

ARMENIANS IN VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

Few details of the Armenian pioneers who came to the State of Victoria during the nineteenth century have been published. In 1966 Father Aramais¹ Mirzaian² first mentioned their arrival, closely followed by Ashot Abrahamian³ in 1967. While their works have provided a basis for later writers, they contain shortcomings in both facts and conclusions. Part One of this paper addresses these, while Part Two identifies many of the Armenian pioneers. A more detailed picture of those pioneers has been constructed, thereby adding to the narrative of Armenian migration to Victoria and hence, to Australia.

PART ONE

Formerly the priest in Calcutta, Father Aramais Mirzaian (1918-1998) took up his duties as Arch priest to the Armenian community in Sydney in 1958.⁴ Very interested in his flock and encouraged by several of its members, he compiled his comprehensive book *Armenians in Australia and New Zealand* which mainly consists of short biographies of contemporary Armenians, plus some overseas celebrities. His comments on the pioneers comprise a minute portion of the book, less than one third of a page with the same information later reiterated. However as his statements are cited by later writers,⁵ and repeated in his later books,⁶ albeit with minor changes in phraseology, they need to be examined. They tend to be speculative, lack detail, and although are regarded as factual, this is not always the case. Yet we must bear in mind that Father Mirzaian was not writing this section as a historian, and did not have access to computerized records which today's researchers can utilise.

According to Mirzaian, Armenians first settled in Victoria during the Gold Rushes of the mid-1850s, some arriving from Constantinople, others from India. They had been inspired by Gregory Galastaun, a patriotic Armenian from Singapore, who through his newspaper *Ousumnaser* (the scholar) advocated the founding of a new colony. Indeed Mirzaian stated

that Gregory Galastaun even proposed 'the mass transfer of the whole prosperous Armenian colony in India to Australia',⁷ seeing it as a land of opportunity. However, he encountered strong opposition from Mesroby Thaliadian (1803-1858)⁸ the publisher of *Azgaser Araratian* (patriot of Ararat) in Calcutta, the two men becoming involved in much debate on this matter. Thaliadian maintained that Armenians were better off staying in Calcutta where they had put down roots and were secure, rather than pursuing a risky adventure.⁹ Perhaps his views held sway for only a few men followed Gregory to Australia.

Mirzaian claimed that a Mr Malcolm from New Julfa, as well as Gregory Galastaun worked hard 'to increase and establish the Armenian community in Australia on a firm basis,' with Mr Malcolm holding morning services on Sundays, thus offering spiritual comfort to his compatriots.¹⁰ However, there is no verification of this.

Mirzaian's 'Mr Malcolm' would appear to be the Malcolm Manuk who wrote a letter to his friend Martyrose Carapiet in Singapore, which was later published in *Ousumnaser*.¹¹ Malcolm's letter was not optimistic. He described how he, Zakaren and others made their way to Bendigo which was 120 miles away. Unable to cope with the cold weather, he returned to Melbourne, stayed a short time, then travelled to the mine at Mount Alexander (Castlemaine). Here, to his relief, he and two Englishmen discovered some gold. Malcolm took his share and when he got it weighed by the official assayer, it measured a considerable eight pounds. After paying what he owed for food and provisions, Malcolm was left with only five pounds and six ounces. This he entrusted to a very reliable gentleman by the name of Major Davidson.

Malcolm commented on the high cost of goods at the goldfields and gave details of the wages manual workers could earn in Melbourne. He remarked that although his own position was neither good nor bad, he was quite distressed to see women trying to sell a few vegetables just to survive. He warned that each day thousands of people arrived from Europe, America and elsewhere which pushed prices up. Malcolm said that he hoped to leave the following year and advised readers that letters could be sent to him care of the Catholic Chapel at Melbourne, Port Philip. It is this last sentence which I believe has wrongly led to the repeated and embellished assertion that Malcolm Manuk conducted Church services.¹²

Mirzaian concluded that most Armenians probably assimilated,¹³ but later contradicted himself saying that most of them returned to their

homelands.¹⁴ There is more validity to the latter statement, but not to the comment added in a later book: that the men left at the end of the Gold Rushes.¹⁵

Other of Mirzaian's statements are questionable, including the assertion that Armenians came from Constantinople.¹⁶ I have found no evidence of Armenians from Turkey living in Victoria during the Gold Rushes. His citing of Hovsep Miradian¹⁷ as a pioneer who came during the 1850s Gold Rush, while incorrect,¹⁸ has been accepted.¹⁹ Hovsep, who called himself Joseph, arrived in Australia much later in the nineteenth century. According to his death certificate, he was born in Armenia in 1870, and arrived in Australia at the age of ten. But this seems just as improbable as his mother's name being Sarah Morgan, as was written on his death certificate.²⁰ In contrast, Joseph's statutory declaration which he filled out when successfully applying for naturalisation, attested that he had arrived in 1891 as a twenty-seven year old on the *Darmstadt*, which means he was born in 1864.²¹

Mirzaian briefly referred to the Thomas family from Batavia (see later) and Thaddeus Apar erroneously claiming they remained after the Gold Rushes,²² when in fact, they arrived in the 1860s. Furthermore, the Thomases arrived with three children, not two,²³ while Thaddeus was never a wine dealer in Sydney, but a more lowly wire worker,²⁴ and no evidence has been found to suggest he was in Victoria.

Mirzaian and Price alleged that the difficulties the men faced and their lack of success on the goldfields led them to return, disillusioned, to their homelands. However the authors added that some Armenians settled permanently because they could not afford to return, and gradually they forgot their Armenian culture and heritage.²⁵ One could equally argue that they settled permanently as life in Victoria offered better prospects than life back home. I would question their claim that those who settled forgot their culture.²⁶ Mirzaian commented that records are scanty²⁷ and even non-existent.²⁸ It is perhaps because of this that Mirzaian resorted to conjecture in his comments. However, records are there: like gold diggers one has to search for the elusive prize.

One year after Mirzaian's *Armenians in Australia and New Zealand* appeared, Professor Ashot Abrahamian (1903-1983) a respected historian and writer living in Armenia released his book *A Brief History of the Armenian Diaspora*. Written in Armenian, this extensive work overviewed the global Armenian Diaspora with justifiably only a short chapter, of some

nine pages, on Armenians in Australia in the nineteenth century. Although much longer than Mirzaian's account, and citing Armenian sources,²⁹ his few facts generally echo Mirzaian's. However, the two accounts differ markedly in one respect. Mirzaian claimed the Armenian pioneers intended to settle, while Abrahamian regarded their presence as transitory: the rich were looking for commercial outlets and the poor were looking for work, and both groups would return home after becoming wealthy.³⁰ However Abrahamian must have also considered Mirzaian's theory as he gave reasons why the 'colony' failed.

Abrahamian painted a despairing, but undocumented picture of Armenian merchants in India in the 1850s, seeing them as being discriminated against, and forced out of the export markets.³¹ Hence they looked towards Australia. He asserted that the first Armenian immigrants to Australia disappeared without trace, but this did not stop the migration of Armenians from New Julfa, many having followed Malcolm Manuk,³² to establish the first Armenian settlement. They were followed by later arrivals of Russian and Western Armenians. Abrahamian concluded that the new settlement was at the cost of much human sacrifice and that the pioneers were all unknown.³³

According to Abrahamian, the majority of the Armenians did not do well in Australia with only a few being successful on the goldfields while the businesses ended up bankrupt.³⁴ He attributed this lack of success and the fact that only males arrived as reasons the Armenian colony did not grow. The other reason was the xenophobic attitude of Australians who saw new arrivals on the goldfields as competitors and thus enemies.³⁵ Further, it was due to this xenophobia that Armenian settlements in Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not succeed; Armenians were reluctant to migrate having heard of the bad experiences suffered by the earlier migrants who had returned home 'somewhat dejected'.³⁶

However, Abrahamian's conclusions are flawed. Contrary to what he implied, Armenian firms, though few, were flourishing in India, in and beyond the 1850s. One need only think of successful businessmen such as Arratoon G. Apar, J. C. Galstaun, Arathoon Stephen, John Michael, Thaddeus Avetoom and Thaddeus M. Thaddeus to realise that the Armenian community was thriving.³⁷

Abrahamian has presented no evidence of many Armenians following Malcolm Manuk, or of the arrival of later Armenians from Russia and

Armenia. That Armenians fared poorly on the goldfields was an experience not unique to them. Of the thousands who flocked to the goldfields, very few made the fortunes they had dreamed of. Often ill-equipped for the task ahead of them and ignorant of the weather and work conditions, many diggers left the fields sorely disappointed.

As for Australians being xenophobic on the goldfields, it is arguable whether there was such a person as an 'Australian': the continent was not united politically, and, if anything miners saw themselves as Victorian or New South Welshmen or Britons. Besides, on the very cosmopolitan goldfields the main distinction seemed to be between seasoned diggers and 'new chums'. Abrahamian's implied claim of racism is not borne out by Malcolm Manuk's comment that he searched for gold along with two Englishmen, or by the help later given to Johannes Gregory. That this alleged xenophobia discouraged later Armenian migration does not stand up to scrutiny. Abrahamian has juxtaposed events to read that the Armenian migrants of the late 1890s had contact with the pioneers of the 1850s. Not only is this most improbable time-wise, but later Armenian migrants originated from different places to the Gold Rush Armenians.

I suggest it is incorrect to assume the community did not grow due to a lack of males as Abrahamian has posited. It must be remembered, for example, that most of the pioneering Armenians who ventured to Penang and later to Singapore were males; they either turned to another Armenian community to marry an Armenian, or married a non-Armenian. Rather I think that a 'community' per se never developed because numbers were too few to allow for one to be demographically sustainable.

Besides, if as Abrahamian implied, the plan was to stay for a short time, then there was not the commitment to found a colony. There is some validity for regarding the first Armenians as visitors rather than settlers, because those who were married did not bring their wives to Australia. This is unusual as Armenians who intended settling usually travelled with their families. However, Gregory Galastaun left his wife in Singapore while Peter Seth left a wife and three children behind.

After referring to censuses, Mirzaian and Abrahamian reached sharply contrasting conclusions on the numbers of Armenians both in Victoria and in Australia. Citing an 1891 census, Abrahamian claimed there were several hundred Armenians in Australia with most living in Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane and Broken Hill.³⁸ This is an amazing claim as the 1891 census showed only three Armenians in Queensland³⁹ and three in

Victoria.⁴⁰ The 1901 Victorian census showed one migrant whose birthplace was given as Armenia/Kurdistan,⁴¹ while Mirzaian and Price cite the 1901 census as showing six 'Armenian Catholics' living in New South Wales plus another six in Victoria. Mirzaian knowledgeably suggests these were probably Armenian Apostolic.⁴² These low numbers are in sharp contrast to the high figure given by Abrahamian, and more realistic, though probably are slightly under the actual number of Armenians present.

Mirzaian and Price stated that in censuses after 1901 the country Armenia was subsumed by Turkey, Russia or Persia.⁴³ However Armenians were listed in the 1911 Australian census: one male lived in New South Wales, and one male and one female lived in Victoria.⁴⁴ (Recent research shows more than three Armenians were living in Australia in 1911.)⁴⁵ One reason for the discrepancy between actual numbers and census numbers was that as many Armenians were born outside of Armenia, the 'place of birth' category became an unreliable indicator of ethnicity. So did 'nationality', as for example Armenians from India or the Straits Settlements held British nationality. Thus, as rightly implied by Mirzaian and Price, the Armenianness of many Armenian migrants was masked by bureaucracy. This has remained a stumbling block for those trying to account for the number of Armenians who have migrated to Australia.

Curiously, both Abrahamian,⁴⁶ and Mirzaian and Price⁴⁷ describe a Hagop Der Minassian whom they claim arrived in Australia in the 1860s. While their stories are quite similar, neither writer has cited any sources for his information. Der Minassian is described as one of the two famous Armenian migrants who had a tragic end in the nineteenth century. He had fought at the Battle of Balaclava but came to Australia to make his fortune. Famed also for his diplomatic and linguistic skills he planned to found an Armenian printing press and publish a newspaper highlighting the plight of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. After some initial success, he sank into oblivion; his medals and citations were sold to antique dealers and he died when he was seventy-two years old.

This story raises many questions such as why Der Minassian would have set up an Armenian printing press in distant Australia, which had such a limited readership. Close scrutiny of passenger lists, genealogical and Internet resources have failed to unearth any details of his arrival, or existence in Australia. Neither was he mentioned in Mirzaian's earlier books.

PART TWO

Contrary to Mirzaian's and Abrahamian's claims, the Armenians who ventured to Victoria are not all anonymous, and records pertaining to them are extant. Today, the task of identifying the pioneers has been somewhat eased by the creation of indexes, digitalized records and databases which were unavailable to Mirzaian and Abrahamian.

The first known Armenian in Victoria was the earlier mentioned Malcolm Manuk whose letter in *Ousumnaser* contains the only found references to Malcolm himself and his companions Zakaren and Hovhannes.

However, during 1853 at least fourteen more Armenians arrived in Victoria. Malcolm Moses disembarked at Geelong on 23 June 1853, one of six passengers who had boarded the *Kas Balhair* at Singapore.⁴⁸ On 20 July Gregory Galastaun, Mr Joackum [sic] and Stephen Stephens arrived on the *Chusan*, their voyage from Singapore having taken one month and six days.⁴⁹ The *Derwent* arrived from Batavia (Jakarta) on 2 September carrying only three passengers, all of whom were Armenian: namely A. P. Aganoor, N. Marturas [sic] and J. S. Sarkies.⁵⁰

On 21 September 1853 the *Yarra* arrived in Port Phillip Bay, having left Singapore on 27 July.⁵¹ Commanded by Captain Ebenezer Roy, the *Yarra* carried Joakim Jacob, Mr M. Johannes, Moses Sarkies, Peter Seth and Gregory Zechariah. Like their compatriots on the *Derwent*, the men were the only passengers and travelled cabin class.⁵²

Kerakoos Arathoon and his son, Johannes,⁵³ the first known Armenians to have travelled from India arrived on 15 December 1853, on board the *Sephinatoola* from Bombay. Whether they were residents of Bombay or had embarked there is unknown.

In December 1854, Chatoor Arratoon, born in Armenia in about 1808, sailed from Singapore to Victoria.⁵⁴ Including another J. Arratoon and Johannes M. Gregory who appear later in the narrative, the 'Gold Rush' Armenians numbered only eighteen.

I will review these Armenian venturers in order of their arrival, beginning with Malcolm Moses in 1853. While there was a Malcolm Moses living in Singapore in the 1850s, there is no mention in the Singapore directories of his being absent from the colony.⁵⁵ No further definite mention of him has been found in Victorian records; three men

with the name of M. Moses left Melbourne in the early 1860s, Malcolm may have been one of them.⁵⁶

Among the next arrivals was Gregory David Galastaun: the inspiration and leader of the small band of hopefuls from Singapore. Born in Shiraz circa 1814 he became a trader in Penang in the late 1830s and in 1841, at St Gregory's Church in Penang, he married Hosannah Aviet Seth.⁵⁷ The couple settled in Singapore where in 1849 Gregory began publishing *Ousumnaser*.⁵⁸ Today, copies of these are held in the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne;⁵⁹ they were either brought over by Gregory or earlier posted to Malcolm Manuk, as he had requested in his letter.⁶⁰

Conditions where Gregory and his compatriots lived were not good. The Melbourne of the mid-1850s was chaotic as the Gold Rushes had caused a massive influx of fortune-seekers from all corners of the globe. In 1851 alone, over 30,000 unassisted passengers arrived and that number increased the following year.⁶¹ The huge increase in population, albeit transitory, strained the infrastructure of this colony which had only recently separated from New South Wales. Sanitary arrangements within Melbourne were primitive, medical resources limited and illnesses quickly spread. Within six months of his arrival, Gregory had contracted dysentery - an all too frequent cause of death in the 1850s. Losing a three-week battle for life, he died at Sandridge (Port Melbourne) on 27 January 1854, aged thirty-nine. Gregory was buried in the Melbourne General Cemetery,⁶² the first known Armenian to die in Victoria if not Australia. Today, an unmarked plot exists where he was buried.

Of Gregory's two companions, nothing has been found on the activities of Mr Joackum [sic]. Perhaps he was the Mr Joakin [sic] who sailed to Batavia on the *Oriental* on 4 April 1854.⁶³ Stephen Stephens also proved problematical. While a Stephen Stephens was listed as renting a house in Emerald Hill from 1855-1857, the fact that he owned a six-roomed brick house in 1858 strongly suggests that this Stephen Stephens was not a newly arrived migrant.⁶⁴ No definite trace of Stephen's departure has been found. While a Stephen S. Stephens later lived in Singapore, he was born about 1841 and hence is unlikely to have been the Stephen Stephens who came out to Victoria.

It is doubtful whether the three Armenians who sailed from Batavia entertained ideas of joining the stampede to the Gold Rushes: it is more likely that commercial interests were on their minds. John Shahnazar Sarkies (1831-1904) was a merchant in Batavia, running his newly

established firm J. S. Sarkies & Company before he ventured south.⁶⁵ Mesrobian Seth's claim that John taught English in Melbourne for two years before 1855,⁶⁶ seems unusual, and searches in Melbourne directories from 1853-1856 did not reveal John's name. He had returned to Batavia by 1855 where he ran John Sarkies & Company, and, from 1864, Sarkies, Edgar & Company in Surabaya.⁶⁷ After a successful business career, John and his wife Anna retired to Singapore where their younger daughter Mrs Mary Anna Martin lived. Following John's death in 1904, Anna built the new parsonage at St Gregory's Church in his honour.⁶⁸

Records suggest that Aganoor Petrus Aganoor (1822-1886), another successful merchant, had a brief sojourn in Melbourne. A Mr Aganoor is listed as a passenger on the *Hellespont* which sailed for Sydney on 6 December 1853,⁶⁹ but to confuse matters, a Mr Aignoor [sic] returned to Batavia on the *Oriental* in April 1854.⁷⁰ Whenever he returned, Aganoor became a pillar of the Armenian community and a prominent businessman in Java. Aganoor and his family later left for England, where he established a new branch of his firm. When he died in London, aged sixty-three, the Armenian community mourned the loss of one of its most prominent members.⁷¹

The third Armenian from Batavia, Mr N. Marturas is hard to identify. A merchant family by the name of Martherus was well-established in Batavia in the 1850s although no men had a first name beginning with 'N'. However, this could be a typographical error. A Mr Marthause sailed for Batavia on the *Oriental* with Mr Joakin [sic] and Mr Aignoor [sic] in April 1854. All travelled as cabin passengers so they had sufficient funds for a more comfortable journey, and interestingly were listed as English.⁷²

The five men who arrived from Singapore in September 1853, formed the largest group to land in Victoria. It included nineteen year-old Singapore-born Gregory Joakim Jacob, one of the few Armenians who ventured to the goldfields. He ended up in Ballarat, remaining a miner for the rest of his life. Married to Eliza Cooper, who already had a young family, Gregory had only one daughter, Hannah, who died aged twenty in the Ballarat Hospital in 1886.⁷³ In 1881, some twelve years after Eliza's premature death, Gregory married Julia Ryan.⁷⁴ Dying on 29 April 1906, at the age of seventy-three,⁷⁵ Gregory Jacob was buried in the New Cemetery in the same grave as Eliza and Hannah.⁷⁶

Moses Sarkies remains a mystery as does his fellow traveller Mr M. Johannes. Both embarked at Singapore, but neither man was listed in the

directories for Singapore in the early 1850s. Perhaps Singapore was their point of embarkation; not their residence. A Moses Sarkies lived in Calcutta at the turn of the twentieth century: perhaps he was a descendant. More is known of their companions.

Peter Aviet Seth (1812-1886) was Gregory Galastaun's brother-in-law. Originally from Madras, he went to Singapore as a sixteen year old. For some years he traded on his own, but in 1840 joined with his brothers to form the short-lived trading firm of Seth Brothers. After its collapse he set up as a shop keeper and commercial agent importing and exporting goods to and from Java, Whampoa, Bombay and Calcutta. He also ran the Lithographic Press and printed *Ousumnaser* for Gregory Galastaun.

Peter sailed to Melbourne leaving behind his wife Hosanna and their three young children.⁷⁷ I have found no record of how he earned his living in Melbourne or if he ventured to the goldfields; it is more likely he was evaluating Melbourne as a trading prospect. He did not remain in Victoria for long; by 1855 he had resumed work in Singapore as an auctioneer though still engaging in some export/import business.⁷⁸ It is not surprising that he added Melbourne and Sydney to the ports he imported from and exported to.⁷⁹

Much more is known of Peter Seth's kinsman: Gregory Zechariah, born in 1826. The eldest son of prominent Singapore Armenian merchant Isaiah Zechariah and his wife Ashkhen, he became a prize-winning student at the Singapore Institute. After leaving school, Gregory did not follow his father into trade but found work as a clerk, his last post before leaving Singapore being at the Oriental Bank.⁸⁰

In Melbourne, Gregory soon secured a post as a clerk with the Oriental Banking Corporation. Earning an appreciable £100 per year, he married Selina Scott from Ireland, at St Paul's Church on 5 July 1854, thus becoming the first Armenian to marry in Melbourne.⁸¹ In early 1855 the couple lived in Coventry Street in Emerald Hill before shifting to Dorcas Street where they rented a brick and wood house which comprised one room, a kitchen and an attic.⁸² Unattractive as that may sound, the family was comparatively well off. Gregory's salary provided a steady income in a respectable profession, offering a young father greater security for his family. Later in 1856 he was able to rent a wooden house with four rooms in York Street.⁸³

The couple's two children were amongst the first known Armenians born in Melbourne, Eliza born on 10 July 1855 being the first Armenian

girl born in Victoria.⁸⁴ Gregory, born on 12 November 1856, sadly became the first Armenian child to die in Melbourne, succumbing to gastrodynia on 17 April 1857 aged only five months. He was buried in the Melbourne General Cemetery in the same plot as Gregory Galastaun.⁸⁵

Surprisingly, considering their comfortable situation in Melbourne, the Zechariah family set sail for Singapore on the *Rota* on 3 November 1857. The ship's passenger manifest listed Gregory as a 'gentleman',⁸⁶ but arriving in Singapore in January 1858, Gregory returned to clerical work. In the early 1870s, the now expanded family moved to Taiping in Malaya, where Gregory was appointed Chief Clerk to the Resident of Perak. He seems to have died by 1887.⁸⁷

The oldest Armenian known to arrive was fifty year old Kerakoos Arathoon. Originally from Isfahan, he had settled in Madras, marrying Hosanna Seth Sam in April 1824.⁸⁸ One of their six children, twenty-four year old Johannes, accompanied Kerakoos to Victoria.⁸⁹ They tried their luck at alluvial gold mining at Pleasant Creek (Stawell) where encouraging discoveries had been made in August 1853. However, this site was inaptly named for Kerakoos who died of fever on 8 November 1857.⁹⁰ Perhaps Johannes moved from the area as in mid-1861 there was unclaimed mail for J. Kerakoos.⁹¹ On 27 December 1862, he sailed on the *Alhambra* for Port Chalmers, New Zealand, presumably to try his luck on the Central Otago goldfields.⁹²

In 1854, one year after the arrival in Melbourne of Kerakoos and Johannes Arathoon, came Chatoor Arratoon and J. Arratoon. They settled in Maryborough as quartz reef miners - those who searched for gold in the quartz veins rather than looking for alluvial gold. Intending to remain in Victoria, Chatoor applied for naturalisation which was granted on 23 January 1863.⁹³ The two men were listed as miners, albeit under the name Arrahoon, in Maryborough between 1868 and 1870, but not after that,⁹⁴ although Chatoor was still living in the Maryborough area in 1875. Dying of bronchitis in the hospital at Inglewood on 9 June 1886, he was buried in the Inglewood Cemetery. His death certificate shows how little was known of a lone Armenian such as Chatoor. While it stated he was born in Armenia, this may be an assumption. It was not known when he arrived in Victoria, who his parents were, who his wife was, although he was believed to be married, or if he had children.⁹⁵

What happened to J. Arratoon is unknown. He was listed as owning a mining lease and living in Ross Street, Maryborough in 1872.⁹⁶ Judging by

the lack of detail on Chatoor's death certificate, J. Arratoon was not present to supply information. Curiously his initials were given as J.K. This suggests that this man may be the above mentioned Johannes K. Arathoon having returned from New Zealand.

Records have indicated that other Armenians were present in the 1850s. For example, P. Satoor, described as a digger accompanied C. Zorab, aged ten, and also described as a digger, on the *Frances Henty* to London in August 1854.⁹⁷

Of greater significance however is Johannes M. Gregory, whose maltreatment by a Government trooper (soldier) would write his name into Victoria's history. Because of this unsavoury incident, more extensive resources and hence detail exist.

Disquiet on the Ballarat goldfields had been increasing through a combination of hatred for the expensive gold mining licences, the arrogance of some troopers in demanding to check these licences and the perceived corruption of members of the judiciary. By October 1854, discontent had reached near boiling point after Governor Hotham ordered more frequent licence hunts to catch evaders, and hence boost the government's rather depleted coffers.

On 10 October, against this volatile background, Johannes Gregory, the servant of the Roman Catholic priest Father Smyth was sent to visit a sick man in his tent. While he was there, Trooper James Lord, who was checking for miners who did not possess a licence, turned up at the tent entrance.

Lord asked Johannes if he had a licence. Johannes replied that he did not, as he was the priest's servant, whereupon Lord tried to arrest him and march him to the Government Camp. Pointing out that he was disabled and could not walk over the diggings, Johannes offered to go with Lord, if he could take him there. This response infuriated the trooper who lashed out and knocked Johannes to the ground, dragging him about. Lord's horse then trampled on Johannes causing serious injury.

Angry onlookers were soon milling around the tent. Commissioner Johnston rode up, but sided with Lord, telling the crowd the trooper was just doing his duty and should not be hindered. At about the same time, Father Smyth arrived, and hearing what had happened, gave Johnston £5 as bail for Johannes. Johnston took the money and rode off.

The following morning Johannes appeared in the Magistrate's Court charged with being on the goldfields without a licence, even though he was

exempt. He tried to explain this, but was cut short by magistrate John Dewes who declared his bail forfeited. Then Commissioner Johnson entered the courtroom and advised that Johannes was not charged with being on the goldfields without a licence, but with assaulting the trooper. Found guilty of this second charge, Johannes was fined £5.

Pandemonium erupted. That Johannes was fined, instead of receiving an apology for Lord's assault upon him infuriated both the press and the public. The *Ballarat Times* warned the government that the public outrage over this injustice might spill into something more serious.⁹⁸ This duly happened.

The Catholics saw the incident as an insult to their priest. Compounding the insult was the very blatant miscarriage of justice, which again was perceived to be hostile towards the Catholics and yet a further example of the corrupt judiciary. Against all evidence, John Dewes had recently acquitted his associate James Bentley of the murder of James Scobie, a miner; now he found a disabled man guilty of assaulting a trooper.

A public meeting held at the Catholic Chapel on Wednesday 25 October, adopted two resolutions. Firstly that an enquiry should be set up to re-hear Johannes Gregory's case as it was felt he had been wrongly convicted and secondly that Commissioner Johnston be dismissed because of his conduct.⁹⁹ While the first demand did not eventuate, Johnston was dismissed. However, this was not enough to stem the tide of events which culminated in the battle at the Eureka Stockade on 3 December 1854: an event regarded as pivotal in Australian history.

Johannes M. Gregory remains a mystery:¹⁰⁰ perhaps he was Malcolm Manuk's fellow traveller, Hovhannes, who was later forced to sell his ring to obtain some money.¹⁰¹ While some writers claim he is a native of Armenia, others say he is Armenian, and others that he is of Armenian extraction.¹⁰² He has been referred to as MacGregory, which indicates that his middle name might have been Mackertich or Mackertoom.

Considering his anglicised surname, it is likely that Johannes came from one of the Armenian communities in Southeast Asia or from Persia. They mainly comprised descendants of Armenians deported to Persia by Shah Abbas in the early 1600s. From there, many later migrated to India, and southwards. Nearly all of them modified their names for usage within English speaking communities, for example, to Gregory, Stephens, Edgar,

Thomas, Lucas and Sarkies. However, they still retained and maintained their Armenian identity through language, religion and culture.

As many of these Armenians had been educated in India, they were fluent English speakers, thus it is surprising to read that Johannes spoke little or even no English.¹⁰³ One wonders why such a man would have been employed as a priest's servant. No record has been found of his arrival, or departure, or why or when he was employed by Father Smyth. Some writers refer to him as Gregorius¹⁰⁴ (the Latin for Gregory): this strongly intimates there must be some Roman Catholic Church record of him, but all enquiries and research have failed to unearth information.

The Gold Rush Armenians were not the only Armenians to migrate to Victoria: other arrivals included the Zohrab family, a branch of the famous Manucharants clan. Peter Thomas Henry Gordon Zohrab, son of Peter Paul John Zohrab and Fanny Williams, was born in 1817.¹⁰⁵ Married to Marianne Walker in 1840,¹⁰⁶ Peter had four children: Isabella, who died in 1841;¹⁰⁷ Constantine born in 1843,¹⁰⁸ Clara born in 1848¹⁰⁹ and Harold born in 1849.¹¹⁰ In May 1850, the family set sail for South Africa on the *Ballengeich*, arriving in Durban in July.¹¹¹

Their stay was brief. In 1852 Peter and Marianne, accompanied by their surviving children Constantine and Clara boarded the *Hannah* at Port Natal and sailed to Melbourne, arriving on 15 November.¹¹² The family settled in the fledgling suburb of Prahran where Peter set up as an auctioneer and commercial agent in Chapel Street.¹¹³ A well known pioneering citizen of the municipality, in April 1854, Peter was appointed secretary of a committee determined that the government should bear some responsibility for the costs of drainage in Prahran.

He was described as 'a man of parts, of forty years, square shouldered, with black moustache, running into side whiskers, a large nose, and well-set eyes, half-hidden with spectacles. He spoke quickly, his matter was good, his manner assertive.' Indeed he was described as being 'a sort of municipal Moses, to lead the men of Prahran out of the Sloughs of Despond, and to give to them a corporate individuality, built on the axiom that union is strength.'¹¹⁴ But that was wishful thinking.

A man who spoke his mind, Peter twice penned short letters to the *Argus* newspaper. In 1861 in response to a query about the bergamot lemon, he advised it was widely grown in Malta, from whence plants could be obtained.¹¹⁵ The following year he detailed a French cure for pleuro-

pneumonia, which he considered worth trying in order to combat the illness which was devastating local cattle herds.¹¹⁶

However, his own businesses did not do well. On 4 June 1858, Peter, now operating his business in the nearby suburb of Richmond, was declared insolvent with liabilities totalling £323, and assets of only £26. Released from bankruptcy on 25 October 1858, he set up again as an auctioneer, before turning to brokering. However, Peter was no more successful in this field, being declared insolvent on 12 August 1861, with liabilities totalling £184, and assets again of only £26. He was released from insolvency on 10 February 1862.¹¹⁷

In Melbourne, Marianne gave birth to five more children: Percy Alfred Zorab¹¹⁸ born in Prahran on 7 March 1855,¹¹⁹ James in 1856, Walter in 1858; Sidney, who lived for only seven months, in 1861 and Melita in 1863.¹²⁰

Meanwhile, on 1 July 1862, Constantine had sailed on the *City of Hobart* for Port Chalmers, New Zealand. He may have been heading for the Central Otago gold rushes,¹²¹ but in 1865, he was listed as living in Dunedin.¹²² By 1864 Peter Zohrab and the family had also departed for Dunedin where they remained until at least 1871.¹²³ Peter eventually died in Wellington in 1881. Constantine, who became a noted citizen, married Edith Wills and had a family of eleven children. He died in 1897 in Wellington, where Zohrab Street is a reminder of the family.¹²⁴ His descendants still live in New Zealand and proudly acknowledge their Armenian heritage, distant though it is.

A later arrival to Melbourne was the Thomas family from Batavia. Born in Bushire in about 1822, Stephen Thomas was the eldest son of merchant Abraham Thomas (Tomassian) and his wife Peirie.¹²⁵ After Abraham met an untimely end, Peirie took her children to Java - perhaps family members were already living there. As with most Armenians on Java, Stephen and his younger brothers Isaac, Satoor and Carapiet became merchants. By 1863 Satoor had established Thomas & Company, later opening branches in Surabaya and Semarang. It is most likely that Stephen worked in one of the company's offices before migrating to Australia.

Stephen, his wife Annie Meyer and their three daughters - Isabel, Emily and Fairy - accompanied by a servant arrived in Melbourne on 18 March 1868. Sailing from Batavia on the 518 ton *Passarowang*, these six were the only passengers, and were calculated as comprising 4.5 statutory adults.¹²⁶

Why the family took this unusual step of migrating to far off Melbourne rather than to Singapore, India, Holland, Burma or even elsewhere in the Dutch East Indies where other Armenian communities existed, remains unknown. There were very few Armenians living in Melbourne, and trading contacts were minimal. Stephen first worked for a Dutch firm before setting up on his own as an importer. From 1869-1870 the family lived in Carlton but by 1880 had moved to the more salubrious suburb of Brighton West where from 1886, they lived in Black Street.¹²⁷ An 1899 electoral roll gave Stephen's profession as 'gentleman'.¹²⁸ He died on 4 March 1911 at the age of eighty-nine, while Annie died on 27 November 1922. Their tombstone, erected by their daughters, can be found in the Church of England section of the Brighton General Cemetery.

The misinformation given on Stephen's and to a greater extent on Annie's death certificates are an example of how information, although given in good faith may be inaccurate. Stephen's death certificate stated he married 'Annie Mayer' in Melbourne, but shipping records show this is not true.¹²⁹ Annie's death certificate said she was married in Melbourne at the age of twenty to Stephen A. Thomas; that she was born in Watford, England to John Mayne a coachbuilder and his wife Charlotte n^èe Smith.¹³⁰ This erroneous information, provided by her daughters who obviously had been told little of their mother's background, epitomizes the loss of family history which so often occurs when one is part of a minority group.

The couple had five children of whom the first three, as mentioned, were born in Batavia: Isabella Helena on 19 October 1863;¹³¹ Emily Blanche on 3 September 1866¹³² and Fairy in 1868. Two more children were born in Melbourne: Theodore in 1870 and Lilian Maud in 1872.¹³³

None of the girls married. Fairy died in 1952 and Isabella in 1947, both aged eighty-four, while Lillian died in 1962 aged ninety.¹³⁴ Emily was the sister who stood out, enjoying minor fame as a composer, her works being greatly influenced by World War One.¹³⁵ Also a talented artist, she later made her living from portrait painting and died in 1947 aged eighty-one.¹³⁶ Theodore had died by 1922.¹³⁷

This family merged into Australian society, the first step having been taken when Stephen married a non-Armenian wife. In such marriages, it was seldom that the children were taught Armenian. Assimilation was inevitabilised with the move to a non-Armenian environment: the lack of contact with other Armenians meant there was little impetus for the

children to learn Armenian or to encourage interest in their Armenian background.

Contemporaneous with the Thomas family, and likewise one with an Armenian father and non-Armenian mother was the Sarkies family. John Andrew Sarkies, the son of a merchant, was born in 1832 in Shusha, the old capital of Karabakh. No arrival date has been found in Victorian records, but on 15 February 1864, he married Scottish-born Helen McKay in the manse of the Scots Church, in Melbourne.¹³⁸

Unlike the Thomas family, the Sarkies were not well-off. John worked as a grocer, then as a general dealer in central Melbourne. From 1869, he operated in Turner Alley while in 1871 under the name of Andrew Sarkies, he was listed as conducting business from Lynch Alley. As John remained listed for Turner Alley, both businesses must have belonged to him, his son Andrew being then only six years old.¹³⁹ Helen gave birth to eight children: Margaret in 1864, Andrew in 1865, John in 1867, David in 1869, Isabella in 1871, Sarah in 1873, Isaac in 1875 and Joseph in 1877. Sadly, childhood deaths were common in those days and four Sarkies children died within a few years: Sarah in 1874, John and Isabella in 1875 and Joseph in 1877.¹⁴⁰ The family lived in rented properties in the inner suburbs changing addresses within Carlton and Fitzroy¹⁴¹ until they sailed for Scotland in 1878.

There, the couple's last child, Grace, was born in Kingston, Kilsyth in May 1880.¹⁴² The following year, John returned to Melbourne on the *Loch Ness*,¹⁴³ setting up as a fruiterer, while Helen and the children returned in 1883 on board the *Loch Tay*.¹⁴⁴ Unhappily, death claimed yet another child when Isaac died in 1885.¹⁴⁵

Information on John Sarkies' death has not been found, but Helen was listed in her own right in a directory from 1886, again frequently changing address.¹⁴⁶ She was reduced to working as a charwoman in her final years and died in 1905 aged sixty-four.¹⁴⁷

Unlike the Thomas children, the Sarkies children married and had families. Margaret, who married Henry Parker in 1886, had at least three children: Alice born in Prahran in 1886,¹⁴⁸ Henry born in 1887 in St Kilda and Eric born in 1896 at St Kilda.¹⁴⁹ Margaret died in South Yarra in 1952 aged 87.¹⁵⁰

Andrew became a clerk and in October 1899, was appointed to a temporary post at the Victorian Mounted Rifles Barracks. After serving in South Africa, he secured a position in the Department of Home Affairs

remaining there until his untimely death on 21 September 1910, following a fall after alighting from a cab in Flinders Street.¹⁵¹

Andrew had married Mary Jane Lalor in Carlton in 1889.¹⁵² Like his father, he often changed address, moving between the inner suburbs of Carlton, Fitzroy, Abbotsford and Collingwood until a better job led to a more up market house in Glen Huntly.¹⁵³ The couple had five children: Rose born in 1890, who died in 1891; Grace born in 1891, Edwin in 1893, William in 1896 and Walter in 1897.¹⁵⁴ All children married and their descendants are still living in Melbourne.

Andrew's younger brother David married Elizabeth Nicholson in Melbourne in 1891 and had at least one child: a daughter named Rachael born in 1898.¹⁵⁵ They too constantly moved house, in Fitzroy and Northcote, where David ran a dyeing and cleaning business for a short time, and on to Brunswick where in the late 1890s he began to manufacture clothing.¹⁵⁶ He died in 1926 in North Fitzroy, aged fifty-six.¹⁵⁷ Grace, who married Robert Bostock in Narrandera, New South Wales in 1901¹⁵⁸ gave birth to seven children, but died in Brisbane in 1914, aged only thirty-four.¹⁵⁹

The next known Armenian to settle in Melbourne was a much later arrival: Mackertich Car Lucas, who also married a non-Armenian wife. Born in Calcutta around 1858, he was one of the sons of Catchick Lucas and Hosanna Gregory.¹⁶⁰ Mackertich married Harriet Thompson, a widow with two young children on 5 July 1888.¹⁶¹ The couple had five children: Herbert John Maccar was born in North Fitzroy in 1889, while the next three were born in Northcote: William in 1890, James, who lived only two days, in 1892 and Dorothy in 1894. Their last child, Victor Carr was born in 1895 in Fitzroy.¹⁶² After working as a carrier, Mackertich became a gripman and then a grip repairer for the Tramway Company which ran the cable trams.¹⁶³ He died in Melbourne in 1932, aged seventy-four,¹⁶⁴ and has descendants still living in Melbourne.¹⁶⁵

Probably the last Armenian to settle in Victoria in the nineteenth century was Haroutiun Garabet Balakian. Born on 1 August 1868 at Tokat in Anatolia, Haroutiun sailed from Constantinople to London in early 1897.¹⁶⁶ Three months later, he boarded the *Weimar* at Antwerp and set sail for Melbourne arriving on 21 July.¹⁶⁷ For some time he lived in Middle Park but later made his home in Eltham. Haroutiun set up business as an importer at 346 Flinders Street in the heart of the city, for some years.¹⁶⁸ Like his earlier compatriots, he too would marry an Australian woman, but

unlike them would suffer official discrimination when new laws on naturalisation were introduced after the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. However Haroutiun Balakian's story belongs with those who migrated to Australia in the early twentieth century. He died at the age of seventy-eight in 1946.¹⁶⁹

Other Armenian names have surfaced in the late nineteenth century but further information on them has not yet been found. Perhaps this is because like Mr E. Joakim, a gentleman who arrived on the *Britannia* from Calcutta in March 1889, they were en route to Sydney,¹⁷⁰ or elsewhere. Thus there is mention of Mr J. H. Manouk who arrived on 4 August 1890 from Marseilles on the *Australien*,¹⁷¹ Surgeon Captain Sarkies, who landed on 28 April 1893 having boarded the *Ballaarat* at Colombo,¹⁷² Miss Arratoon who arrived from Calcutta on the *Bhundara* on 23 April 1895¹⁷³ and Mr and Mrs Sarkies with their three children, aged five, seven and thirteen, landed in Melbourne on 17 August 1898, having traveled from France on the *Armand Behic*, but were en route to Noumea.¹⁷⁴ Mr G. Jordan who arrived on 1 April 1898 on the *India* was a horse shipper on his way to Sydney, perhaps to arrange a consignment for one of the noted Armenian racing horse owners of Calcutta.¹⁷⁵

History is not static: it undergoes modification, some subtle, some less so, as new evidence becomes available and hence new interpretations can be posited. The narrative of the pioneering Armenians in Victoria exemplifies this.

The work of Mirzaian and Abrahamian paved the way for future research, but their conclusions were based more on speculation than fact. Both gave the impression of a larger, more highly organised and united Armenian community than existed. While Armenian men travelled to Victoria in small groups, and some lived nearby each other in South Melbourne, that does not provide adequate grounds to talk of a community. A community as such is conceptualized both internally and externally; that is to say, those within it see themselves as being distinctive from other groups; and those without, also perceive the community as holding attributes which distinguish it from them.

In Victoria in the mid 1850s there were fewer than twenty Armenians at any one time. It might be argued that in Penang for instance, although the number of Armenians was even less, a distinct Armenian community existed. However the Armenians in Penang were concentrated in one small city, had economic power, coupled with political and social standing,

enjoyed close links with nearby Armenian communities and above all, had their own Church.

The situation in Victoria could not be more different. The Armenians were scattered throughout the State of Victoria, lacked an economic power base and social status, and were merely a few among the countless thousands of arrivals who had flooded into Victoria. Rather than speaking of a community, it is more realistic to speak of Armenian individuals. And one must be careful not to extrapolate findings on these individuals thereby generalizing them into an 'Armenian community'.

Mirzaian and Abrahamian are ambivalent about the Armenians' motives for migrating vacillating between suggesting they intended founding a settlement, and returning home after a short stay. I suggest that the arrivals of the 1850s came to look and assess the situation.

Contrary to what Mirzaian and Abrahamian implied, these men are not anonymous and forgotten; records exist pointing to their arrivals, occupations, marriages and deaths. Of the twenty-two known Gold Rush arrivals, two died unexpectedly; two settled permanently and seven returned home. The remaining eleven remain unaccounted for, though as they are not listed in Victorian marriage or burial databases, it might be assumed they left the colony.

Of the other arrivals, one family moved to New Zealand, but the others remained in Victoria becoming assimilated into the British community. Their marriages to non-Armenian women inevitably led to the erosion of their language, religion and culture. Details of family history became lost or misunderstood, leading to errors or the ubiquitous response 'not known' on death certificates.

Researching the Armenians in nineteenth century Victoria has been fraught with difficulties. The few extant records contain personal information which, for a number of reasons is often conflicting and contradictory. Even the surnames themselves were challenging to track as indexes contained the spellings of names as interpreted by printers or transcribers. Because the expected spelling of a surname is not listed, it does not necessarily follow that the person is not there: lateral searching is called for. For example, Sarkies appeared in databases and indexes as Aerkies, Carkus, Larkies, Jarkies, Sarbin and Sarkiss.

This paper has focussed on the Armenians of the nineteenth century. After 1900 the number of Armenians in Victoria began to increase, with a pattern of chain migration becoming evident. Much more information

exists for these later arrivals, thereby providing a rich source waiting to be mined by social historians.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ I have spelled Armenian names the same way as their owners did, or as they appeared in print. Where a typographical error or alternative has occurred, I have chosen the spelling most commonly used. Where applicable, I have referred to individuals by their first name rather than their family name to avoid confusion, especially when writing about members of the same family.
- ² A. Mirzaian, *Armenians in Australia and New Zealand*, Private Printing, Sydney, 1966.
- ³ A. K. Abrahamian, *Hamarot Ourvagits Hay Gaghtavayreri Patmutyan*, (a brief history of the Armenian Diaspora) Vol. II, Yerevan, Hayastan Press, 1967, Chapter 22 'Armenian Migration to Australia', pp. 334-341. I am indebted to Dr Max M. Boudakian who very kindly provided me with a translation of this chapter.
- ⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 July 1998, p. 31.
- ⁵ In particular Max Boudakian, 'Tales of the Australian Ararat' *Ararat Quarterly*, Winter 1997, pp. 36-39; J. R. Kirkland, *Armenian Migration, Settlement and Adjustment in Australia with Special Reference to Sydney*, Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1980; and N. Wright, *Respected Citizens: The History of Armenians in Singapore and Malaysia*, Amassia Publishing, Middle Park, 2003.
- ⁶ A. Mirzaian, *Sydney Armenian Guide Book*, Private Printing, Sydney, 1970; A. Mirzaian, *Armenians: A Pilgrim People in "Tierra Australia"*, Private Printing, Sydney, 1975; A. Mirzaian and C.A. Price, *The Wandering Armenians*, Private Printing, Sydney, 1980.
- ⁷ Mirzaian, *Armenians in Australia*, p. 112.
- ⁸ For details on Thaliadian see Mesrobian J. Seth, reprint *Armenians in India*, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1983, pp. 515-522.
- ⁹ Mirzaian, *Armenians: A Pilgrim*, p. 43; Mirzaian and Price, *The Wandering*, pp. 32, 38.
- ¹⁰ Mirzaian, *Armenians in Australia*, pp. 50, 112.
- ¹¹ *Ousumnaser*, 12 March 1853, Number 90, pp. 359-360. I am indebted to Nuneh Katchatourian and the Rev. Dr. George A. Lylegian for very kindly translating this letter. Written in a mixture of Classical Armenian and an Ottoman Armenian dialect, coupled with inconsistencies in syntax and vocabulary, it proved a challenge.
- ¹² For example Kirkland claimed 'the number of Armenians living in the city of Melbourne was sufficiently large that Armenian church services were held' (Kirkland, p. 68).
- ¹³ Mirzaian, *Armenians in Australia*, p. 50.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 112.
- ¹⁵ Mirzaian, *Armenians: A Pilgrim*, p. 44.
- ¹⁶ Mirzaian, *Armenians in Australia*, p. 50; Mirzaian, *Armenians: A Pilgrim*, p. 43; Mirzaian and Price, p. 31
- ¹⁷ Mirzaian states Miradian is a misspelling of Muradian (Mirzaian, *Armenians in Australia*, p. 36). However Joseph was known by the surname Miradian in Australia, it was also the name under which he was naturalized in 1898 (State Records Authority of New South Wales; http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/indexes_online_3357.asp#Naturalization at accessed 14 June 2005.

- ¹⁸ Mirzaian, *Armenians in Australia*, pp. 36, 112; Mirzaian, *Armenians: A Pilgrim*, p. 44; Mirzaian and Price, p. 32.
- ¹⁹ For example Kirkland wrote that Joseph had been on the goldfields 'from the very early days of the gold rushes' (Kirkland, p. 68).
- ²⁰ New South Wales Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Death Certificate Joseph Gerald Miradian Ref. 1911/1328.
- ²¹ State Records Authority of New South Wales; Miradian Joseph Register 13, p. 447 item 4/1212 reel 37; 'Death' *The Twofold Bay Magnet*, 6 March 1911. This obituary eulogised Joseph as a clever businessman who did much for the town of Yambulla (NSW) where he lived, and implied he arrived in the late nineteenth century.
- ²² For details Mirzaian refers to C. A. Price, *Armenian Naturalisations in Australia: 1904-1946*, M.S. Australian National University, 1976. This has proved impossible to locate; Correspondence with Dr Price 2007 and the Australia National University 2002 and 2006.
- ²³ Mirzaian and Price, p. 32.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32; National Archives of Australia: A1, A1/15, 1916/736.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- ²⁶ I think of my mother, the sole Armenian in the South Island of New Zealand for many decades, who never forgot her language, religion and culture. The loss tends to occur with children of the next generation who, for a variety of reasons become assimilated.
- ²⁷ Mirzaian, *Armenians in Australia*, p. 50; Mirzaian and Price, p. 32.
- ²⁸ Mirzaian, *Armenians in Australia*, p. 112.
- ²⁹ Yervantouni, 'Armenians in Australia', *Arevelk*, 29 July 1895 and 10 August 1895; Yervantouni, 'Australia and Armenians', *Armenia* no. 76 1891. A sustained search by Dr. Max Boudakian failed to locate these articles. Letter 8 July 1997.
- ³⁰ Abrahamian, p. 336.
- ³¹ *Ibid.* p. 334.
- ³² *Ibid.* p. 335.
- ³³ *Ibid.* p. 335.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 336.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 338.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 338.
- ³⁷ See Seth for details on Armenian merchants in India in the 1850s.
- ³⁸ Abrahamian, p. 337.
- ³⁹ *Eighth Census of the Colony of Queensland Taken on the 5th April 1891*. Published by Authority, Brisbane, 1892, pp. 458-9.
- ⁴⁰ Henry Hayter, *General Report of the Census of Victoria 1891*, Published by Authority, Melbourne, 1893, p. 65.
- ⁴¹ *Census of Victoria, One of the Six States of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1901*, Melbourne: Government Printer, 1902-1904, p. 23.
- ⁴² Mirzaian and Price, p. 32.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ G. H. Knibbs, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 1911*, published by Authority; Part VIII Non-European Races, pp. 903, 905.
- ⁴⁵ Wright: unpublished research notes.
- ⁴⁶ Abrahamian, p. 337.

- ⁴⁷ Mirzaian and Price, p. 32.
- ⁴⁸ Online Catalogue – Public Record Office Victoria's Digitised Records and Online Indexes; Immigration Databases at <http://www.access.prov.vic.gov.au/public/PROVguides/PROVguide023/PROVguide023.jsp>. Individual records were then viewed on relevant microfiche or microfilm. Henceforth the acronym PROV will be used instead of Public Record Office Victoria. PROV VPRS 7667 Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) 1852-1923 microfiche F011 p. 001.
- ⁴⁹ *Straits Times*, 21 June 1853; PROV VPRS 7667 Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) 1852-1923 microfiche F012, p. 001.
- ⁵⁰ PROV VPRS 7667 Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) 1852-1923 microfiche F 014 p. 001; Armen Joseph: personal correspondence, 7 March 1994.
- ⁵¹ *Straits Times*, 2 August 1853.
- ⁵² PROV VPRS 7667 Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) 1852-1923 microfiche F014 p. 001.
- ⁵³ PROV VPRS 7667 Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) 1852-1923 microfiche F018 p. 001.
- ⁵⁴ National Archives of Australia: A712, 1863/A554; Australian Archives CRS A726 Vol. H p. 111.
- ⁵⁵ *Singapore Almanack and Directory*, 1853-1858.
- ⁵⁶ PROV Index to Outward Passengers to Interstate, U.K. and Foreign Ports, 1852-1876 at http://proarchives.imagineering.com.au/index_search.asp?searchid=42 accessed 28 July 2007.
- ⁵⁷ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia*, William Allen & Co London, vol. xxxvi new series, September-December 1841, p. 319.
- ⁵⁸ Wright, *Respected Citizens*, pp. 203-4.
- ⁵⁹ After many fruitless enquiries to locate this paper, a chance comment to Ms Berta Mansourian of the State Library of Victoria, led her to recall having seen an Armenian journal listed under another title. This turned out to be *Ousumnaser*.
- ⁶⁰ *Ousumnaser*, 12 March 1853, Number 90, p. 360.
- ⁶¹ R. Broome, *The Victorians Arriving*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates McMabon's Point, 1984, p. 69.
- ⁶² Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: Death Certificate No. 540; Melbourne General Cemetery Sexton's Records: Register of Burials in the Church of England Portion of the Melbourne General Cemetery, 1854, p. 35.
- ⁶³ PROV VPRS 3506 *Outward Passenger Lists* microfilm Jan.-April 1854.
- ⁶⁴ Emerald Hill Rate Books 1855-1861 on microfilm at Local History Collection Port Phillip Library Services.
- ⁶⁵ Armen Joseph: letter 7 March 1994.
- ⁶⁶ Seth, *Armenians in India*, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1983, p. 440 footnote.
- ⁶⁷ Armen Joseph: letter 7 March 1994; Seth, p. 439 footnote.
- ⁶⁸ Wright, p. 283.
- ⁶⁹ PROV VPRS 3506 *Outward Passenger Lists* microfilm, Oct.-Dec 1853.
- ⁷⁰ PROV VPRS 3506 *Outward Passenger Lists* microfilm, January-April 1854.

- ⁷¹ *The Times*, 29 January 1886, p. 10.
- ⁷² PROV VPRS 3506 *Outward Passenger Lists* microfilm, January-April 1854.
- ⁷³ Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: *Pioneer Index 1836-1888 Indexes to Births, Deaths and Marriages in Victoria* CD-ROM, The Crown and MacBeth, Melbourne, 1998.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁵ *Ballarat Star*, 2 May 1906, p. 2.
- ⁷⁶ Ballarat Cemetery Records on Touch Screen operated by the Ballarat Cemetery Trust located at the Old Ballarat Cemetery.
- ⁷⁷ Wright, *Respected Citizens*, pp. 285-6.
- ⁷⁸ *Singapore Almanack and Directory*, 1855.
- ⁷⁹ Wright, *Respected Citizens*, p. 286.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 300.
- ⁸¹ Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Marriage Certificate No. 1267. The year on the Registry page is incorrectly given as 1853. See Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: Birth Certificate No. 5322.
- ⁸² South Melbourne Municipal Electoral Roll 30 June 1855-29 June 1856 in the *Emerald Hill Burgess Roll 1856-1873*.
- ⁸³ South Melbourne Municipal Electoral Roll 30 June 1856-29 June 1857 in the *Emerald Hill Burgess Roll 1856-1873*.
- ⁸⁴ Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: Birth Certificate No. 6462.
- ⁸⁵ Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: Birth Registration No. 5322; Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: Death Registration No. 2887; Melbourne General Cemetery Sexton's Records: Register of Burials in the Church of England Portion of the Melbourne General Cemetery, 1857, p. 173.
- ⁸⁶ PROV VPRS 3506 *Outward Passenger Lists* microfilm, October-December 1857.
- ⁸⁷ Wright, *Respected Citizens*, pp. 300-301.
- ⁸⁸ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies*, 1825, volume 19, p.473; Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: Death Certificate No. 6993.
- ⁸⁹ PROV VPRS 7667 *Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) 1852-1923*, microfiche F018, p. 001.
- ⁹⁰ Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: Death Certificate No. 6993.
- ⁹¹ *Victoria Government Gazette*, vol. XXII, 1 July-31 September 1861, p. 1691.
- ⁹² PROV VPRS 3506 *Outward Passenger Lists*, microfilm October-December 1862.
- ⁹³ National Archives of Australia: A712, 1863/A554; Australian Archives CRS A 726 Vol. H p. 111 on microfilm.
- ⁹⁴ F. Baillièrre *The Official Post Office Directory of Victoria*, 1868-1870, p. 364 each year.
- ⁹⁵ Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: Death Certificate No. 6993.
- ⁹⁶ *Victoria Government Gazette*, 5 January 1872, no. 1, p. 177.
- ⁹⁷ PROV VPRS 3506 *Outward Passenger Lists*, microfilm July-September 1854. Perhaps this was Constantine Zohrab who is mentioned later.
- ⁹⁸ *The Ballarat Times*, 14 October 1854.
- ⁹⁹ PROV VPRS 1189/P Unit 92, J54/12207.
- ¹⁰⁰ He was not the John Gregory who died in Ballarat in 1855, but may be the Johannes Gregory who died in Rangoon, aged seventy in 1885. *St. John the Baptist Armenian*

- Apostolic Church in Rangoon, Burma. Church Records, 1857-1980*, filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1982.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ousumnaser*, 12 March 1853, Number 90, p. 360.
- ¹⁰² For example: Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1851-1861*, Melbourne University Press, 1977, p. 163; *The Battle for Ballarat* part 4, Craig Wilson at <http://www.gold-net.com.au/archivemagazines/may99/9905150000.htm> viewed 7 May 2007.
- ¹⁰³ <http://www.ballarat.com/eurekaaffair.htm>;
http://workers.labor.net.au/features/200412/c_historicalfeature_aussies.html visited 4 May 2007.
- ¹⁰⁴ For example see Justin Corfield, Dorothy Wickham, Clare Gervasoni, *The Eureka Encyclopaedia*, Ballarat Heritage Services, 2004, p. 235 and Geoff Hocking, *Eureka Stockade: a Pictorial History*, The Five Mile Press Pty Ltd., 2004, p. 113.
- ¹⁰⁵ <http://homepages.paradise.net.nz/zohrab1/zdetail6.html> visited 30 April 2007.
- ¹⁰⁶ General Register Office (England and Wales) Marriages, 1840, June quarter, microfiche 59.
- ¹⁰⁷ General Register Office (England and Wales) Deaths, 1841, December quarter, microfiche 389.
- ¹⁰⁸ General Register Office (England and Wales) Births, 1843, March quarter, microfiche 618.
- ¹⁰⁹ General Register Office (England and Wales) Births, 1848, March quarter, microfiche 1342.
- ¹¹⁰ General Register Office (England and Wales) Births, 1849, December quarter, microfiche 1578.
- ¹¹¹ <http://distantcousin.com/Links/ships/Search/1800/1850/Ballengeich.html> visited 7 April 2007.
- ¹¹² PROV VPRS 7667 *Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) 1852-1923*, microfiche F004, p. 002.
- ¹¹³ J. Butterfield, *Melbourne Commercial, Squatters and Official Directory 1855*, pub. James Blundell, p. 117.
- ¹¹⁴ J. B. Cooper, *The History of Prahran: from its First Settlement to a City*, Modern Printing Company Melbourne, 1924, p. 54.
- ¹¹⁵ *Argus*, 17 October 1860, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁶ *Argus*, 22 November 1861, p. 6.
- ¹¹⁷ J. N. Wilson, *The Victorian Insolvency List 1842-1862*, microfilmed by the State Library Victoria as Victorian Insolvency List 1842-1862, microfiche no. 2; *Victoria Government Gazette*, vol. XXII 1 July-31 September 1861, p. 1610.
- ¹¹⁸ Percy and his siblings were one-quarter Armenian: if they are regarded as Armenian, rather than of Armenian ancestry, then Percy would be the first Armenian child born in Victoria.
- ¹¹⁹ Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: Birth Certificate No. 4036.
- ¹²⁰ Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: *Pioneer Index 1836-1888 Indexes to Births, Deaths and Marriages in Victoria* CD-ROM 1998, The Crown and MacBeth, Melbourne.
- ¹²¹ PROV VPRS 3506 *Outward Passenger Lists*, microfilm April-June 1862.
- ¹²² Otago Nominal Index at <http://marvin.otago.ac.nz/oni/onireresults.php> visited 3 May 2007.

¹⁶⁹ Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages: *Death Index 1921-1985*, CD-ROM 1998, The Crown and Coherent Software, Melbourne.

¹⁷⁰ PROV 7666 *Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (British Ports) 1852-1923*, microfiche B511, p. 006.

¹⁷¹ PROV 7667 *Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) 1852-1923*, microfiche F260, p. 003.

¹⁷² PROV 7666 *Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (British Ports) 1852-1923*, microfiche B571, p. 001.

¹⁷³ PROV 7667 *Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) 1852-1923*, microfiche F299, p. 002.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, microfiche F325, p. 004.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, microfiche F323, p. 001.

ՀԱՅԵՐԸ ՎԻՔՅՈՐԻԱՅԻ ՄԷՋ, ԱՒՍՏՐԱԼԻԱ, ԺԹ. ԴԱՐՈՒՆ (Ամփոփում)

ՆԱՏԻԱ ԲԱՅԹ

Քիչ տուեալներ կան Աւստրալիոյ Վիքթորիա նահանգը հասած առաջին Հայերուն մասին: Հայր Արամայիս Միրզայեան 1966ին եւ Աշոտ Արրահամեան 1967ին առաջինը գրած են անոնց մասին: Սակայն այդ երկու ուսումնասիրութիւններն ալ թերի են թէ՛ տուեալներու եւ թէ՛ եզրակացութիւններու առումով: Նատիա Բայթ կը հաւաստէ, որ Վիքթորիոյ Հայերը ի տարբերութիւն Միրզայեանի եւ Արրահամեանի հաստատումին, նուազ կազմակերպուած էին, եւ անոնց կապուածութիւնը իրարու՝ այնպիսին չէր որ իրենց մօտ յառաջացնէր համայնքի մը առկայութեան գիտակցութիւնը:

Յօդուածին առաջին մասով, Բայթ կը կատարէ քննական վերլուծութիւնը այս երկու ուսումնասիրութիւններուն բովանդակութեան: Իսկ յօդուածին երկրորդ մասով Հեղինակուհին քննական ուսումնասիրութիւնը կը կատարէ ԺԹ. դարուն Վիքթորիա հասած եւ տոմարական արձանագրութիւն ունեցող բոլոր Հայերուն, մէկ առ մէկ անդրադառնալով անոնց, մանրամասնելով իւրաքանչիւրին կեցութեան ու կենցաղային այլեւայլ պայմաններն ու պարագաները, իսկ առկայութեան պարագային՝ նաեւ անոնց յետնորդներուն տուեալները: Բայթ կը յայտնաբերէ Հետքերը նաեւ նոր, հայագիտութեան ցարդ անձանօթ Հայերու որոնք հասած են վերոյիշեալ նահանգը:

Իր այս ուսումնասիրութեան համար Հեղինակուհին օգտագործած է Վիքթորիա նահանգի արդէն իսկ համակարգչային թուագրամար հանրութեան եւ ուսումնասիրողներու տրամադրութեան տակ դրուած հանրային հսկայ նիւթը՝ ամուսնական, մահացութեան, նաւահանգստային մուտք ու ելքի, թէ՛ այլ տոմարներու տուեալները: Հեղինակուհին զանոնք կը համայրէ շրջանի այլ կողմներու տուեալներով՝ յարաբերաբար ամբողջական պատկեր մը տալով այդ շրջանին ժամանած իւրաքանչիւր Հայու եւ անոր յետնորդներուն մասին:

Բայթի պրպատումներուն իրրեւ արդիւնք ի յայտ կու գայ որ 1853ին առնուազն 17 Հայեր կ'ապրէին Վիքթորիա նահանգին մէջ: Դժբախտաբար, սակայն, բոլոր Հայերուն մասին չէ որ Հեղինակուհին կը յաջողի տուեալներ փոխանցել՝ նիւթերու բացակայութեան պատճառով: