furthermore, the fact that the Commissioners' ships carried only free immigrants somewhat lessened the burden placed upon the surgeon during the voyage. Strange as it may seem, the free immigrants, realising their obligation to the British Government, were apparently much more amenable to discipline imposed by the surgeon than were fare-paying passengers — and that includes assisted migrants — who, it appears, tended to regard themselves as somewhat independent of the authority of the ship's medical officer. 10

The arrangements on board the Commissioners' ships appeared to work quite well.

As to ships operated by the Black Ball Line — quite naturally, some difficulty was experienced in obtaining the services of highly qualified men to fill the positions of surgeon-superintendents on the immigrant ships to Queensland. In the early years of immigration to the Colony by the Black Ball Line the surgeons were appointed by Mackay, Baines & Co.¹¹ Unable to procure older men of high qualifications and lengthy practice, the line was forced to employ, in the great majority of cases, young, inexperienced men who were totally unsuitable for appointment to the responsible position of ship's surgeon-superintendent. It was found, unfortunately, that as a class the surgeons of the ships were most troublesome and often dissolute.¹² To make matters worse, the remuneration paid to surgeon-superintendents on the Black Ball ships was limited by the Queensland Government's inability to pay high salaries and was, therefore, below that paid

to the Emigration Commissioners' medical officers.¹³ Unfortunately, many of the men employed on the Black Ball ships saw appointment as ship's surgeon merely as a means of obtaining a paid passage to the Colony, where they left the ship and settled.

In 1863 it was decided that the medical officer should be appointed by Jordan, on behalf of the Queensland Government. Jordan faced the same difficulties as those confronting Mackay, Baines & Co. but endeavoured to overcome them. He proposed to the Colonial Secretary — who was then on a visit to England — that as a means of securing the services of men of good character and ability it would be necessary to increase their remuneration to the level paid by the Emigration Commissioners and, as a means of retaining their services, to pay increased capitation fees for any subsequent voyages that the surgeon might undertake. The Colonial Secretary appeared to accept Jordan's proposals, but the Queensland Government rejected them.¹⁴

Constant complaints were made about the conduct of the surgeon-superintendents. Those on the *Sunda* and *Star of England*, for example, were found to have been guilty of gross drunkenness, apathy and neglect, and were fined by the Queensland Government. Jordan later contended that if his proposals had been accepted by the Government he would have had a staff of medical officers equal to any other.¹⁵

Another problem arose from the requirement of surgeonsuperintendents to sign articles. Whereas the position of the surgeon on the Emigration Commissioners' ships was clearly prescribed, that of his counterpart on the Black Ball ships was by no means satisfactorily defined. Some ships' masters took advantage of this requirement to treat the surgeons with contempt and to interfere in the performance of their duties.

In what may be regarded as an extreme case of such interference, Captain Banks of the *Cairngorm* was criticised in the following terms by a female passenger who came to Queensland on that ship in 1863 —

"Our skipper was an uneducated man, who treated all passengers like dogs. It was one petty system of persecution all the journey . . . He quarrelled perpetually with the doctor, who was the only gentleman on board, and but for whom myself and surviving children would never have seen the far shore. Even the medical orders given me by the doctor in an extreme case were countermanded by the captain, and the morning I left the vessel (eight days after a very weakening confinement) I had not one drop of stimulant, or needed

anything, for we were hurried (ashore?) before we could breakfast. He put us on half rations for the last week we were at sea, and for several weeks stopped our usual supply of water". ¹⁶

The appointment by Jordan of the surgeon-superintendents was envisaged by the Queensland Government as a means of achieving better maintenance of discipline and morality on board, and it was agreed between him and Mackay, Baines & Co. that the surgeon was to take the entire responsibility for the maintenance of discipline. The attitude of certain masters, however, and the necessity for signing articles, robbed the surgeons of the authority that it was the intention of the Government they should have.

At the direction of the Government, Jordan wrote to the Emigration Commissioners on 13 November 1863 asking that in the case of each ship on which the surgeon had been directly appointed by the authority of the Government the formality of signing articles be dispensed with.¹⁷ The Commissioners, in their reply, stated that this provision could not be waived, although the relationship between the master and the surgeon may to a certain extent be adjusted by arrangement and contract.

The problem was overcome when Mackay, Baines & Coreadily conceded to the surgeon-superintendents in the employment of the Queensland Government the entire control of everything on board except duties in connection with the sailing of the ship.¹⁸

As has been said, the surgeon had in his hands the well-being of the passengers, both physical and moral, and the maintenance of discipline. In addition, he was empowered to appoint from among the passengers certain "subordinate officers", namely, the school-master, sub-matrons, the cook's assistant, the hospital assistant, the water-closet constable and the mess constables. Furthermore, if either the matron, the cook, the baker or the man in charge of the water distilling apparatus were to die on the voyage, the surgeon was to appoint a replacement. On the Sabbath, when no clergyman was on board the surgeon was to officiate at services, except when the master wished to undertake the duty — with the surgeon's consent! So it can be seen that on the immigrant ships the position of surgeon-superintendent was indeed a very responsible and demanding one.

That conditions on some of the Black Ball ships, as on other immigrant vessels, were by modern standards appalling cannot be denied. Accommodation on the *Light of the Age*, for example, was described by the health officer of Moreton Bay as follows —

"The between decks under the poop cabin was on the one side for young men. This part of the ship was ill-arranged, rather dark, and ill-ventilated. Behind this compartment, quite at the stern, was a dark semi-circular space communicating with the married couples' compartment. This space, although ventilated by two bell-mouthed ventilators, was perfectly dark, and altogether unfit for the accommodation of the 11 single females who occupied it. The other part of the between decks was occupied by the single men, who had enclosed cabins, eight in each cabin, with the exception of a few in the bow who had open berths. Little attention appears to have been paid to the ventilation, and less to cleanliness. Many of the bunks were, I am given to understand, wet during the greater part of the voyage. This arose from leakage from the galley and single females' waterclosets" 19

Upon the arrival in Hervey Bay of the *Sultana* in 1866 — a time subsequent to that presently under discussion — the authorities learned that on the voyage 78 children under the age of eight years had died. The Board of Immigration at Maryborough instituted an immediate inquiry and found —

"That great want of judgment and foresight was displayed by the home authorities in crowding so many children of tender age into one vessel; particularly as it is well known that children require as much pure air as adults, although each adult is held to be equivalent to two children between the ages of 12 and one years, infants under one year not being taken into account. Hence arises the primary cause of the great mortality amongst the children . . . "20"

The report went on to say that the evidence disclosed an almost criminal amount of wilful neglect on the part of the surgeon-superintendent.

But in contrast, after the arrival in Moreton Bay of the *Queen of the Colonies* in September 1864 and at a meeting of the ship's passengers held in the School of Arts, a chronometer was presented to Captain Jones in appreciation of his care and watchfulness during the voyage. One second-cabin passenger expressed thanks to the Black Ball Line for the manner in which the arrangements for their comfort, health and morality had been carried out, and added that the provisions served to second-cabin passengers had been excellent and far above the quality

normally found on board ship. Passengers stated that they had been blessed with a "good ship, a good captain and a good doctor", for all of which they were certainly indebted to the Black Ball Line.

TENDERS INVITED

To revert to the period under duscussion — on 11 November 1863, at the height of the controversy, the Queensland Executive Council, having had its attention directed to the very unsatisfactory arrangements existing for the conveyance of immigrants by the vessels of the Black Ball Line, as instanced in the case of the *Saldanha, Star of England* and *Rockhampton*, and other vessels, decided that steps should be taken for throwing open to competition the passenger trade to the Colony and that tenders be called for the service, giving shipowners in England and their representatives in the Australian Colonies the opportunity of tendering for immediate service.²¹

Tenders were called for the conveyance of immigrants. Bright Bros. of London submitted a proposal to carry passengers at a flat rate of one transferrable land order for each person carried, without the additional cash premiums of $\pounds 2.17.0$ and $\pounds 3.17.0$ which had been paid to the Black Ball Line. This proposal was accepted by the Queensland Government for a term of six months only, to give it time to consider any further tenders that may have been received by Jordan in the meantime.

On 18 January 1864 the Government wrote to Jordan informing him of the acceptance of Bright Bros. tender, stating that its acceptance would have the advantage of satisfying reasonable persons that it had no desire to maintain a monopoly in favour of one particular firm. Jordan was instructed to communicate immediately with Bright Bros. and to arrange for the despatch of three ships to Moreton Bay, two to Keppel Bay and one to Hervey Bay during the six months following 1 April 1864.

He was further informed that, until otherwise instructed, he was to despatch not more than one of Baines & Co.'s ships per month to Queensland, provided Baines was prepared to accept the land orders as full payment for passengers carried without the additional premium, and that, should this not be agreed upon, he was to reduce the number of Black Ball ships and increase the number of Bright Bros' ships.

At the same time, Jordan was told by Mr. Walcott, one of the Emigration Commissioners, that the Queensland Government had voted the sum of £100,000 for immigration to Queensland,

to be carried out by the Emigration Commissioners. In fact, Walcott was under the impression that immigration under Jordan's control was to cease entirely.²² Jordan, of course, contended that that was not so. But whoever was right, Jordan was informed in a letter to him from the Colonial Secretary, dated 18 January 1864 —

"... the Government is at present desirous of curtailing, and ultimately of bringing to a close, the operation of the land order scheme, for financial and other reasons on which I need not here enlarge". ²³

Jordan's reaction to all this was to resign and return to Queensland to, as he later put it, endeavour if possible to prevent the overthrow of the land order system and to press for the retention of the system of immigration carried out by the Black Ball Line. He pointed out that the line had readily acceded to his request to despatch a ship every month to Queensland, that in order to sustain the monthly line of ships it had purchased 13 vessels for the Queensland trade, that at that time it had a fleet of 20 vessels engaged in the trade, and that no other line has a passenger broker business that would match that of the Black Ball Line, which had agents in almost all the cities and principal towns of the United Kingdom.

Besides providing the ships for the carriage of immigrants, James Baines & Co. contributed to the cost of the work entailed in selecting immigrants. The company paid the expenses of two of the clerks in Jordan's office as well as commission to its agents for advertising the Queensland ships. In addition, it met the cost of printing and circulating a large number of Queensland Government pamphlets concerning immigration.²⁴

Jordan claimed that without the co-operation of the Black Ball Line and the service provided by it his mission to promote a steady flow of immigration to Queensland would have failed. The Government, he asserted, was indebted to the line for the success of the immigration system.

Upon receipt of the communication to the effect that the Government had accepted the tender submitted by Bright Bros. and before leaving England, Jordan asked Mackay whether the Black Ball Line would be prepared to make the services of its passenger agents, approximately 125 in number, available to Bright Bros. Quite naturally, Mackay refused. Jordan then informed Bright Bros. that he was fully prepared to carry out the instructions of the Queensland Government as far as possible but as he

had been informed by Mackay that the services of the Black Ball Line's agents would not be available he was unable to assure Bright Bros. of a steady flow of immigrants. The result was that Bright Bros. withdrew their tender.²⁵

So to continue the land order system, the Queensland Government was forced to fall back on the Black Ball Line for the carriage of immigrants to the Colony.

A select committee appointed by the Queensland Parliament to inquire into the resignation and return to Queensland of Jordan heard evidence from him and Mr. Taylor, of Mackay, Baines & Co. and in its recommendations it stated —

"that Mr. Jordan should, as speedily as may be, return to England armed with full powers to carry out the land order system of immigration as originally conceived by the Legislature, subject only to such alterations as experience has shown to be advisable.²⁶

This recommendation was acted upon by the Government, and Jordan was once again sent to London.

The Black Ball Line had survived the challenge to its so-called monopoly. But at that time, in 1864, it held £40,000 worth of land orders that it was unable to sell at a rate that would guarantee to it a fair return for its huge outlay in providing the ships and the service.

TRAFFIC IN LAND ORDERS

The reason for the line's inability to sell the land orders held by it is not absolutely clear, but it is known that many of the immigrants who came to Queensland were not desirous of taking up the land to which they were entitled and preferred ready cash instead. They were induced by land speculators and by the occupiers of large holdings to dispose of their land orders at prices well below their true value.²⁷ There was a good deal of trafficking in land orders, their value depreciated, and it appears that there was simply no market for the huge number of orders held by the Black Ball Line. Later this trafficking was overcome by the Government's providing that land orders were not transferrable except from the shipowners to the Government at a set figure.

Before entering into any further agreement with the Queensland Government, Mackay, Baines & Co. insisted that the Government undertake to purchase £25,000 worth of the land orders held by them at the rate of £15 each. This the Government

did, and on 17 September 1864 it entered into a further agreement with Mackay, Baines & Co. for the continued carriage of immigrants to Queensland.

The agreement commenced on 1 December 1864 and was to continue in force until 1 January 1868 and thenceforward until determined by six months' written notice by either of the parties, it not being lawful for either party to give such notice until 1 January 1868. The agreement did not preclude the operation of the system of immigration under the control of the Emigration Commissioners; it did, however, stipulate that no land orders would be given to persons conveyed by vessels not operated by the Black Ball Line.²⁸

The two systems of immigration continued simultaneously. From the lengthy correspondence passing between Queensland and London it is apparent that jealousy and even rivalry existed between the Emigration Commissioners and Mr. Jordan. Each system was condemned by advocates for the other as being responsible for the introduction into the Colony of a pauper or refuse class of immigrant.

Among the 21,000-odd immigrants brought to Queensland in 1865 and 1866 by the Black Ball Line were a large number of railway workers, or navvies, selected in England by Peto, Brassey & Betts, who had the contract for the construction of portion of the southern and western lines in Queensland. In a letter dated 19 December 1864 Jordan was told by the Queensland Government that the railway works in the Colony were progressing so rapidly that the demand for suitable labour could not be met locally. He was requested to accept the nominees of Peto, Brassey & Betts for as many free passengers as they may send.²⁹ In other words, he was to give free passages to as many navvies as may be forwarded by the contractors or their agents. The usual screening and documentation required in the case of free and assisted immigration was dispensed with. However, when Peto, Brassey & Betts had satisfied their requirements, Jordan, of his own volition, continued to send railway workers to Queensland. His reason for doing so, as he later recalled, was that from the Queensland papers he saw that the railway works demanded an increased supply of labourers and, in his view, any move to stop sending them would have been imprudent and might have proved ruinous to the Colony.³⁰ The immigration of navvies continued until April 1866, when Jordan read in one of the Queensland papers a report to the effect that the navvies were coming too quickly. His action in continuing to send navvies

after Peto, Brassey-& Betts had ceased selecting them was a key factor in the later controversy over the standard of the immigrants arriving in 1865 and 1866 and was seized upon by his opponents both in the Queensland Parliament and among the general public.

One of Jordan's critics was the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. Mackenzie, who in June 1866 told Parliament that he had written to Jordan pointing out that the condition of his appointment as Agent-General for Immigration in England was that he would introduce into the Colony a class of immigrant superior to those sent out by the Emigration Commissioners and that he had failed to fulfil his agreement.³¹

Certainly, some batches of immigrants were described, justifiably, in derogatory terms, for example —

"Very badly conducted. A very bad selection. The generality of the single men appeared to be the sweepings of St. Giles and Whitechapel". (Queen of the South)

"Several of the immigrants were apparently men who had lived by their wits in England". (Golden City)

"Some of the single women were badly conducted". (Sultana)

and -

"A great proportion of the single men were of a class such as that denominated as loafers at home". (Flying Cloud)

In contrast, immigrants arriving on the Emigration Commissioners' ships *Earl Russell* and *Charlie Palmer* were described as —

"Well conducted. A good class. Mostly remittance migrants".

But it should be pointed out that, as stated, they were remittance migrants, that is, persons who had been sent for by their friends in the Colony — friends who had undergone the long voyage on the early Black Ball ships and, not wishing to see prospective immigrants at home suffer the same hardship, had stipulated that they come out on the Commissioners' ships.³²

Jordan and the Black Ball Line still had to contend with strong opposition not only from persons in Queensland who were against the land order system but also from many of the upper class in England who believed that Queensland should not have an immigration system of its own and that the British Colonies as a whole should receive "if not the convicted portion of the population, then at any rate the damaged portion". 33

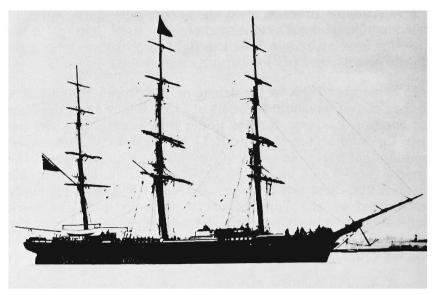
Mr. Williams Brookes, then member for Brisbane, strongly defended Queensland's right to choose for itself, stating, "If we give our land away, we have the right to choose to whom we should give it". 34

In September 1865, in the debate on the proposed remittance to the Emigration Commissioners of £15,000 to provide passages for emigrants sailing in ships under their control in 1866, the then Colonial Secretary, Hon. R. G. Herbert, had expressed the opinion that it was necessary to continue, to a limited extent, the system carried out under the Emigration Commissioners. He claimed that there was much more decency and order generally maintained on the Commissioners' ships than on the Black Ballers and that the Government was determined to show the Black Ball Line that there was another class of ships on which the Colony could rely for the conveyance of immigrants.³⁵

In fairness to the Black Ball Line, however, it must be stressed that in the three-year period from 1864 to 1866, whereas only 16 ships arrived under the auspices of the Emigration Commissioners, no fewer than 49 Black Ballers arrived. And as one member of the Queensland Parliament pointed out, "it was impossible to have large immigration to this or any other colony without having mixed with it a great deal which might reasonably be complained of".36

At the height of the immigration boom of the 1860s it was not uncommon for as many as five or six Black Ballers to be at anchor in Moreton Bay at the one time disembarking immigrants and loading their cargoes. Many of the ships were the object of admiration of the people of Brisbane, and it was quite usual for them to be visited by local residents on day excursions. The names of some of these vessels became household words among the people of Brisbane, as did the names of a large number of the ships' masters. Men such as Cairncross, Phillips, Yule, Bolt, Davies, Jones and Cooper, to name but a few, were held in high esteem by local residents. Certain ships, such as the Young Australia, Flying Cloud and Royal Dane, established themselves as favourites among the passengers and crew as well as in the eyes of the residents of the ports that they visited. Local shipping agents vied with one another in the insertion in the press of advertisements extolling the qualities of their vessels.

In August 1864, for example, the "Brisbane Courier" carried an advertisement claiming that "the Black Ball yacht clipper



YOUNG AUSTRALIA — Made nine voyages to Moreton Bay for the Black Ball Line. Wrecked near Cape Moreton on 31 May 1872.

Photo: Oxley Library

Young Australia has, by the following passages, proved herself unrivalled by any ship in the Australian trade". Those passages are as follows —

1862 England to Queensland	82	days
1862 Queensland to England	87	days
1863 England to Queensland	81	days
1863 Queensland to England	85	days
1864 England to Queensland	84	days

There were, of course, slower passages, such as those of the *Maryborough* in 1862 of 110 days, the *Hannah More* in 1863 of 130 days and the *Light of the Age* in 1864 of 120 days.

To the list of ships already mentioned should be added the names of Fusileer, Commodore Perry, Naval Reserve, Empress of the Seas, Samarang, Legion of Honor and Vanguard, all of which made their first visit to Queensland in the mid-1860s. These vessels and others brought thousands of new settlers to our shores at a period in which the Colony of Queensland seemed destined for an era of prosperity. But the line, the Colony of Queensland and indeed Great Britain herself were soon to face a crisis, one which Queensland survived only because of drastic financial measures and one from which the Black Ball Line never really recovered.

THE SLUMP OF 1866

The year 1866 brought with it a financial collapse in England. Its effects were felt throughout the world. Large numbers of banks and companies failed. One such failure was that of the Agra and Masterman's Bank, which had undertaken to provide the Queensland Government with £50,000 a month pending the negotiation of a loan of approximately £1,000,000 to enable the Colony to carry out essential works.³⁷ The bank's failure meant that the funds were not forthcoming and Queensland found itself in a desperate financial plight. On top of that, the railway contractors, Peto, Brassey & Betts failed. This meant that the navvies working on the Queensland railways could not be paid. Arising out of all this came a severe depression in the Colony. There was mass unemployment, particularly among the railway workers, and even the Government could not honour cheques drawn in its name.

Faced with a social and financial crisis, the Queensland Government wrote to Jordan on 16 May 1866 instructing him to limit, for the time being, the number of free and assisted immigrants. As things got worse, the Government ordered Jordan to cease the free and assisted immigration and to concentrate only on fare-paying passengers. Still later in the year, on 19 September, the Government instructed him to close the Queensland Emigration Office at the end of the year and to serve upon Mackay, Baines & Co. notice of discontinuance of the contract. 38

In the meantime, Mackay, Baines & Co., like many other shipping companies, were in serious trouble. Many of the softwood ships in their fleet has become water-soaked and strained and were in need of constant repair. The better ships were sold to meet the mortgages on them and the line's debts to Barned's Bank, which had extended massive loans to James Baines & Co. as well as to other shipowners. In April 1866, however, Barned's Bank, too, failed. James Baines & Co. and T. M. Mackay & Co. were unable to meet their commitments and went into liquidation. The partners of the two companies then formed two new ventures as shipbrokers instead of, as in the past, shipowners. The new companies that emerged were: James Baines, Taylor & Co. of Liverpool, and T. M. Mackay, Son & Co. of London.³⁹

The new companies then purchased from the liquidators of the former concerns the right to the contract entered into with the Queensland Government. Jordan's immediate reaction to this was to seek legal advice on the rights of the liquidators in such a case. He was informed that by the deed of liquidation the

liquidators had power to hand over the Queensland immigration contract to anyone who might wish to purchase it.⁴⁰ Furthermore, when served by Jordan with notice of discontinuance of the contract, James Baines, Taylor & Co. and T. M. Mackay, Son & Co. refused to accept it, contending — quite rightly — that under the agreement entered into in 1864 such notice could not be served by either party before January 1868.

Faced with the companies' refusal to accept notice of discontinuance, and armed with legal advice, Jordan entered into an additional agreement with Baines and Mackay for the continuance of immigration to Queensland.⁴¹ This agreement embodied certain improvements in the fitting-out of the ships and in amenities provided for the passengers.

Here in Queensland Jordan was still under fire from his opponents in Parliament and among the general public. His management of the Queensland Emigration Office was criticised and he was condemned for allowing into Queensland, after Peto, Brassey & Betts had ceased the despatch of their navvies, immigrants of the worst class. And the fact that navvies were arriving at a time when all railway works in the Colony had been brought to a halt did nothing to help his cause. Upon learning of censures against him as implied in the speeches of some of the members of the Queensland Parliament, and in the belief that the public had lost confidence in him, Jordan again resigned and returned once more to Queensland.⁴²

After his return the Queensland Parliament appointed yet another select committee to inquire into immigration — on this occasion into the working of the Queensland Emigration Department in Great Britain and the circumstances of Jordan's resignation. In its report the committee strongly recommended that measures should be taken as soon as possible to resume a system of immigration, and in a significant finding it stated that:

"... the navvy immigration introduced under the selection of Messrs. Peto, Brassey & Co. was of a creditable character; while it has been proved that after the period when Messrs. Peto, Brassey & Co. ceased their selection of navvies a very considerable change was observed in the description of immigrants introduced, principally consisting ostensibly of the navvy class — but of a very inferior character". 43

As a result of the depression in Queensland and the curtailment of the immigration programme the number of new arrivals in the Colony during 1867 and 1868 dropped dramatically. In

1867, for example, only four Black Ballers came to Queensland with full complements of immigrants and four others arrived as short ships, that is, with only a few passengers each. In the following year only one ship, the *Young Australia*, brought a large complement of immigrants and six vessels came as short ships. Many of these vessels had been sold by the line in 1866 and taken back on charter.

ATTEMPTS AT REVIVAL

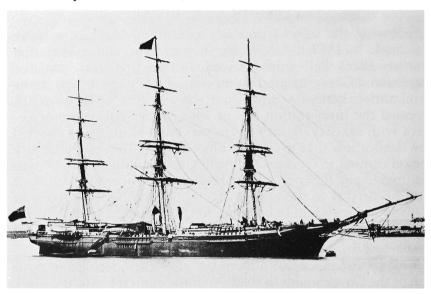
Following the select committee's recommendations, a move was made in 1869 to revive the immigration, and during that year six Black Ball ships arrived. But in that year, too, the Queensland Government, in a move to remedy the defects in the immigration system arising from the granting of land orders, repealed the Immigration Act of 1864, under which the agreement with Mackay, Baines & Co. was entered into, and enacted new legislation that provided, among other things, that every person coming to Queensland from Great Britain or Europe was required to pay the cost of his passage either before emigrating or after his arrival in the Colony. Notwithstanding the success of the land order system in bringing to Queensland a large number of immigrants, as we have seen it had the effect of greatly reducing the Colony's land revenue.⁴⁴

Jordan's successor, John Douglas, after considering the position of the Government in relation to the contract with the Black Ball Line as it would be affected by the new Act, and on legal advice, decided that it would be in the interests of the Government to serve on James Baines, Taylor & Co. and T. M. Mackay, Son & Co. notice of discontinuance of the contract and, upon its termination, to enter into arrangements with any shipping firm that wished to participate in the Queensland immigration trade.

Notice of termination of the contract was served on the two companies on 31 December 1869, its termination to take effect six months later, on 30 June 1870.⁴⁴

After communicating his decision to the Queensland Government and while awaiting its instructions, Douglas, in an attempt to determine whether Queensland would benefit more from throwing open the immigration trade to all shippers than from entering into a new arrangement with the Black Ball Line, invited Mackay, Son & Co. to put forward proposals for a new arrangement. In expressing the belief that he could obtain terms more advantageous to the Government than those in the contract, he commented, "In the price to be paid to you I anticipate a marked reduction".46

On 15 June 1870 T. M. Mackay, Son & Co. submitted a proposal for the carriage of assisted immigrants at the reduced rates of £13.17.6 per head to Brisbane and £14.12.6 per head to northern ports and the conveyance of paying passengers at a fare of £14.14.0. On 5 October, however, Douglas was advised that the Government had decided that separate tenders should be called for the despatch of each shipment.⁴⁷



INDUS — An iron barque, built in 1847 as a paddle steamer for P & O. Bought by the Black Ball Line in 1870, and when the line collapsed in the following year sold to J. & G. Harris of Brisbane.

Photo: Oxley Library

Before the expiration of the contract, in 1870 three Black Ball ships — the *Indus, Young Australia* and *Flying Cloud* — arrived, and after its termination the line, by agreement with Douglas, despatched the *Royal Dane, Light Brigade* and *Star Queen* to Queensland. The *Star Queen* was the last ship owned by the Black Ball Line to bring immigrants to the Colony, arriving in Moreton Bay on 21 March 1871.

It was in that year that the Black Ball Line ceased to exist. Not having really recovered from the financial crisis of 1866 and no longer a monopoly in the carriage of free and assisted immigrants to Queensland, on 27 April 1871 James Baines, Taylor & Co. and T. M. Mackay, Son & Co. were forced to suspend payment.⁴⁸

Over the decade since the arrival in Moreton Bay of the Wansfell, more than 50 ships of the Black Ball Line carried nearly

40,000 new settlers to the Colony of Queensland. It was the proud boast of the line that not one immigrant had been lost through negligence on its part and that the death-rate through "natural" causes was low. One ship with immigrants, the *Netherby*, was wrecked, on King Island in Bass Strait on 15 July 1866, but all aboard were saved. Another vessel, the *Fiery Star*, was lost in tragic circumstances when she caught fire homeward bound from Moreton Bay with wool in April 1865.

As for the two men who for over the 20 years since 1852 had built up their enterprise into one of the largest and most celebrated fleets of sailing ships in the history of the British mercantile marine — between them Mackay and Baines owned 140 vessels — Baines was forced to sell all but a few of his ships in 1871. He continued shipbroking on a greatly reduced scale and retained ownership of some small wooden vessels. In March 1889 he died, not in a common lodging house as is generally claimed, but at the home of the Isbister family in Liverpool, with whom he lived in his later years. Thomas Miller Mackay started a new company to exploit phosphates in the West Indies and fades from history in about 1883.⁴⁹

On 7 April 1863 the *Queen of the Colonies* arrived off Cape Moreton from London and Cork. A couple of days earlier one of the female passengers died during childbirth. While at anchor off Moreton Island the ship sent ashore a boat containing a burial party, including the dead woman's husband. When returning to the ship in squally weather and darkness the boat became lost. No trace of it could be seen next morning. Some days later, searchers found the occupants, with the exception of the dead woman's husband. He had drowned. In the trunk of a tree on the shore near Caloundra one of the party had carved the name of the ship. The portion of the tree bearing the ship's name now stands on display in Newstead House. A cairn commemorating the incident overlooks the sea from Moffat Head.

Other than that simple monument, the exhibit on display and a few old diaries tucked away among prized possessions, very little remains today to serve as a reminder of the hardship and suffering endured by those who came to Queensland over a century ago on the ships owned and operated by James Baines and Thomas Miller Mackay, ships flying the red and black flag — the flag of the Black Ball Line.

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APPENDIX

Vessels that were owned or chartered by the Black Ball Line and brought immigrants to Queensland between November 1861 and March 1871, with dates and ports of arrival. The list does not include Black Ball vessels that were chartered to the Emigration Commissioners.

Vessel	Date of A	rrival	Port of Arrival
Bayswater	23 May 10 June 22 Jan. 14 May	1864) 1864) 1866 1868 (short ship)	Keppel Bay Moreton Bay Keppel Bay Moreton Bay
Beejapore	24 June 17 July	1863) 1863)	Keppel Bay Moreton Bay
Cairngorm	2 July	1863	Moreton Bay
Chatsworth	20 Aug.	1862	Moreton Bay
City of Brisbane	26 June	1862	Moreton Bay
Commodore Perry	1 July	1865	Moreton Bay
David McIver	9 July 18 July	1863) 1863)	Hervey Bay Moreton Bay
Eastern Empire	14 Sept.	1866	Moreton Bay
Elizabeth Ann Bright	3 Jan.	1865	Moreton Bay
Empress of the Seas	24 Sept. 28 June	1865 1867 (short ship)	Keppel Bay Moreton Bay
Erin-go-Bragh	11 Aug.	1862	Moreton Bay
Fiery Star	20 Nov. 5 Nov. 21 Nov.	1863 1864) 1864)	Moreton Bay Keppel Bay Moreton Bay
Flying Cloud	10 Jan. 19 Feb. 10 Mar. 29 Apr. 7 Feb. 30 Apr. 24 Aug.	1863 1864 1865 1866 1868 (short ship) 1869 1870	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Keppel Bay
Fusileer	14 Aug.	1864	Moreton Bay
Golden City	4 Mar. 3 Jan. 23 Jan.	1863 1865 1865	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Golden Dream	28 May	1863	Moreton Bay
Golden Empire	18 July	1863	Moreton Bay
Golden Land	17 Oct.	1865	Hervey Bay
Golden South	2 June	1866	Hervey Bay
Great Pacific	12 July	1866	Keppel Bay
Great Victoria s.s.	31 Dec.	1865	Moreton Bay
Hannah More	26 June 10 Mar.	1863 1865	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay

Indua	11 July	1870	Moreton Bay
Indus	11 July 6 May	1865	Keppel Bay
Landsborough Legion of Honor	14 July	1864	Moreton Bay
Legion of Honor	25 Feb.	1866	Moreton Bay
Light Brigade	18 May 12 Dec. 12 Jan.	1863 1869 1871	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Light of the Age	27 Jan. 26 Mar.	1864 1866	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Maryborough	16 Sept.20 May17 Aug.7 Dec.15 Apr.	1862 1865 1866 1868 1870	Moreton Bay Port Denison Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Melmerby	9 Sept.	1865	Moreton Bay
Montmorency	7 Apr. 18 July 1 Dec.	1862 1863 1865	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Naval Reserve	24 July 23 Feb.	1865 1867	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Ocean Chief	1 Nov.	1862	Moreton Bay
Ocean Empress	26 Dec.	1866	Moreton Bay
Planet	22 Oct. 28 Apr.	1868 (short ship) 1870	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Prince Consort	2 Nov. 30 Mar. 11 Apr.	1862 1864) 1864)	Moreton Bay Hervey Bay Moreton Bay
Queen of the Colonies	9 Apr.21 Sept.7 Oct.14 Oct.3 Dec.	1863 1864 1865 1866 1867 (short ship)	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Queen of the South	8 Dec.	1865	Moreton Bay
Ramsey	22 Jan.	1869	Moreton Bay
Rockhampton	12 Oct. 21 Oct. 31 May	1863) 1863) 1865	Keppel Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Royal Dane	26 July 12 Apr. 25 Sept. 19 Nov.	1865 1867 1869 1870	Keppel Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Keppel Bay
Saldanha	28 Jan. 8 Sept.	1862 1863	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Salvia	25 May	1864	Moreton Bay
Samarang	13 Nov. 17 Aug.	1865 1867	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Sirocco	17 July	1865	Moreton Bay

Southern Empire	26 Oct.	1867 (short ship)	Moreton Bay
Southern Ocean	2 June	1866	Moreton Bay
Star of England	14 Sept. 11 June	1863 1866	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Star Queen	6 Sept. 21 Mar.	1869 1871	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Storm King	17 Nov. 17 Jan.	1868 (short ship) 1870	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Sultana	1 Nov. 29 June 29 July 27 Feb.	1862 1864) 1864) 1866	Moreton Bay Hervey Bay Moreton Bay Hervey Bay
Sunda	25 Sept. 23 May	1863 1865	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Vanguard	22 Jan.	1867	Moreton Bay
Wanata	14 Feb.	1863	Moreton Bay
Wansfell	10 Nov. 27 Nov. 30 Dec. 20 Mar.	1861 1862 1863 1865	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Port Denison Moreton Bay
Whirlwind	15 Sept.	1862	Moreton Bay
Young Australia	12 Aug. 18 July 9 Aug. 26 Sept. 9 Sept. 9 Sept. 1 Aug. 13 July 25 Aug.	1862 1863 1864 1865 1866 1867 (short ship) 1868 1869 1870	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Young England	3 Sept. 23 Aug.	1864 1865	Moreton Bay Moreton Bay
Zealandia	6 July	1868 (short ship)	Moreton Bay

(Sources: Annual Immigration Returns presented to the Queensland Parliament; "Brisbane Courier").

^{*} Netherby (London to Moreton Bay with immigrants) was wrecked on King Island, Bass Strait on 15 July 1866; 247 of her passengers arrived in Moreton Bay on the "City of Melbourne".