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THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF AGRICULTURE IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

By

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10. SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND THE SEARCH FOR AN EXPORT STAPLE.

(This, the tenth essay in this series, follows previous articles in the "Review," the first of which appeared in the August, 1948, issue. It is proposed that these articles will conclude in the December, 1949, issue of the "Review").

CONTENTS: Problem: Whaling and Sealing: The Beginnings of Trade: Trade Restrictions: The East India Company Monopoly: Isolation and the Influence of the French and American Wars: Flax: Local Manufactures: Early Attempts at Exports: Notions of Self-Sufficiency—Tea, Tobacco, Sugar and Spirits: Conclusions.

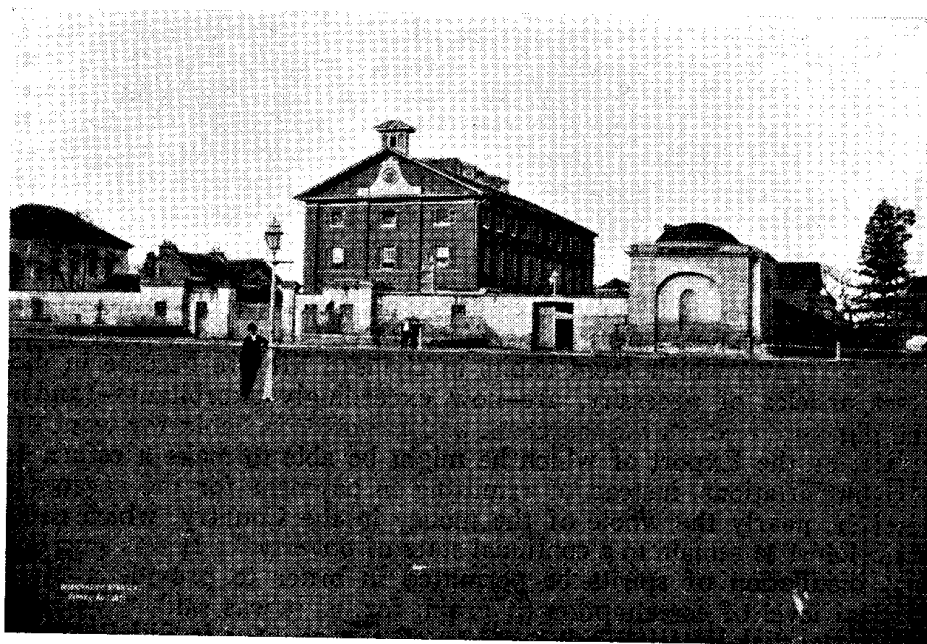
PROBLEM.

In a preceding article, the effect of a depressed internal level of consumption has been shown to have reacted unfavourably to the local agriculture. Some means were necessary to enlarge the variety of the produce grown, and to find profitable markets for exportable commodities, if the whole dependence of agriculture upon Government were to be relieved and expansion to continue. In fact, from the very beginnings of settlement in New South Wales, it is possible to trace this, what may be called, search for an export staple. To the early colonists, it was a very real issue, a vital need. It occupied much of their theorising, in moments when opportunities were given to consider the course the colony was taking, and was in the forefront of their accepted economic first principles—the necessity for self-sufficiency and exports, a fact not to be argued over. For the first thirty odd years of settlement, the Colony was in the experimental melting pot. One of two courses it had to take, either remain as a penal dump—its settlers, officials and garrison supported by the expenditure of the Home Government upon the Commissariat and the other departments—or, develop in wealth and influence through the exploitation by the colonists themselves, of some natural resources of the country, which could be exported in exchange for the goods it required from abroad, or else be locally consumed or manufactured, with resultant savings in currency. Some way had to be found, so it was thought, of breaking the cycle, whereby money spent by the British Government within the Colony, passed through many hands, until it was finally paid away by the merchants of Sydney, as specie or Treasury bills, to adventurous American speculators, London merchants or counting houses. The continuance of such a cycle, it was accepted, meant the perpetuation of poverty in the Colony, with wealth accruing only in the hands of a few importing merchants, able to obtain a discount in profits from their trading. This must explain why, in the Colony of Macquarie times, so much attention, at least in theory, was given to the harmful effects on the economy of the settlement of large-scale purchases from abroad. Not alone was grain being imported, with ruinous effects upon the local agricultural position, but tea, sugar, tobacco, spirits and miscellaneous other items as well. It was thought that there were no good reasons why these could not be produced equally well within the

Colony itself. The general reasoning for this assumption was the "climate" of the country, with its variations of tropical, sub-tropical and temperate. The effects of such local productions, it was held, whether of the soil or manufactories, would result in a considerable saving in the drainage of specie, in necessary encouragements to agriculture and in the provision of employment for the children, born of the settlers and now rising to adult station.

This broad view can be read into many of the general and contributed articles in the *Gazette* over the years 1810-1821. The first clear picture is given in the memorial already referred to, presented to the Governor by the inhabitants of Sydney, Windsor, and Parramatta in January, 1813. Here there is a "lament" concerning "distressing embarrassments under which we labour," from the absence of a sufficient market, and "the want of a staple commodity, by the exportation of which we may be enabled to procure such articles of import as are absolutely indispensable to civilized life." (*S.G.* 2nd January, 1813). In the separate Windsor address of the same month (*S.G.* 2nd January, 1813), like views are expressed: "Your Excellency no doubt views the many difficulties in which every person is subject in a country, where most articles of import, and which from habits in civilised life are become in most cases articles of necessity, are now exceedingly exorbitant—(and)—the difficulties which the merchant and importer is liable for want of a staple, by the Export of which he might be able to make a return for such importations, instead of remitting in payment for the cargoes he receives, nearly the whole of the money in the Country, which causes the colonist to remain in a continual state of poverty." It was suggested that distillation of spirits be permitted in order to provide a higher internal level of consumption of grain, for, as it was said, "We regret still more that the circulating specie of the country is ultimately lost by the purchase of spirits, the greater part whereof is obtained from America, the East Indies and other places." A possibility was that "The wool of this country, having been found from the samples, hitherto sent to England, to be little inferior to that of Spain, we conceive that the same might, in the course of a short time, be an article of considerable importance." Furthermore, "Hemp and Flax as articles of growth in this Colony, we are well aware, would answer the purpose of the Cultivator, as the small quantity which has hitherto been produced has been abundant—but as the cultivators in this Country are generally persons of comparatively small capitals, it must be evident as next to impossible for them to raise an article upon speculation, subject to the risques and freightage to Europe." It was, therefore, put forward that "Government (should) purchase such quantity of the above articles for the use of the Navy as might be raised in this Colony, allowing for the same the value which such commodity bears in England, after deducting therefrom the Expense of Freightage, Risque, etc." If then, again, an opportunity could be made for the kiln drying, salting and casking of the locally produced surplus flour and meat, and this was shipped to England for the use of His Majesty's Navy or other national purpose, "these, with the other productions enumerated, would make return cargoes for the ships, necessarily employed in bringing out prisoners and stores for Government, by which means the freights to and from this Colony would be materially reduced, inasmuch as the merchants and shipowners in England would be glad to receive a less freightage to this Colony, if certain of return cargoes at the same rate—and as

we can procure by our small vessels considerable quantities of Sperm, Elephant and Right-whale oils, this would also tend largely to our benefit and advancement as Remittances to England, if Government would be pleased to repeal the heavy duties laid on all oils procured by colonial vessels which is tantamount to a Prohibition, although sent to England in British bottoms and actually procured by British Subjects." It was, therefore, asked that permission should be given to build vessels to carry



IMMIGRATION BARRACKS, MACQUARIE STREET, SYDNEY (1871).

The photograph shows the old immigration barracks situated in Macquarie Street, Hyde Park, Sydney, as the building appeared in 1871, but the building was erected long before this time.

In June, 1819, the building of the convict barracks at the top of what is now King-street, was completed. From then until 1848 it was used as a reception house for convicts arriving in the colony from England. In the year 1848, seven years after the abolition of the convict system, the building changed its role and was used as an immigration barracks to house female migrants until they could be found suitable situations. It continued as such for many years, and was then used as a sort of migrants' employment registry. For a number of years now, this severe building has housed the Industrial Commission and the Chief Industrial Magistrate's Court—this is rather paradoxical when it is considered that it was this very building in which modern champions of trade unionism assert their legal rights that the six "Tolpuddle martyrs" were incarcerated for their illegal unionist activities in England.

The barracks were designed by the same Francis Howard Greenway who planned St. James Church and other period pieces in Windsor, Parramatta and Camden.

The original roof has perished and is replaced by sheet iron, the brickwork is in many parts past repair and around it have grown up numerous huts and sheds, but the west front with its "Oatley Clock" which is more than 120 years old, still gives the building an air of distinction.

The existence of the barracks has been threatened many times during the last forty years, but on each occasion learned men and societies have rallied to prolong its life. It has seen a convict village in a race with time outstrip imagination; it has seen the injustice of the triangle give way to the justice of the jury system. It remains one of Sydney's oldest and most treasured historical monuments.

(By courtesy of the Mitchell Library.)

natural productions of the Colony and adjacent seas—timber for naval purposes, coals, iron, dye woods, bark for tanning, Pot. Ash, etc.—to the Cape of Good Hope and India, and return with such commodities as were required. “These encouragements would, we trust, ere many years have elapsed, enable us to bear such assessments, as would prevent the Colony from being so great a burthen to the Mother Country.” The case thus presented is surprisingly full of legitimate causes of complaint and well-reasoned throughout. In fact, all things considered, it may be taken as an able view of the then prevailing situation and of means to correct it, although, as it has been seen, circumstances later altered because of the onset of a drought, and the Colony was plunged again into a depression, and a renewed struggle for mere subsistence and survival, never at any time in the early settlement very far distant.

In a later article, in the issue of 6th March, 1813, of the *Gazette*, the question of currency and the need for self-sufficiency again arises, the problem this time being: “In the proportion that our population increases, until we can supply their place with productions of our own, so must our wants of imported commodities increase . . . and this must always draw away our payable money.” The prospects for the last few years had “opened in a degree exceeding all possible calculation.” Under the countenance of Government “some efforts (had) been made in manufacture; the more opulent (had) turned their attention to the improvement of the wool, from which we have a right to look forward to incalculable benefits; large capitals (had) been employed in oiling and furring, under the disadvantage of expensive outfits and the more forbidding risque of more insurance, but, such had been the spirit of adventure which peculiarly gifted the British Colonists of New South Wales,” that some progress had been made. But still more was required to be done in the general field of growing alternative crops, to enable the Colony to be self-sufficient and in promoting the growth of exports.

A surprisingly wide outlook is shown by “Atticus,” an anonymous contributor of three articles to the *Gazette* in September and October, 1817. (*S.G.*, 20th September, 1817; 27th September, 1817; 18th October, 1817.) The problem, as he saw it, summarized, was that “We have nothing here to fill up the immediate space between downright labour, *i.e.*, field or mechanical exercise, and downright poverty. We are as yet but as an infant scarcely out of arms . . . Materials must be grown before they can be manufactured . . . until we attain to a much higher degree of agriculture than at present, I cannot see where the means will come to establish manufactories . . . Our soil will produce tobacco in abundance, but, who attempts the cultivation of this expensive weed? . . . Yes, when it has been utterly scarce and as utterly dear, then the experiment has been made with the most flattering prospect of success, but remove the scarcity and high price, which alone is stimulated to the exertion, and then the tobacco of the Brazils sweeps away six or eight thousand pounds p.a. . . . We adhere with an obstinacy the most untoward to the culture of only two species of grain, the wheat and the maize, the one for the sustenance of man, the other for pigs and cattle, but what attention do we pay to the oat, barley or rye? . . . The fact is that bread and meat constitute the entire diet of most, I may say all of the labouring orders, and to the production of these the farmer confines himself, for throughout the Hawkesbury, a garden is rarely to be seen, and from the labour

of the field his men retire to their lodging house, without an effort or an inclination to procure additional comforts, so entirely within their reach . . . I think with the worthy Incola (another anonymous contributor to the *Gazette* concerned in the controversy), that the establishment of manufactories, that might promise a provision to our growing youth, would be truly desirable, but as nothing could be effected in this way without a capital, and few are desirous of embarking in projects which neither suit their taste nor promise a speedy return, I am fearful that we must for the present content ourselves with the contemplation of those benefits in perspective, which will doubtless in due time have a more cheerful approximation . . . Our male youth have become expert farmers, industrious labourers, sailors and sealers . . . that the extension of agriculture has in any state, colony or Kingdom occupied the first attention of its inhabitants' history informs me . . . but that we have performed any mighty feats in this way I repeat my objection to . . . Manufactories are not likely, because if we except the wool of our own fleeces, we must import the raw materials,—I (therefore) hope that attention may be given to the production of articles suited to our climate and which if either substituted in place of or given in exchange for goods would save considerable sums of money and be followed by advantages with which wealth arising out of industry rewards all exertions—Then our children will remember with gratitude their parents.”

Another interesting illustration may be taken from a further article in the *Gazette* of 13th January, 1816, issue, dealing with this same question of the employment of children, approaching adult age, as then arising in the Colony: “The population of the Colony has increased within itself in very ample proportion: the children are a little hardy race, and those up the country of both sexes are used to some employment or another about a farm from the very moment they are useful. Already there are several thousands of little labourers of this description—some engaged in attending a small flock, others a little herd of pigs, and, as they rise up, the hoe comes into their hands as a thing of course and a matter of choice, first, because they have no superior views and, secondly, because they are inured to labour and feel delight in an exertion to contribute to the support, the ease and the happiness of a family. Labourers of this class are daily accumulating, but in the course of five or six years more, we shall have much greater numbers than we can find employment for. This must necessarily reduce the price of labour and extend cultivation, but even then the whole will not be employed and an unprovided number must still remain. The Army, Navy and Merchant Service may dispose of many of the males, but what of the females? . . . The flax plantation has been successfully tried here—and would offer a pleasing prospect. The brother would till the field and plant the crops, while the sister would find employment at the spinning wheel, and manufactories of clothes would of necessity follow. Therefore, there is a necessity that, as a means of ensuring a tolerable share of comfort to the labouring orders, the manufactories should start.”

Considering all the views here put forward, it can be accepted that in the early Colony there was a clear realization that three things were necessary to ensure a stable economy, as apart from the great question of an adequate local market for all produce grown, and of the need for

the easing of restrictions on the existing export trade in oil and furs. The first was that some means or other were necessary to develop exports, whether these might be timber, coal, or similar raw materials, requiring only to be mined or gathered, or, again, some actual produce of the soil, which would prove suitable to the "climate," for it was taken for granted that if the Colony were to survive, it had to export; the second, the urgency of exploiting native resources, so displacing articles which otherwise would have to be imported, conserving specie and rendering imports, if made, cheaper, and so enhancing the local standard of living; the third, the need of finding some encouragement for a diversified farming, by the establishment of manufactures, which would use the raw materials thus grown, and at the same time absorb the surplus labour arising from the coming of age of the colonial-bred children. And is it not surprising, how very modern are these same considerations? The important thing to notice, however, is that the visionaries in the early Colony were years ahead of their time, their highly-flown ideas impossible to realize in the atmosphere of apathy and lethargy that characterised the early farming.

From the very beginnings of settlement in New South Wales, hopes had been held that the new country to be colonised would bring forth some article that would assist Great Britain's trade and commerce. For instance, even in the instructions that were given to Phillip (25th April, 1787), it was specifically required of him that he was to test out flax for such a purpose ⁽¹⁾. His Commissions are full of vague suggestions, but perhaps no better illustration of this vagueness and of the particular hopes in question can be put forward than by noting the reference to flax. He was told that: "It is, therefore, our will and pleasure that you do immediately upon your landing . . . proceed to the cultivation of the land . . . From the natural increase of corn and other vegetable foods from a common industry, after the ground has once been cultivated, as well as of animals, it cannot be expedient that all the convicts which accompany you should be employed only to the object of provisions. And as it has humbly been represented to us that advantage may be derived from the flax-plant which is found in the islands, not far distant from the intended settlement, not only as a means of acquiring clothing for the convicts and other persons who may become settlers, but from its superior excellence for a variety of maritime purposes, and as it may ultimately become an article of export, it is therefore our will and pleasure that you do particularly attend to its cultivation, and that you do send Home, by every opportunity which may offer, samples of this article, in order that a judgment may be formed whether it may not be necessary to instruct you further upon this subject" ⁽²⁾. The guess made by Banks had been that it was not to be doubted that a tract of land such as New Holland which was larger than the whole of Europe would "furnish matter of advantageous return" to the mother country ⁽³⁾. Matra, also, in his proposals of 23rd August, 1783, preceding, had envisaged an immense tract of land with every variety of soil, and a diversity of climate, which made it probable that the products of both temperate and tropical zones would be produced ⁽⁴⁾. Matra, indeed, in his plan, had thought of the new land as a place where American loyalists, ruling as a caste over a colony of coloured peoples, would extend the woollen trade to Japan and Korea, trade with the Spice Islands,

and perhaps enter into other enterprises as well, which, however, could not be actually foreseen until the Colony was safely established ⁽⁵⁾. There is something prophetic for the future many-sided Australian agriculture in the miscellaneous collection of plants and seeds, which Phillip the pioneer collected at Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope, on the voyage out to New South Wales. It would seem that everything was to be given a trial to find what would best suit the new country ⁽⁶⁾. There were Coffee plants and seeds, Cocoa in the nut, Cotton seed, Banana plants, Oranges of different varieties, Guana seeds, Tamarind, Prickly Pear with Cochineal attaching to it, Eugenia, Ipecacuanha of three sorts, Jalap, Fig trees, Bamboo, Spanish Reed, Sugar Cane, various sorts of Vines, Quince, Apple, Oak, Myrtle and Pear trees, and even the Strawberry. The first planting of these was a momentous and even heroic occasion, when, as Collins describes the scene, "Some ground having been prepared, near His Excellency's house on the east side, the plants were safely brought on shore, and the new settlers soon had the satisfaction of seeing the grape, the fig, the orange, the pear and the apple, those delicious fruits of the old, taking root and establishing themselves in the new world" ⁽⁷⁾. The prospects were then hopeful but uncertain.

Even though their guesses, as to the time it would take, were quite wide of the mark, there was some reasoning behind the calculations of the planners. The things which they overlooked was the endless task-work of clearing, the many-sided problems of transport and communications, the time which it would take to acquire trained personnel, the years of trial and error to find what was best suited to the potential resources of the Colony, and such ordinary, but, in fact, fundamental considerations, as freights, risks, insurances, capital investments, and above all markets. Moreover, two great issues were to arise in the Colony, which would divert attention, in the years to come, from mere agriculture and its experiments. The first was wool, and the second gold. Only, when both of these had been exhaustively explored, would increasing attention come to be paid by the ordinary run of agriculturists to other and alternative avenues of wealth, though some would dabble here and there with new crops over the years between.

In the years prior to 1821, there was no general recognition of the fact that fine wool would provide the staple that the Colony was seeking, as the answer to its problem. This realization was held only by those with capital to invest, and by the more intelligent elements in the community. The farmers, on the whole, were more concerned with the marketing of their grain, their debts, and with escape from their creditors. The interest in a diversified farming and trade was there, nevertheless, though the first problem of growing enough to feed itself and of stabilizing markets, was accepted by the Colony as the first one to be overcome, in token of its continued expansion. Not until the early 1820's would the new settlers come to scorn at mere farming, and turn post haste to the sales to buy four-footed money spinners, and so ensure for themselves, as the general idea seemed to be, immediate and certain wealth. Noting these facts, it may be convenient to summarize the position as it stood, when Wentworth wrote the second edition of his book on the Colony in 1820.

By now (1820), the complaints are of the "present low prices of wool . . . confessedly the effect of a universal stagnation of commerce . . . (affecting) the staple export of the Colony" and of "markets being glutted with every sort of merchandise" ⁽⁸⁾. A considerable commerce was being carried on with England, the East Indies and China, but there was scarcely any article of export to offer in return for the various commodities supplied by these countries ⁽⁹⁾. The money being expended by the Government in the support of the convicts and the pay of the civil and military establishments, had been the main source from which the colonists were deriving the means of procuring those articles of "foreign growth and manufacture that were indispensable to civilized life." The colonists, at long last, had a staple export in view, which was rapidly increasing, and which promised in a few years to suffice for all their wants and to render them quite independent of the "miserable pittance . . . which is . . . afforded them by the expenditure of government." There could be no doubting that "the supply of fine wool which the parent country will before long receive from the Colony, will amply repay her for the care and expense she has bestowed on it during the protracted period of its helpless infancy" ⁽¹⁰⁾. The exports in the previous year (1819) had been very limited, amounting only to £10,000, but it was certain that they would increase. Apart from wool, however, there was tobacco. This ought to be the "next object of internal consumption (the first being spirits) to which the Government ought to direct the attention of the colonists" ⁽¹¹⁾. The annual imports of this article from the United States and Brazil could not be estimated at less than £5,000. It came from abroad and therefore "prohibition of its import would not affect the Empire." Its growth should, then, be encouraged, first, for home consumption and, then, for export. Again, there were the staples of hemp, flax and linseed ⁽¹²⁾. Government had not paid any attention to these, and it was suggested that it should. Finally, considering the last two remaining articles of possible export, the vine and the olive, the way had been shown by John Macarthur who had "afforded the greatest facilities . . . to their general culture" ⁽¹³⁾. It was thought that "one of the most efficacious measures that could be adopted would be, perhaps, the establishment of a colonial plantation in which a certain number of the more enterprising youths might be instructed in their culture and preparation" ⁽¹⁴⁾. By a combination of such means, the colonists would be able to "procure in sufficient abundance those foreign commodities which long habit had rendered indispensable" ⁽¹⁵⁾.

These, then, were the principal measures which appeared essential to Wentworth, when combined with other recommendations that he was making, for the rejuvenation of the colonial agriculture and to secure its succeeding prosperity. But, moreover, as concerning the somewhat related trade and commerce of the colony, there were various restrictions which "had injudiciously fettered . . . enterprise," and had reacted unfavourably to the Colony's development. There were, first of all, the high duties levied upon sandalwood, pearl shells, beche-de-mer, sperm oil, black whale and other oils, whether intended for home consumption or export ⁽¹⁶⁾. It was absurd that they should be levied on exports, and questionable, even, that they should be enforced on articles imported into the Colony itself. Again, had

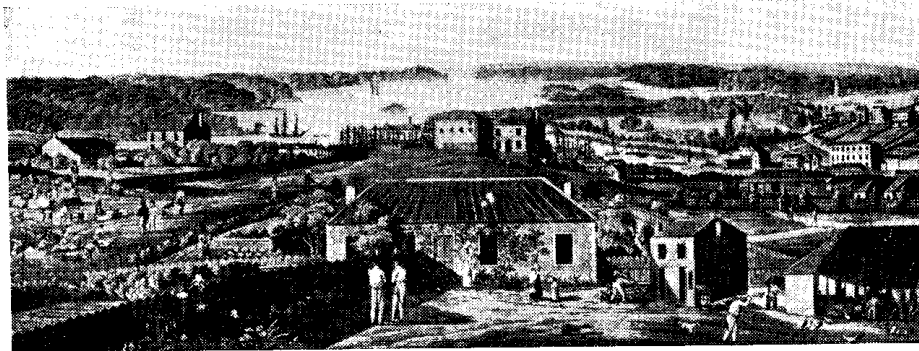
it not been for the duties on coal and lumber, "some hundreds of tons of these valuable natural productions might well have been exported annually to the Cape of Good Hope and India, since the vessels which had been in the practice of trading between these countries and the Colony had always returned in ballast" (¹⁷). But, of all these duties, those that were levied in England on the whale oils imported from New South Wales were discriminatory, and much higher than those placed on oil obtained from Newfoundland. The tariff was prohibitive. Accordingly, all attempts to export oil to England "had been for many years abandoned, notwithstanding the good fishery grounds of the River Derwent for Right Whales." The trade could only be "maintained at a dead loss," because of the East India Company's Trade monopoly (¹⁸).

Having thus sketched the essential considerations connected with this problem of exports and self-sufficiency some examination should now be made of the experiments that were tried in the early Colony in the years up to 1821, both in trade and agriculture. There is much that could be written, for instance, on the trading ventures of Simeon Lord, and a good deal more on other such fascinating stuff of early New South Wales history, but this would be outside the scope of this study. Some brief mention must, however, be made of the early sealing and whaling industry, in order to render some completeness to the narrative for, as it has been seen, considerations of oil, wool and other produce were connected together in the minds of the colonists themselves. Very briefly, and as an introduction to the succeeding chapter on sheep and fine wool, this continued search for an export staple may be examined.

Whaling, Sealing and Trade Restrictions. (¹⁹)

The first whaling experiments were made off the Australian coast in 1791, by five vessels of the third fleet, which had been engaged in transporting convicts to New South Wales (²⁰). The vessels had intended going to the Brazilian Coast, but lingered because of the fishing prospects. Captain Melville of the *Britannia*, one of the ten ships in the fleet, had reported that, between Van Diemens Land and Port Jackson, "I saw more whales at one time around my ship than in the whole of the six years which I have fished the coast of Brazil." No one doubted that the whales were there and that it was only the accident of storms that prevented good fishing. The first ventures were, however, unsuccessful, and the captains were discouraged, deciding to go to Peru. Phillip thought they had been too easily put off, for were there not storms on the American Coast as well as on the New South Wales coast. By the year 1803, nevertheless, whaling had developed into an industry (²¹). The fishing grounds extended from the Australian coast to the waters of the north-east of New Zealand. In July, 1803, Governor King ordered the establishment of a settlement in Van Diemen's Land, since Van Diemen's Land rather than New South Wales, had by then, become the headquarters of southern whaling fleets. Hobart Town was not only the home port for a large number of local whaling vessels but, also, "a great station for the refitting of whaling ships of foreign nationalities" (²²). Both Sydney and the Derwent were base headquarters for lucrative enterprise, but, the fact was that considerable capital was required to fit out a whaling fleet, and the enterprise for this reason was largely in other hands than those of the colonists themselves.

Sealing, also, was bound up with these first glimmerings of a profitable export trade. In fact, seal skins and elephant oil were the first articles of export to be produced by the colonists (²³). Far more enterprise, states Greenwood, was displayed by the Sydney residents in the prosecution of sealing than in the whale fishery (²⁴). This was probably due to the smaller amount of capital required to fit out a sealing expedition. Small vessels could take parties of sealers to various spots on the coast, known to be the resort of seals, and leave them there with provisions until they had obtained an adequate supply of skins. As early as 1791, King wrote in a letter that "as this (sealing) is the most considerable among the very few natural products of the Colony that can be esteemed commercial and as they will always be received in China, I have, and shall encourage that pursuit as much as possible to those who may be



THE ENTRANCE TO PORT JACKSON (1823).

The original of this beautiful engraving was a broad panoramic canvas painted by Major James Taylor. Major Taylor, of the 48th Northamptonshire Regiment, arrived in Sydney on 9 August, 1817, and was stationed at Sydney and Parramatta. He eventually succeeded to the command of his regiment through the death of Colonel Erskine which occurred at Sydney in the early part of 1825. His regiment was in due course transferred to India and he departed from Sydney on 5 March, 1824. He died at Bellary, in India, on 10 August, 1829. Whilst at Sydney, Major Taylor painted a broad panoramic view of the town as it then was. It was on reproduction divided up into three views and published in August, 1823. One of these views is here shown.

Various landmarks can be distinguished from this plate. In the foreground the two officers and their ladies are standing in the garden of the Medical Officers' Quarters. Convict servants are shown at work. In the upper centre of the photograph is the Watch-house and to its left we see Fort Macquarie with its battlements, observation tower and flagpole. In the top right-hand segment of the photograph the stables of Government House are set in a surrounding of trees, a carriage being shown driving through the grounds of the Governor's domain to the official residence. In the top right-hand corner appear the Palmer and Cable windmills. Below the windmills and from left to right are the guard-house, Colonial Secretary's Office, Colonial Secretary's Residence and the home of the Chief Justice, all with neatly patterned gardens. The three-storied windowed house facing what is now Macquarie Place is the imposing mansion of Simeon Lord which at this time was the finest privately owned residence in the Colony. The obelisk nearby, in the centre of radiating pathways, is the same monument which still stands in Macquarie Place. The foreshores of the Harbour on the left of the picture show Milson's Point, off which a ship is anchored, then Kirribilli Point, whilst the most distant point is Bradley's Head. Pinchgut Island is also seen. The sandstone with which the public buildings of the time were largely built is being excavated and cut in the left foreground by a gang of convicts working under overseers.

(By courtesy of the Mitchell Library.)

industrious among the inhabitants" (²⁵). Some progress was made in the industry, as with whaling, but it is chiefly with the effect of restrictions on trade, and the results of these on the progress and outlook of the Colony, that this argument must be concerned.

As apart from considerations such as lack of capital, freights, risks and insurance, restrictions imposed by the British Government hampered both industries. The Charter of the East India Company gave it the exclusive privilege of trading between the Cape of Good Hope, eastward to the Strait of Magellan (²⁶). The Company's sphere of influence had been defined in 1600, before any part of Australia had been marked upon maps of the world (²⁷). This meant that a British vessel trading with the New South Wales Colony, became an interloper and infringed the Company's monopoly. The harmful results of the charter were felt both by the colonists and by the Home trader. The colonists were prevented from going to the eastern markets, either to sell the products of the fishery or to obtain merchandise for sale at Sydney. Moreover, the Company saw to it that these restrictions were enforced. For this reason, each governor appointed to New South Wales was given strict instructions to prevent every sort of intercourse "between the Colony and the settlements of our East India Company, as well as the Coasts of China and the islands situated in that part of the world to which any Intercourse has been established by any European nation" (²⁸). To ensure the observance of these regulations no boat of any sort was to be built in the Colony for the use of private individuals. Then again, British merchants were not permitted to send out cargoes to New South Wales. Perhaps not many were eager to despatch vessels solely for the purpose of supplying New South Wales' wants, but the issue was that the rise of the fishery made the British whaling firms eager to carry out an outward cargo for disposal at Sydney before going to the grounds. The original charter of the Company had been modified by the Act, "for further encouraging the southern whaling fisheries," which provided that it should be lawful for any ship or vessel employed in the southern whale fishery to operate to the eastward of the Cape and westward of Cape Horn, "any law, usage, or custom of the country notwithstanding," but such vessels were restrained from proceeding further north than the equator, and further east than 51° E. Long. (²⁹). Consequently, they could not fish off the coasts of Australia and New Zealand and they could not carry merchandise. This regulation both forced the vessels to come out in ballast, and, as King observed, "deprived the inhabitants of the Colony of the advantage of purchasing the articles they might need from those ships at a moderate rate" (³⁰). Licenses were granted by the Company to masters of ships to convey goods to New South Wales, on a bond being given that the goods would be landed there, but vessels with a lesser registered measurement than 350 tons were excluded, and unlicensed ships were occasionally seized by the Company (³¹). This had the effect that oil, seal skins and other miscellaneous articles imported into England, were liable to seizure as "exports from a prohibited area," since they infringed the Company's charter (³²). The whaling firms were not content to be subject to these restrictions and they petitioned the government for the privilege to carry out goods to New South Wales (³³). This attitude was supported by officials in the Colony, but some years elapsed before a relaxation of the restrictions was brought about, for the Company consistently

opposed any extension of privileges to the New South Wales colonists and, indeed, sought by every means in its power to throttle their early trading ventures ⁽³⁴⁾.

Naturally enough, under these conditions, the foreign trade of New South Wales was the plaything of speculators and non-British whalers and sealers. For the first twenty years of settlement, in actual fact, it was almost entirely confined to the United States ⁽³⁵⁾. Before 1800, thirteen United States vessels had entered Port Jackson (two of them twice), while between 1800 and 1809, as many as thirty-three vessels visited Sydney. Some were whalers and sealing ships, the captains of which desired to use the port for purposes of refitting and refreshment, while others were merchant vessels which came in the hope of making a profitable speculation. The majority of the purely trading ships were bound for the China market and made Sydney a port of call in the hope of profiting through the Colony's want of supplies, which at times was considerable. This lack of supplies was not due to ignorance on the part of the Home authorities, for every governor was accustomed to send Home urgent requests for more frequent cargoes. When these did not arrive, supplies had, necessarily, to be purchased from chance callers. "When driven," wrote Hunter, "through necessity to purchase from speculators and traders who sometimes call here, we pay more than 500 per cent, above what the same article could be sent out for" ⁽³⁶⁾. The visits made to the Colony by American trading vessels, up to the year 1800, were voyages of speculation. Cargoes were despatched on the assumption of scarcity within the Colony, and the fact that the speculations continued is sufficient evidence that these assumptions were well founded. The trade was completely one-sided, consisting solely of American imports, since the Colony in the first fifteen years of settlement, had no products of its own to barter ⁽³⁷⁾. All goods purchased by the Government were paid for by bills drawn on the British Treasury. These proved acceptable to the Americans and were honoured by the British Government. Inter-course with foreigners had been strictly forbidden in the instructions to the Governors, so the American trade was in a sense an illegal one, but scarcity of supplies forced first Phillip and then his successors to relax the restrictions and permit purchases from American vessels ⁽³⁸⁾. No doubt, this trade did something to create in Sydney a class of merchants distinct from the officer monopolists of the earlier period. One of the pioneers had been Simeon Lord who, with others on 13th January, 1800, had presented a petition to Governor Hunter asking for the right to buy goods from the "Minerva." The request was granted and the decision proved the "thin edge of the wedge which broke up the business monopoly that the officers of the New South Wales Corps and other officials so long enjoyed with great profit to themselves" ⁽³⁹⁾. Several colonists took the opportunity afforded by the concession to embark in various branches of trade. Just prior to Macquarie's arrival in 1809, the existence of a merchant class was sufficiently noticeable for Paterson to make mention of the fact in a despatch to Castlereagh. In that year he reported that the exertions of the colonists were no longer confined solely to agriculture ⁽⁴⁰⁾. Individual settlers were beginning to desire something of the comforts and luxuries of life, a demand that had given rise to another class. Some men, for example, Simeon Lord, in order to overcome

the effects of the East India Company's monopoly charter, had endeavoured to establish an indirect trade with the East through American co-operation.

The outbreak of the Anglo-American war, however, brought these trade relations between the United States and the New South Wales settlement to a close. The conclusion of the war in December, 1814, did not lead to a resumption of the commercial intercourse of the earlier period. This was due, states Greenwood, to several factors⁽⁴¹⁾. First, the break made by the years of war acted as a set-back from which trade did not easily recover. Secondly, the removal of the restrictions on British commerce, in 1813, enabled the Colony's wants to be supplied from England. By this bill of Lord Liverpool, the Government acquired control over the Company's commercial transactions⁽⁴²⁾. The Company's monopoly was limited to China, and the New South Wales trade was removed from the Company's jurisdiction. This meant that the Americans had to face formidable competition and were, correspondingly, less certain of an assured market. Lastly, New South Wales was becoming more stable in itself, with the result that the British Government believed that a stage had been reached at which the Navigation Laws respecting Colonial Commerce might be applied to the Colony. The application of those laws to New South Wales entailed the prohibition of foreign trade and a virtual cessation of commercial intercourse with the United States. The decision of the British Government to enforce the Navigation Laws in the Colony was conveyed to Macquarie by Bathurst on 11th December, 1815, Bathurst declaring that the general re-establishment of peace made it likely that the New South Wales ports would again be visited by foreign vessels. He, therefore, felt called upon to remind the Governor that the trade of foreign vessels with a British Colony was directly at variance with the Navigation Laws⁽⁴³⁾. Hitherto, he said, foreign trade had been tolerated "upon the plea of necessity." In the future, however, it could no longer be defended on that ground, since the Colony would, henceforth, "have the benefit of a more regular and free intercourse with the Mother Country, in consequence of the Act of Parliament which had given to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, a less restricted intercourse with the settlement in Eastern Seas." The further impediment to trade caused by the limitation in the size of vessels trading between England and New South Wales to ships of not less than 350 tons measurement was not, however, removed until 1819, when, by special Act of Parliament, it was provided that vessels without restriction of size might trade between any port of the United Kingdom and New South Wales⁽⁴⁴⁾.

Thus, in the years prior to 1820, it had taken almost thirty years of constant complaint by the colonists to have removed the major restrictions which hampered a colonial trade expansion and any real attempts at self-sufficiency. There is to be seen in this an extraordinary lack of understanding and sympathy on the part of the British Government for the small struggling Colony. When Bigge in 1822, came to make his report, the facts were that the restrictions upon the home trade of the Colony had been "trifling," in comparison to those "which had been experienced by the inhabitants in their attempts to engage in the whale fishery, in consequence of the heavy

duties imposed on the importation of train oil, blubber and spermaceti oil, into Great Britain, taken and wholly caught by H.M. . . . subjects, usually residing in a British plantation or settlement" (45). In distinction to the duties, levied on the New South Wales produce, of £24 18s. 9d. on Spermaceti oil and £8 8s. 0d. per ton on black whale oil, similar duties on Newfoundland oil were only 15s. 9d. and 10s. 6d. per ton, respectively (46). The trade had been a good one until ruined by the duties . . . "a more natural and profitable course of commercial employment, or one that was more advantageous to the inhabitants, could not have been devised." Accordingly, thought Bigge, "the repeal of the present duties . . . (would be) a measure that (could not) fail to be productive of lasting benefit to the Colony. From a general point of view, such relaxation would provide employment to a large proportion of native youths in the Colony, and inure them to habits of activity and enterprise, and as far as it regards the interests of commerce, it would add to the few means the Colony now or for some time will possess, of furnishing freight to the vessels that bring consignments of manufactured goods from Europe, or that are employed on the transportation of convicts."

The outlook of the settlers was of course clouded by these trade restrictions. It bred a dislike of foreign trade which is evident throughout the 1820's. Moreover, this dislike was reinforced by the then prevailing economic doctrine that purchases from foreigners paid for in specie were disadvantageous to Britain, because they meant that money went out of the Colony. They had the effect, also, of drawing attention to the one-sided nature of all New South Wales commerce and of the need for the Colony producing something itself which could be exported for the goods received. Some of these further attempts at self-sufficiency may be now considered.

Flax.

It is interesting to note that one of the first attempts made by Macquarie towards a more diversified farming, was in the direction of flax growing. An appeal to the colonists was published in August, 1810, and as it shows an insight into the prevailing outlook and an early bounty offering, the details should be observed (47): "His Excellency with a view to promote and encourage the Cultivation and Manufacture of Flax, offers as a Reward the following Premiums to such Cultivators as may engage in the Pursuit. (1st) That any Settler who shall cultivate the largest Quantity of Flax (not less than three Acres) and produce the best Quality, shall be entitled to a Cow, with a Calf by its side, not to exceed a month's Age. (2nd) That any Settler who shall approach the nearest to the greatest Quantity and Quality (but not less than Two Acres), shall be entitled to a Cow in Calf. (3rd) Second nearest in Quantity and Quality—(but not less than one acre)—a Heifer, not under eighteen months of age. (4th) That any Settler or other Person who shall produce the greatest Quantity and best Quality from the smallest Quantity of Ground (not less than Eighty Rods) shall be entitled to a cow-calf not under twelve months of age.—His Excellency pledges himself to all such Persons as may engage in the Pursuit, that he will furnish them with the Produce of the Manufacture in return for such Flax as they may deposit in the Public Factory, after the usual Conditions; and that there

shall be no Impediment or Delay in the Delivery thereof, more than the necessary Time requisite for the Manufacture of the same, and His Ex. . . . further engages that he will take from off the Hands of such Persons as may cultivate in larger Quantities, all the Surplus Quantity of Flax they may have, more than what will serve for their domestic Purposes; and that they will be indulged with his further Patronage and support, by allowing them Indented Servants, on the arrival of the first Ships which may bring male Convicts to the Colony . . . and as the seed of the Flax is become very scarce in the Colony the Governor strongly recommends to the Cultivators the Preservation of such as may be produced this Year and as a further Encouragement to the Cultivation thereof, he pledges himself that the Premiums shall continue to the end of Four years from this season."

Perhaps the attempt was premature. Bigge found that the "encouragement was so far effectual as to establish the practicability of raising flax of very good quality in the Colony," but the demand having been very limited at the period at which the bounties were offered, flax cultivation declined after the promising start that was made. In 1820 "no more (was being) grown than (was) sufficient for the supply of the shoemakers" (46).

Related to this local cultivation of flax, was the processing of New Zealand flax at Sydney. It was, just prior to 1820, attracting considerable attention, for the plant *Phormium Tenax* was available in quantity from New Zealand. A factory had been set up at Sydney by an emancipist named Williams, who, according to Bigge "(had) had infinite merit both in the invention and application of the machinery, by which he first was able to break the leaves of the plant in their grass state, and afterwards to dress it, and to manufacture it into rope and twine" (46). The plant had been introduced into New South Wales, but was not cultivated, although a few specimens were growing in the Government gardens at Sydney and Parramatta, affording abundant proof of the ease with which it might be cultivated should the demand for it grow. From such Flax, Williams had manufactured "every species of cordage except cables," of undoubted superiority in strength to the hemp of the Baltic, as was proved by attested experiments at Sydney, and by an experiment afterwards made under the direction of the Commissioner in the King's Yard at Deptford, England. Bigge, it would seem, had been particularly interested in Williams' work. As he was not able to ascertain whether New Zealand flax would "imbibe tar," he took some of the raw material with him to England on his return, where he had it made into rope, "by a very eminent manufacturer in London." It was then proved that the doubts he had held were unfounded, and that "the rope was as much and as easily affected by tar as rope made of the Baltic Hemp." Still not satisfied, he had it tested by the Navy. It was occasionally used on board one of the ships lying at Portsmouth and left immersed for long periods in salt water. It was found to lose its flexibility in the same way, though not to so great a degree as the small cordage used by the natives of New Zealand in fishing. The same piece of rope was used on a merchant ship on the Thames for lifting weights, and was found to have lost nothing of its strength, and to have regained its pliability. He was led to attach some degree of importance to the result of this experiment,

as a different opinion had been expressed by the officers of the Chatham Dock Yard, to whom an examination of the strength of another piece, made from New Zealand flax, had been referred previously in 1818.

To the Commissioner, there was here an opportunity for some commercial adaptation of colonial raw material. Particularly useful for naval purposes was the Phormium Tenax grown in New Zealand, because of the great length of the leaves. The only thing in doubt was its capacity for resisting salt water. In its application to all other purposes, whether naval or domestic, the specimens produced by Williams at his factory at Sydney amply demonstrated the superiority of the New Zealand produce. When to this was added Williams' discovery of treating it in its green state, Bigge thought that "it (might) be ranked as one of the most valuable productions that the soil of New South Wales (was) capable of producing" ⁽⁵⁰⁾. Because the supply of flax from New Zealand had been so small and no attempt had been made to commercially grow it in New South Wales, its use in manufacture had not been extensive, but there were, now, good reasons "to render it an object worthy of every encouragement by the local government of New South Wales." With this object in view, he recommended that a certain number of convicts should be employed in planting the New Zealand flax, at Government farms in New South Wales, and that a negotiation should be immediately entered into with Williams for "the communication of his invention of the machine for the breaking of the flax, and by giving him every encouragement in the purchase of rope made by him from that material for the use of the colonial vessels." The Commissioner closed his reference to this new avenue of enterprise by concluding that: "It is by assistance rendered in this manner, and by the application, on a small scale at first, of a portion of the great means that exist in the hands of the local government in New South Wales for the development of the resources of the Colony, that the expenses incurred for the support of the convicts may ultimately be transferred from the hands of Government to those of individuals, and that articles of export may be formed, by which the real prosperity of the inhabitants may be promoted" ⁽⁵¹⁾.

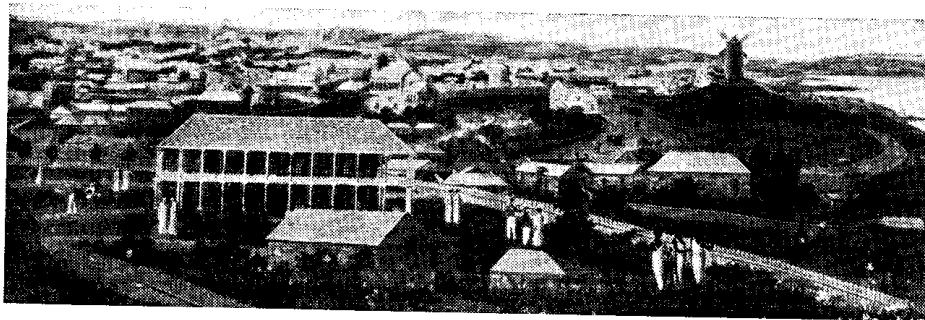
It is sufficient to note that flax-growing in the years following 1821 was lost sight of in the general pastoral development of the 1820's. With a profitable market opening up for wool, the earlier hopes for flax, linseed and other minor crops were submerged.

Local Manufactures.

It should not be thought, however, that either the British Government or its Commissioner was particularly anxious for the Colony to become self-sufficient in its manufactures. The Colony was viewed in quite a different light. Bigge stated the case quite clearly: "As I do not conceive that it is consistent with the policy by which this country has always been guided to encourage in any other colonies, however distant, the establishment and growth of manufactures; and as the association that is necessarily produced by manufactures, or any difficult mechanical operation conducted in them, is always found to diminish the effect of penal restraint, I think that no encouragement should be given, in the shape of convict labour and skill, to such manufactures as interfere with either object, or that require a number of men to be confined to one spot" ⁽⁵²⁾. He had, however, little to fear. The manufactures

carried on in the Colony were mostly confined to hats, coarse cloths, blankets and woollen stockings⁽⁵³⁾. These had been started by the enterprising Simeon Lord, to whom the Colony was "much indebted." Lord's factory had been established at Botany Bay, about six miles from Sydney, where he employed a certain number of convicts and from fifteen to twenty colonial boys. The price of the best quality cloth that he produced was sold at 15s. per yard, and a "considerable quantity" was disposed of to the settlers both in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land. Lord, also, had two manufactories of hats at Sydney, in which a "considerable number" of the coarser quality hats were made. These were locally sold at much lower prices, but were not as durable as hats of English make. Lord had some competition in this trade of his, arising from the fact that settlers on their own properties, were able to employ convict weavers, "so many of whom (had) been transported to the Colony within the last five years." The Commissioner could see no objections to the continuance of this home production of cloths, blankets or hides, since he thought that it afforded useful employment to convict weavers and tanners as well as being equally beneficial to the settlers⁽⁵⁴⁾.

In addition to these cloth, hat and blanket factories, a "tannery of considerable extent (had) been established at Sydney by a person who (had) exclusively devoted himself to it," whilst there were others "conducted by individuals in the country for their own consumption, or by means of the convict labourers, who (had) a knowledge of the



SYDNEY—SOUTH FROM WINDMILL HILL—1823.

This beautiful print is prepared from an engraving which itself was taken from a panoramic painting of Sydney made by a Major James Taylor in 1823.

The verandahed building occupying with its outhouses the whole of the foreground in this engraving, is the Military Hospital. One of early Sydney's most famous landmarks is the windmill on the right which was used for crushing grain. On the site where once this windmill daily functioned there now stands the Grosvenor Hotel. In the far right-hand top corner may be distinguished a two-storied residence which was Dr. Harris' "Ultimo House." St. Philip's Church, with its round tower, is shown in the upper centre of the engraving, above and to the right of the Military Hospital. The barrack-like buildings which are shown on a line between the windmill and St. Philip's Church are the Wynyard Square Barracks. In the top left-hand segment of the engraving, Sydney Hospital in Macquarie Street is shown. To the right of this hospital the Assistant Medical Officer's quarters, which later became the Mint, are drawn. The building shown on the engraving to the left of Sydney Hospital is the Principal Medical Officer's quarters, which was later to become Parliament House.

(By courtesy of the Mitchell Library.)

trade" (⁵⁵). The bark of one particular species of wattle (mimosa) had been successfully used in these tanneries, but, although the tanning was quite effective—in fact, being superior to the young oak bark tanning of England in the proportion of 57: 39—unfortunately it imparted a reddish tinge to the leather." Moreover, though found in the interior in great abundance and "observed to spring up spontaneously in places where the surface of the earth (had) been lately touched with fire," the wattle was scarce in the neighbourhood of Sydney and Parramatta. An attempt had even been made in Van Diemen's Land to reduce wattle bark to an extract and to ship it abroad as an export, but the costs had rendered it unprofitable. A few tons had been sent to England in an undressed state, but again, although "it was much approved," the price that it produced, £6 per ton, did not repay the expense of collection and freight. Generally, the local tanners, thought Bigge, had not had much experience in the trade. The quality of the leather accordingly suffered "from the expedition with which the process (was) conducted." The hides, also, were much reduced in value from the careless manner in which the cattle were slaughtered, and from the brands and marks being placed upon the most valuable part of the skin instead of the shoulders of the cattle (⁵⁶).

It is very interesting to note this complaint, so early in the Colony's history, of the harmful effects attending the local and potential export trade, arising from bad flaying and branding, for the complaints have continued over the ensuing one hundred years, and are constantly recurring even to-day. In order to overcome some of the disabilities which to him were evident and so stabilize the leather industry, the Commissioner recommended that no persons should be permitted to open up tanneries unless licensed to do so. A considerable fee of £20 was to be charged for such a licence, which would tend to defray the costs of inspection, which would be much after the same system as adopted in England under the 39 and 40 Geo. III c 66, enactments (⁵⁷). Furthermore, it was put forward that any butcher or other person, not being a convict, should be made liable to a penalty of 5s. on conviction before a magistrate, of wilfully or carelessly cutting the hides of cattle so as to damage them for leather making; the corresponding penalties for a convict being corporal punishment or one month's gaol with hard labour. Another source of loss to the developing leather trade was the fact that the cattle were being killed at too early an age. No improvement would come until such time as the beasts were allowed to fully mature and the cattle industry become more regular. But, of predominant importance, was the fact that the local leather tanned with wattle bark, because of its reddish colour, was not favourably looked upon, in competition with the neutral coloured English leather. If this disadvantage, however, could be overcome, thought Bigge, there were no reasons why its value might not be made equal to the best leather tanned in England (⁵⁸).

Of the pottery that had been established at Sydney, the Commissioner was able to say nothing that was favourable (⁵⁹). The ware was both badly manufactured and very dear. An attempt had been made by the Chief Engineer to employ some of the convicts at Sydney on pottery making, and, to this end, a proper furnace and buildings had been erected at the Brick Fields. Whilst the two principal workmen had proved quite skilful in the ornamental side of the business and had succeeded in producing some very good specimens of workmanship, the

plant was a failure because the pottery could not be glazed. It was recommended that further attempts at such industry should be discontinued and that efforts be concentrated upon producing the coarser and more useful kinds of pottery ware, which might afterwards be sold at some profit on account of government.

Salt works had been, also, established by John Blaxland on the Parramatta River, where a considerable quantity of colonial salt was made⁽⁶⁰⁾. Unfortunately, however, this salt was tainted. It contained "a bitter," which it was found impossible to satisfactorily remove. The salt continued to be used in the Colony for domestic purposes by "the lower orders of the inhabitants," but it was not able to maintain any competition with English imported salt.

Manufacturing on the whole in the primitive Colony was negligible. Even with fine wool, Bigge could not see that its manufacture was an object to be desired, considering it would be much more "conformable to its real interests," and "to the interchange of mutual benefits and the surest bond between two distant countries," that the Colony should continue to profit by the great natural advantage it possessed of "climate" and pastures, by remitting to England fine wool in its raw state and receiving in return the same or other produce in their manufactured state⁽⁶¹⁾. For many years, thereafter, this vision of Australia as a primary producer, receiving manufactured goods in return for its exports, held firm ground.

Trade and Some Other Attempts to Export.

The colonists did try their hand at trade. A few attempts were made at one stage through colonial-built vessels to supply the China and Batavia market with sandalwood, pearl shells and beche-de-mer, collected from the "Fejee" and Marquesas Islands, and to import cargoes of tea in return⁽⁶²⁾. The trade so started did not continue, firstly, because of trouble with the natives in these islands arising from brutalities and outrages perpetrated by the crews of the early trading vessels and, secondly, because of the competition of the Americans. The trade, by 1820, was a small-time affair, consisting in that which had been first opened up by the missionaries—the exchange of coconut oil and salt pork, for coarse cottons and iron ware. It was, for all practical purposes, confined to the missionaries, and directed by the Rev. Samuel Marsden, their agent at Sydney⁽⁶³⁾. Some hopes were being held in 1820, that by opening up a direct contact with the "King of Taheite," the natives there might be encouraged to grow sugar, cotton and coffee, and supply the New South Wales settlement with these goods. Considerable trouble had been met with, however, in New Zealand, where the natives had learnt to use firearms. Traders had fostered inter-tribal warfare by selling guns and ammunition. The position was such that no supplies of food would be given by the natives, not even to the missionaries, "without some concession to their prevailing love of vengeance and war"⁽⁶⁴⁾.

There were, in fact, few natural productions which traders could exploit in the Colony. The obvious one was, of course, timber⁽⁶⁵⁾. This had been used in the construction of small ships, though surely better timber could have been used than ironbark, black-butted gum, stringybark and cedar, the four species which had been selected and were considered the most useful, both for naval and domestic purposes,

being hard, heavy and durable. Some exports were, in fact, made to England of selected logs of stringybark, but it was found that the wood started in working, and shipbuilders were thus apprehensive of using it either in building or repairs. The unfortunate thing was that the largest trees in New South Wales were generally unsound, and their usefulness was practically confined to fencing and domestic purposes. Moreover, a duty of 1s. that, until almost 1820, had been imposed upon every solid foot of timber imported or brought into Port Jackson from any other harbour other than Newcastle or the Hunter River, had also operated unfavourably to the interests of the Colony for some time previous to its repeal. The ill-advised imposition of these duties had, as these things always do, encouraged convict labourers and sawyers to proceed to the nearest part of the coast at which cedar could be found and to smuggle it into the harbour. It, also, operated as an inducement to the convicts engaged in the lumber-yard at Sydney, to dispose of it illegally to receivers in the town. The consumption of cedar was so large as to encourage in Bigge's mind, at least, a well-grounded suspicion that this form of thieving was carried on to a great extent. All these factors—duties, the unsuitability of the timber for timber-working and the scarcity of the better quality types—prevented any worthwhile exploitation of the timber resources of the Colony. In later years, thousands of good quality cedar logs were left to rot, because no opening could be found for their sale or profitable usage ⁽⁶⁶⁾.

Every attempt at exports did, however, create a great deal of interest. When, in 1817, twenty-five young horses were shipped by the "Fame" to Batavia, on behalf of Messrs. Riley and Jones, the *Gazette* was gratified to learn of the matter ⁽⁶⁷⁾. This was particularly so, for the same merchants had shipped away to England, about the same time, two hundred bales of superior wool, valued at about £7,000-£8,000. Hides, also, had been included in the cargo, but it was not expected that these would prove profitable because of the carelessness of the butchers in their flaying. A second speculation was later made with horses to Batavia, but there is no evidence that the trade was further continued ⁽⁶⁸⁾. An attempt was made to ship flour to the Cape of Good Hope, but it proved a dead loss and no further efforts were made ⁽⁶⁹⁾. Hopes were held out that salt meat might also be tried, but no suitable opportunities were offered, at least before 1820. About the middle of 1820, a shipment of meat from the Derwent gave opportunity for the *Gazette* to enlarge upon this possibility of an export trade in meat, looming up in the future ⁽⁷⁰⁾. The meat had been shipped from Hobart and, on first opening, looked of superior quality. Beneath the top layers, however, it was found that the bulk of the casks consisted of rubbish, such as bones and hooves. It was a glaring case of imposition, and the *Gazette* expressed the hope that colonial exporters in New South Wales would be very careful not to attempt malpractices, for fear that a promising source of trade would be imperilled. Coal was exported as a speculation to both Batavia and Calcutta, but apparently with small success ⁽⁷¹⁾.

A probable reason for the irregularity of these attempts at overseas trading, as apart from the contingent risks and costs involved, was the uncertainty over the Navigation Regulations. It remained for Bigge to explain that it was competent for British vessels to make distinct voyages between places within the limits of the East India Company's

charter, and to carry on trade without reference to their original voyage (⁷²). The interpretation of a doubtful passage in one of the Acts dealing with the Company's jurisdiction had prevented, or rather discouraged, British vessels, even when protected by a licence from the Company, from trading between New South Wales and Java. But, though it was competent for English vessels of more than 350 tons to freely trade in this way, it was confined to such ships, for the lifting of restrictions on ship tonnages in trade between Great Britain and New South Wales did not give permission for such vessels to trade between the Colony and, for example, Java (⁷³). The fact was, however, that the Colony did not possess any of the bigger ships, and this trade expansion to the north of Australia was denied to speculators and to the twelve commercial houses established at Sydney. The loss of this trade, as far as it related to Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope and Java, was of particular importance to the colonial interests, for it was in these directions that the first efforts of its commercial marine tended to turn. Small vessels from Mauritius had, in fact, traded with the Colony and brought cargoes of sugar and spirits which they exchanged for wheat, but no reciprocal action was possible. Bigge concluded that it would be a very desirable thing for the colonists to open up such a two-way trade. There was no doubting that this would interfere with the privileges of the Company and possibly enlarge the openings for convicts to escape but, nevertheless, the advantages would outweigh the disadvantages.

One other internal trade, within the Colony, was that carried on between Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales. Van Diemen's Land supplied wheat, salted meat and potatoes; the sister Colony merchandise, local manufactures and, at other times, foodstuffs as well (⁷⁴). Between 1815 and 1820, Van Diemen's Land shipped to Sydney a total of 107,664 bushels of wheat and 492 casks of meat. It is rather interesting to note that not a little jealousy was evidenced by the New South Wales colonists, in regard to the preference shown by incoming free settlers to farm in the south. There is a reference by Sir John Jamison to this fact in one of his presidential addresses to the Agricultural Society, and another in an article in the *Gazette* (May 17th, 1822). Perhaps the point can be best made by quotation from this issue of the *Gazette*: "In consequence of the preference that has been generally evidenced by emigrants from Europe in favour of the Southern Settlements (Hobart and Port Dalrymple), Van Diemen's Land has been populated, particularly within the last year, by free settlers, that it will no longer remain as a matter of chance whether New South Wales or its dependencies shall obtain the preference. . . . This circumstance has for some time been contemplated as the natural and inevitable result of the predilection that has almost invariably manifested itself on behalf of the Southern island. We do not pretend to say that the choice has been unhappy, quite the contrary. Australia must, therefore, now be rapidly visited with accessions of respectability and opulence; and Van Diemen's Land will no doubt rejoice in a Parent's increasing welfare. Prosperity appears swiftly to have crowned the exertions of the Southern settlements. Perhaps it is not altogether sufficiently established as a fact, that the interior of New Holland yields in no instance to the excellence and richness of the soil of our sister Island."

Apparently, the port of Sydney was avoided whenever possible, at least by English ships engaged in whaling, because of certain inconveniences relating to harbour control and high port duties. And like all large shipping ports it had, by 1820, other disadvantages as well, such as temptations to dissipation, endless causes of detention of sailors from overseas ships and open opportunities for desertion⁽⁷⁵⁾. Sydney was already big and important enough to require a naval station for protection and defence. Fees totalling £21 10s. od. for a ship of 500 tons were charged, even on those vessels entering the harbour for refreshment only. Sydney had little enough to offer them. The only regular place for obtaining water was at the tanks that had been excavated by Governor King. These tanks were neither deep nor capacious and, moreover, supervision was so lax that the water was often dirty. To the shipping they afforded very slight accommodation, owing to their distance from the shore and the risks involved in the dispersion of sailors, when employed in filling their water casks. The alternatives were to obtain water supplies from a farm on the north side of the harbour, but, in the summer, the supply was precarious. All told, Bigge thought that there was nothing in the past or present supplies of water and timber that justified a charge being made for them, and his opinions were that the dues should be lifted, or else that something should be done to build a quay at the foot of the present Pitt-street, which would provide both wharves and a freely available water supply directly on the harbour's edge⁽⁷⁶⁾.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages of the port, a considerable foreign trade had developed over the years up to 1820. From Bengal came sugar, spirits, soap and cotton goods; from Canton, tea, sugar-candy, Chinese silks and clothing, made up in China from imported English fabrics; from Europe, iron and hardware goods, cottons, millinery, wines, porter, cheese and salted provisions⁽⁷⁷⁾. Of these, some were of course impossible to locally produce within the Colony, but importations of tobacco, spirits, sugar and even tea, were long-viewed unfavourably, the colonists debating why these should not be equally as well produced in New South Wales, and convinced that prohibition of spirit importations and the erection of local distilleries was the one hope for agricultural stabilization. These notions of economic self-sufficiency were in the way of being an "idee fixe," constantly recurring over the whole fifty years of early settlement.

Self-sufficiency Concepts.

The four items of tobacco, spirits, tea and sugar were those which balanced the rations of both rich and poor in the settlement. They were the luxuries, the "property" given as rewards or payments in lieu of money wages. The dependence of everybody on them magnified their importance, for by 1820 they had long ceased to be luxuries; now they were the necessities of civilized life." It was but natural that, seeing the profitable trade accruing to overseas planters and growers in constant highly-lucrative sales to the Colony, the settlers themselves should have long debated the possibility of local productions to displace them. Tobacco in the 1820's was grown, local distillation of spirits was established subsequent to the departure of Macquarie, sugar growing was attempted later at Port Macquarie, but tea is not

yet a production of the Australian continent. There was much that was sound in all this reasoning. Time was to later prove it so. Accordingly, some attention should be now paid to these ideas, as they first developed.

(1) *Tea*. By 1820, tea was a constant accompaniment of the meals of the lower and middle classes of the inhabitants of the Colony. Because of the fact that it had come to be adopted as a part of the daily ration of the Government-employed convicts, its consumption was considerable. The tea used in the Colony came from both India (Bengal) and China⁽⁷⁸⁾. Bengal tea was subject to greater expense in freightage. The trade was firmly in the hands of importing merchants at Sydney. There were endless complaints by these merchants that they were unable to trade direct with either country, and particularly of the interference caused by American interests in Canton and the Isle of France. The effects of this interference, whilst bad for the merchants, was for the general good of the colonists in that it reduced prices to a material degree and often led to a glutting of the local markets. In the earlier years of monopoly trading, enormous profits had been taken from tea imports, but by 1820 these were fast disappearing. Somewhat half-heartedly men like Atkinson and Cunningham put forward suggestions, in the early 1820's, that perhaps its culture could be attempted in the Colony, or substitutes found⁽⁷⁹⁾. Cunningham refers to the fact that the leaves of the tea-tree had furnished the Colonists with a substitute for the genuine plant in the early days. The tea-tree contained a saccharine matter requiring no sugar. In Van Diemen's Land, Burnet seed served as a similar substitute for tea. Generally speaking, however, whilst there might have been some point in attempting to break down an overseas-local merchant monopoly, in the early years of the Colony's history, an increasing expansion of trade, from 1820 onwards, automatically lowered prices and maintained supplies on an even keel. Whilst this remained so, home cultivation of the plant, even if its culture and processing had been effective, would not have been profitable.

(2) *Tobacco*. An idea of the general feeling in regard to tobacco in the later Macquarie settlement can be gained from an article in the *Gazette* of 2nd January, 1819, issue: "The Brazil tobacco . . . landed . . . is generally of a very good sort, and it is impossible to conceive how much the labouring orders in this country who use tobacco in the proportion of at least eight-tenths or nine-tenths have been relieved by the supply. A few individuals who had large quantities had already begun to sell at a dollar a lb. ; and in three weeks or a month had the Tottenham's not been landed, the preposterous price of 20s. per lb. would probably have been demanded. Monopoly and exorbitancy are fellow travellers, and while the public were aware that a few warehouses were well stocked, yet they must have submitted to pay whatsoever price should be demanded, because the commodity was confined to a few hands. So, also, with other articles of approaching scarcity; but tea, sugar, rum and tobacco are the chief articles of prudential speculation. The Tottenham's tobacco was sold at 2s. 4d. per lb., including port duty of 6d. per lb., and thence the labouring classes who are its chief consumers derive the advantage of having the article at one-sixth the price which they would now have to pay for it. To working people who accustom themselves to its use, it is not a

luxury or a superfluity which can be dispensed with. If not an actual necessity, (it is) a comfort; as (an) antiscorbutic . . . (it) defends the gums; as a pectoral (it) vies with the finest lozenge; (it is) a friendly solace to farmer and fisherman . . . (and) it frequently supplies the place of provender."

From the earliest days, tobacco was largely used in the Colony, at most times being the plaything of speculators and thus subject to extraordinary fluctuations in prices. As early as 1805, at a time when Brazilian tobacco was scarce and dear, the *Gazette* had suggested that some enterprising colonist should attempt to manufacture leaf tobacco "agreeable to the mode made use of at the Brazils" (*S.G.*, 20th January, 1805). The idea was that proficiency would grow with practice and the local manufacturer might, in time, supply the wants of the settlers. Nothing much was done, however, in the years of Macquarie rule, and supplies continued to be maintained chiefly from North and South America. Some time previous to 1820, the plant had been introduced and sparingly cultivated, but with no profit, because at that stage no one knew how to effectively dry and cure it ⁽⁸⁰⁾. A small duty of 6d. per lb. on all tobacco imported into Sydney was fixed in 1818, but this was not in the nature of a protective device. Nevertheless, the hopes for its successful cultivation were long held.

In 1820, tobacco that had been planted at Emu Plains farm under the direction of Fitzgerald, the emancipist superintendent, was dried and cured by "a person conversant in the trade" ⁽⁸¹⁾. This coincided with a period when imported tobacco was scarce in the colony. The local produce was sold in the Colony on the part of government at 4s. per lb. Bigge in his inquiries was very much impressed with the potentialities of New South Wales for its cultivation, both on account of its climate and soil, whilst the existence of convict labour was an additional advantage. Hitherto, the market had been supplied from Brazil and Bengal, high prices being obtained for the superior South American product. The Commissioner noted that "a taste had been created amongst all classes of consumers for the peculiar flavour that is imparted to the Brazil tobacco from the admixture of coarse sugar and molasses." He thought there were no good reasons why, if the technique of curing could be once mastered, its cultivation on behalf of government could not be attempted at the convict settlements at Port Bowen, Moreton Bay and Port Curteis, that he was recommending. It was obvious to him, however, that in the face of South American competition, a local tobacco industry could only be established if it were protected. With this object in mind, he recommended that the duty imposed on tobacco imported into New South Wales be heavily increased, a suggestion which in due course was adopted. In March, 1823, the duty rose from 6d. per lb. to 4s. per lb. Behind this tariff barrier, attempts were made in the 1820's to encourage the local product, and it will be seen in a later essay that a controversy over the competition between the imported and home-grown article waxed strong during these years. Nevertheless, tobacco by the late 1830's had also been largely abandoned, for considerably more money by then was to be made through the overwhelmingly profitable fine wool sheep breeding.

Tobacco cultivation may then be considered as one of the earliest attempts made in a practical way to grapple with the problem of self-sufficiency, in the constant searchings for suitable export staples. But, like most other attempts of this kind, it was eventually swamped by the fine wool trade.

(3) *Sugar*. Little need be said concerning the theories regarding the home production of sugar. It has been seen that some anticipations had been held that its production might be encouraged at Taheite, should the colonists be able to enter into direct negotiations with the natives successfully. Like tea and tobacco, it was a staple of constant usage in the Colony, included in the rations or given as special rewards or "property." In the late 'twenties, a sugar mill was erected at Port Macquarie at "enormous expense," in the hopes of a successful cultivation of sugar cane on the North Coast, but it was a failure. In 1832 it was described as being in ruins—"a lasting monument of folly" ⁽⁸²⁾.

(4) *Spirits*.—From the time of first settlement in New South Wales spirits had been the refuge, anodyne and universal solace of every element in the community, placed in the desolate convict depot, so many thousands of miles from home and civilization. It was for some, the cure for homesickness, for others the means by which they could temporarily forget their "hopelessness." In the barter days of the monopoly period, wages were paid in rum, produce sold for rum. It was the most considerable import, apart from foodstuffs, a key point in trade and commerce.

Macquarie, even prior to coming to the Colony, had been impressed with the plan for a local distilling monopoly which would serve two purposes, on the one hand, provide a market for surplus grain, on the other, enable the Colony to supply its own wants in spirits, thus helping to ease the unfavourable trade balance. He pressed his plan upon the Home Government, but for reasons that have been previously explained, his recommendations were ignored. To the settlers, in 1813, the plan for local distillation appeared as one of the answers to their troubles. To the merchants and gentlemen, headed by Sir John Jamison, it similarly made a strong appeal in 1819 ⁽⁸³⁾. Agitation increased as the years advanced and it has been noted that the scheme received Bigge's final endorsement. By 1820, when he was completing his inquiries, annual consumption amounted to not less than 100,000 gallons. Local distillation provided one hope for a departure from the almost complete reliance upon wheat and maize, brewing another ⁽⁸⁴⁾.

A brewery had been started, as early as 1809, by Absolom West. It was set up at Dawes Point and the "best strong beer was sold at 4s. per gallon, best table beer at 2s. per gallon" ⁽⁸⁵⁾. In 1810, the principal brewers of Sydney were representing to the Governor that "it would be a great accommodation to the Labouring People and to the Lower Classes of the inhabitants in general, to have plenty of good wholesome Beer brewed for their drinking and permitted to be retailed to them at a moderate price" ⁽⁸⁶⁾. Macquarie accepted the proposition put to him, and in order to encourage the settlers throughout the Colony to grow barley, issued licences to fifty persons at Sydney to retail beer at established public houses. It was at least some attempt to cut down upon the spirit importations. Illicit distillation was, however, frowned upon, for the good reason that grain was used up which the Colony

could ill-afford to spare. When, in 1811, William Skinner, a settler at Toongabbie, was convicted of illicit distillation of grain, the *Gazette* took the opportunity of pointing out that even though a four year's scarcity had been relieved by a bountiful harvest, that was no reason for supposing that a few thousand bushels of grain could be squandered⁽⁸⁷⁾. The settlers should remember the children's grievous wants and preserve the little residue available and not contrive a further scarcity. One difficulty in brewing beer was to grow the hops. In 1812, Mr. Squires, on his hop plantation at Kissing Point, was able for the first time to produce a good crop of 1,500 lb.⁽⁸⁸⁾. In 1806 he had produced a single vine, from the cuttings of which he was subsequently able to extend his plantation, growing in 1807 a few lb.; 1808, 50 lb.; 1809, 250 lb.; 1810, 500 lb.; 1811, 750 lb. The trouble was, moreover, as the Blaxlands found in their brewery speculation, that a uniformly good beer was difficult to perfect⁽⁸⁹⁾. This fact, along with the recurring shortages of grain and the more or less total lack of barley, confused the early ventures and made government policy understandably indeterminate. In fact the arguments up to 1820 and the developments that had taken place, may be analyzed by stating that until the threat of famine had been removed, and overseas supplies were readily available, distillation of spirits or the brewing of beer in any considerable quantity in the Colony would have been a risk, since it would have involved the use of too much grain if the insatiate appetites of the colonists were to have been satisfied and if any really serious attempt had been made to render the colonists independent of imported supplies. The reactions of the colonists at the sight of the large quantities of spirits arriving from abroad and the drainage of specie which this involved can, nevertheless, be well understood.

In 1818, a considerable duty of 10s. per gallon was imposed on imported spirits, the reason given being "with a view to restrain the immoderate use of spirituous liquors and to add to the resources of the government"⁽⁹⁰⁾. When, later, permission was given for local distilleries to commence operations, Bigge joined with Macquarie "in the anticipation of the benefits that the inhabitants of the Colony so long have contemplated in this measure"⁽⁹¹⁾. Under this scheme, to commence in early 1823, the duty upon colonial spirit was fixed at 2s. 6d. as compared with 10s. a gallon upon spirit imported from Great Britain and her dependencies, and 15s. a gallon upon all other imported supplies⁽⁹²⁾. Hopes were held that this difference in duty would operate as an encouragement to the local distillers and in time, alter the prevailing taste for the raw execrable spirit from India.

All did not plan out as Bigge and Macquarie had hoped. In 1831, the *Sydney Herald* had cause to complain concerning the continued large-scale spirit imports⁽⁹³⁾. Its plan to find markets for the home-produced grain was just a repetition of the old plan that had been, from time to time, resurrected during the years of Macquarie. First, home distillers were to be encouraged to use colonial barley and grain of other descriptions, and the settlers invited to give up their "foreign potations." The newspaper thought it inconsistent and impudent for a high price for grain to be demanded of the community, so that farmers could indulge themselves in French cordials, and Jamaica rum to the amount of £67,000 duty p.a. The remedy was in their own hands, to encourage the local distiller and to confine their purchases to home-made beverages

of beer, ale and gin. Moreover, to protect the local agriculture it proposed that a duty should be laid on all Derwent wheat used for distillation, and to remove at the same time all duties on home-produced spirit. The general idea was that, by such means, there would be competition between respectable grain merchants and distillers, and some encouragement would be given to farmers to grow wheat in one district, barley in another and so diversify and lessen the risks of farming. The position, it was held, was serious. In 1829, about 184,000 gallons of foreign spirit had been consumed in the Colony which worked out as five gallons for each man, woman and child, while only 2,300 gallons of colonial spirit had been made or a half pint for each person. The time had come to "lop off all luxurious demands upon our time and purse." The colonists had to "put their shoulder to the wheel," for to paraphrase Franklin "Though Hunger may look in at our door, he dare not enter our threshold." Just a few years later, in 1834, there is again a repetition of the same argument but headed this time "The Drink Evil!!" (94). The *Herald* was horrified to learn that of the total revenue of £87,000 p.a. collected in Van Diemen's Land, £50,000 comprised duties levied on rum, tobacco and spirit licences, and that in the Mother Colony of New South Wales, no less a sum than £100,000 arose directly and indirectly from the same duties. It could not see how any great improvement could be expected unless a different type of emigrant and in particular married couples were encouraged to come to the Colony.

Conclusions.

It is quite patent that questions of exports and self-sufficiency were inextricably bound up, in the early Colony, with considerations of trade in general. From the beginning, the position had been a highly complex one. The East India Company's trade monopoly of the first years hampered the early attempt at independent trading. Later the Napoleonic and Anglo-American wars disrupted the continuity of supplies, in any quantity, reaching the Colony. In every direction there were impasses to be confronted and overcome.

It may seem strange that, under these circumstances, there should have been such buoyant and hopeful ideas on the Colony's future, for after all, it was in the main a prison camp, and from many aspects a mean and miserable little place. But it was not with the present that the visionaries were concerned, so much as the future prospects of the immense land and its potential resources. Despair, moreover, cannot be said to have been a characteristic of its people, and the "climate" spurred them on, when things looked blackest. There is no point in criticizing the actual achievements of the years of Macquarie, nor of the twenty years which followed his departure. The fact is that in the 20's real attempts were made to grow tobacco, even sugar, and to build up local distilleries to absorb the surplus grain. These were failures, but they do illustrate the intense interest which was shown in the problem of self-sufficiency. It has to be realised that it was never a case, in the first few years of settlement, of it being just one step forward to translate thought into action. Everything took time—the first fifty years in a sense being but a day in the life of the state—and, in the beginning, there was neither the knowledge, the materials, nor the personnel, the colonists being distracted, moreover, by many

other difficulties which constantly impeded progress, some of man-made origin, others of the elements themselves. The position must rather be judged from the turn of the 20's, for it is clear that from 1820 onwards, the colonists did take up in a realistic way the opportunities opened up for the fine wool trade. But, as was inevitable with a primitive ill-balanced economy, the trouble was that wool for the time being swamped all other considerations of agricultural enterprise. Forgotten were the earlier thoughts of cotton, wine, flax, olive plantations and the rest. The Colony was destined by nature from the first as a pastoral field, and pastoral it became, awaiting such time as new urges, newer advances in knowledge, improved roads and communications would enable consolidation and agricultural exploitation to be made of the picked spots in the interior. In perspective, it can be seen that the early attempts made by King and, after him, Macquarie, to grow flax and convert the produce into linen, and to locally produce wine, were hopeful efforts and expedients, feasible only at a time when imports were few and overseas trade was restricted. When, however, the ships started to come, many and often, to collect the wool piling up in the Colony, it was found that it was cheaper to purchase the imported article and, furthermore, an unfavourable trade balance was no longer in question.

The viewpoint which ushers in the 1820's is one not dissimilar to that put forward by Wentworth: "It may be asserted that of all the various openings which the world at this moment affords for the profitable investment of money there is not one equally inviting as the single channel of enterprise offered by this colony in the growth of fine wool"⁽⁹⁵⁾. The picture changes almost overnight, and the pastoral industry begins.

References.

- (1) Phillip's first and second commissions (12th Oct., 1786; 2nd April, 1787) and his instructions (25th April, 1787) are given in H.R.A. I, 1, pp. 1-15.
- (2) *Ibid.*
- (3) C.H.B.E., p. 54.
- (4) H.R., New South Wales I. pt. 6, p. 66; H.R.A. I, 11, pp. 1-8; cf. Greenwood *op. cit.* pp. 47-49.
- (5) *Ibid.*
- (6) Campbell, "From Colony to Commonwealth." *Agricultural Gazette, N.S.W.* (1901, January) Vol. XII, Part 1, p. 3.
- (7) Collins—"Account of the English Colony in N.S.W." (2nd edition, 1804), p. 10.
- (8) Wentworth—*Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales* (2nd edition, 1820), Preface p. xiv.
- (9) *Ibid.* p. 144.
- (10) *Ibid.*
- (11) *Ibid.* p. 308.
- (12) *Ibid.* pp. 308-312.
- (13) *Ibid.*
- (14) *Ibid.* p. 320.
- (15) *Ibid.* p. 312.
- (16) *Ibid.* p. 329.
- (17) *Ibid.* p. 330.
- (18) *Ibid.* p. 329 et seq.
- (19) For a full account cf. Greenwood *op. cit.* and C.H.B.E.

- (²⁰) E. Barnard Eldershaw—Phillip of Australia op. cit. p. 197, pp. 200-207.
- (²¹) Greenwood op. cit. p. 64.
- (²²) The Mercury, Hobart, 5th July, 1824, p. 57 cit. Greenwood p. 66.
- (²³) Aust. Handbook, 1889, p. 143; Journ. and Proc. R.A.H.S. XI (1925) p. 1; cit. Greenwood p. 81.
- (²⁴) Greenwood op. cit. p. 81.
- (²⁵) King to Nepean, 18th Nov., 1791; H.R.A., I, 1, pp. 307-308; cit. Greenwood p. 82.
- (²⁶) C.H.B.E., Vol. VI, p. 78.
- (²⁷) Ibid. cf. also Aust. Handbook, 1889, p. 143; H.R., N.S.W. III, p. 765; cit. Greenwood p. 119.
- (²⁸) H.R.A., I, p. 54; cit. Greenwood, p. 120.
- (²⁹) C.H.B.E., Vol. VI, p. 78.
- (³⁰) H.R.A., I, iii, p. 765; cit. Greenwood, p. 120.
- (³¹) H.R.A., I, II, p. 613.
- (³²) Greenwood op. cit. p. 68.
- (³³) H.R.A. I, III, p. 2, Greenwood op. cit. p. 120.
- (³⁴) Greenwood op. cit. p. 68.
- (³⁵) Ibid. p. 117.
- (³⁶) H.R.A. I, II, pp. 345-5, Greenwood op. cit. p. 119.
- (³⁷) Greenwood op. cit. p. 119-120.
- (³⁸) Ibid. p. 121.
- (³⁹) Newspaper Cuttings (Mitchell Library), Vol. 92, p. 501 cit. Greenwood p. 132.
- (⁴⁰) Paterson to Castlereagh 23rd March, 1809, H.R.A. I, VII, p. 29, cit. Greenwood p. 132.
- (⁴¹) Greenwood op. cit. pp. 138 et seq.
- (⁴²) H.R.A. I, VII, p. 685, cit. Greenwood p. 68.
- (⁴³) Bathurst to Macquarie, 11th December, 1815, H.R.A. I, VII, p. 48; Greenwood op. cit. pp. 138-139.
- (⁴⁴) C.H.B.E. p. 79; 59 Geo III, Cap. 122.
- (⁴⁵) Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 56.
- (⁴⁶) Ibid. p. 57.
- (⁴⁷) Sydney Gazette, 4th Aug., 1810.
- (⁴⁸) Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 51.
- (⁴⁹) Ibid. p. 52-53.
- (⁵⁰) Ibid. p. 53.
- (⁵¹) Ibid.
- (⁵²) Bigge—The Colony, p. 158.
- (⁵³) Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 52.
- (⁵⁴) Bigge—The Colony, p. 158.
- (⁵⁵) Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 51.
- (⁵⁶) Ibid.
- (⁵⁷) Ibid.
- (⁵⁸) Ibid.
- (⁵⁹) Ibid. p. 52.
- (⁶⁰) Ibid. p. 51.
- (⁶¹) Ibid. p. 53.
- (⁶²) Ibid. p. 57-58.
- (⁶³) Ibid.
- (⁶⁴) Ibid. p. 58.
- (⁶⁵) Ibid. p. 53 et seq.
- (⁶⁶) Sydney Herald, 16th May, 1831.
- (⁶⁷) Sydney Gazette, 3rd May, 1817.
- (⁶⁸) Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 64.
- (⁶⁹) Ibid. p. 66.

- (⁷⁰) Sydney Gazette, 15th July, 1820.
(⁷¹) Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 64.
(⁷²) Ibid.
(⁷³) Ibid. cf. p. 62.
(⁷⁴) Ibid. p. 54.
(⁷⁵) Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 60.
(⁷⁶) Ibid. p. 60-62.
(⁷⁷) Ibid. p. 57.
(⁷⁸) Ibid. p. 59-60.
(⁷⁹) Cunningham op. cit. p. 187.
(⁸⁰) Sydney Gazette, 4/4/1818; Returns of the Colony of New South Wales, 1822-1823, Account of Taxes and Duties; Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 59.
(⁸¹) Bigge op. cit. p. 59.
(⁸²) Sydney Herald, 27th September, 1832.
(⁸³) Sydney Gazette, 23rd January, 1819.
(⁸⁴) Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 59.
(⁸⁵) Sydney Gazette, 22nd October, 1809.
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(⁸⁷) Ibid. 5th January, 1811.
(⁸⁸) Ibid. 21st March, 1812.
(⁸⁹) Bigge—Transcripts of Evidence op. cit. Evidence by J. Blaxland.
(⁹⁰) Sydney Gazette, 4th April, 1818.
(⁹¹) Ibid. 6th January, 1821.
(⁹²) Bigge—Agriculture and Trade, p. 59.
(⁹³) Sydney Herald, 16th May, 1831.
(⁹⁴) Ibid. 14th April, 1834.
(⁹⁵) Wentworth op. cit. p. 441.