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THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF AGRICULTURE IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

By

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(This is the fifth of a series of articles by the author on early colonial development. Preceding essays were published in the August and September issues of this Review.)

5. THE FARMERS AND SETTLERS OF MACQUARIE TIMES.

"How would you describe the several classes of Settlers in this Colony?" asked Commissioner J. T. Bigge of William Cox at the time of the Commission enquiry of 1820. "First the emancipated convict to whom 30 acres of land has been and is granted after emancipation," replied Cox, "then the free settler who comes from England with orders for 100 acres of land. . . . The Settlers of the First Class who obtain from 500-2,000 acres. The officers also of Corps who have either returned or have remained here and who have obtained grants from the Governors to the amount of 1,500 acres, and lastly the Civil Officers, Lieutenant-Governors, Judges, Commissaries, etc., who have received 1,500-3,000 acres."(1) And perhaps such a description is as comprehensive as any that can be made.

By the Muster of 1820, the total population of New South Wales was 23,939. Of these 1,307 had arrived as free immigrants; 1,495 were colonial born; 5,668 were children, and the remainder were convicts or ex-convicts. In Van Diemen's Land in 1820, the total population was 5,468; of whom 714 were free immigrants; 185 colonial born; 1,020 children; the balance convicts or ex-convicts. From the foundation of the Colony to 1820, 25,878 male and female convicts had been transported, and of these the large majority of 18,798 were living in New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land in 1820, leaving a total of 7,080 accounted for by "deaths, escapes or lawful departures."(2) Predominantly the farmer settlers were ex-convicts. The free immigrant and large farmer constituted no more than a sprinkling of the total number of agriculturalists, although overshadowing them in influence. The several elements in the population fell into fairly well defined classes.

It is of importance to note in this discussion of the several elements in the farming community that the sympathies of Governor Macquarie were throughout his administration on the side of the emancipated settlers. The Governor quite frankly did not want free settlers. To his mind the purpose for which the Colony had been founded would be undermined if the trouble between emancipists and free people, already vexing enough, were magnified by the incursion of a large free population. In a despatch written in 1818, towards the conclusion of his governorship, he went so far as to state that as there would be a sufficient number of emancipists worthy of receiving grants of land and disposed to settle in the Colony, "there never can be any necessity, and I am sure no public advantage derived from allowing

any more settlers to come out at all" ([3]). But this opinion was based upon the assumption that New South Wales was to be retained primarily as a penal settlement ([4]). Macquarie had made up his mind that New South Wales was to be an agricultural colony. He could see no benefit to the colony from pure grazing alone, which in effect enriched the pastoralists only, but otherwise did nothing to relieve the pressure of food for the masses. Farms, on the other hand, produced bread; they were neat, easy to manage, and government could keep a hand on them. The pastoralist was a roving person with big ideas, hard to control, always clamouring for special privileges. Moreover, these pastoralists, or at least some of them, had made their fortunes in the days of monopoly. They had now isolated themselves as Exclusionists, above the common herd of Emancipists, struggling with their simple agriculture to provide for the requirements of the colony in foodstuffs. And Macquarie's attitude, if ill-balanced, was at least understandable, for these same pastoralist-exclusionists had broken every governor who had preceded him excepting Phillip alone. He held rigidly to the principle that the colony "should be made the home, and a happy home, to every emancipated convict who deserves it," nor could he see "the justice and propriety, now that they have made it what it is, of converting this colony in future to the sole use of settlers" ([5]). He was particularly bitter in his feelings to the large farmer settlers, self-styling themselves "the Gentlemen." In 1814 he described them as "that Description of Persons whose Former Habits place them either above or out of the Line of Farming Concerns; whose Pride, or Mistaken Ideas of this Colony, led them to Imagine themselves Entitled to Degrees of Indulgence beyond those Extended to the ordinary Rank of Persons getting farms for Cultivation" ([6]). If this was true of those who had amassed wealth in the colony, it had more force as directed to those arriving in the colony with orders from the home authorities for land. Of these he said: "Nearly the whole of those persons who have arrived here in the Character of Settlers, have been Ignorant of everything in the farming line, and have in consequence generally proved totally inadequate to the Tasks they have undertaken, and on these Occasions they immediately look to Government for assistance to extricate themselves from Difficulties their Ignorance had previously involved them in" ([7]). By 1817, he was forced by his experiences to conclude that "What are generally denominated Gentlemen Settlers, or Settlers of the first class, come out here miserably poor, depend principally on the Indulgences granted them by Government, and very seldom attend to cultivating their lands or increasing the Internal Resources of the Colony, giving up the whole of their time to the Rearing of Cattle or Shop-Keeping; and now after seven years' experience, I am perfectly satisfied in my own mind that the best and most useful Description of Settlers are the Emancipated Convicts, to the exertions and Industry of whom are to be attributed the present improved state of the Internal Resources of the Colony" ([8]).

These opinions of the governor mirror to an extent the conflict which by 1820 had arisen in the colony, as it had arisen also in England, between small-farming and large-farming. New South

Wales was on the brink of expansion. It remained to be seen whether it would develop along the lines of agriculture, in the hands of a peasantry composed of the most deserving of the emancipists, located on small farms and with limited means, or whether anything could stop the contrary tendency of a pastoral occupation of the country in the hands of capital-endowed graziers. Commissioner Bigge favoured the latter development and was forced to conclude on the evidence which he saw that small-farming after the Macquarie pattern was foredoomed to failure (9). It must be that Macquarie looked over his little world with rose-coloured glasses, for the story of small-farming in early New South Wales is anything but one of prosperity, contentment and progress; and it is hard to see how, under the trials and discouragements it was constantly forced to cope with, it could have been otherwise than a failure. Macquarie, however, was no agriculturalist. He was unable to see beyond the trappings and superficialities of apparent prosperity into the heart of the problems with which the colony was struggling.

The men who composed the agricultural community of 1820 were a mixed lot. Some were rich, a lot were poor. There could have been very few who had actually made much money from simple farming alone. Stock raising, at a time when numbers were few and prices were high, made some fortunes; trading and liquor, sometimes combined incidentally with farming, considerably more. It is far from easy to disentangle the origins of the wealth of individuals in these early times, but at least some attempt should be made to do so, for it must be determined first to what extent, considering the problems met with, agriculture did pay in the first thirty or so years of settlement. It is convenient to consider each of the several classes in the colony in turn.

THE GENTLEMEN SETTLERS.

In the colony itself possession of capital, not birth or breeding, was the determining factor in distinguishing the "lower orders" from those higher up. The Gentlemen-Settlers were so called not because of any particular family background, but because they were firstly free and then had money. What their particular histories were before they came to the colony, was nobody's concern. Of these men there were the "Old Hands," mostly officers of the New South Wales Corps who had settled in the key days of privilege, and men of substance who had arrived bringing capital and effects, or capital in kind, and a letter of recommendation from the Colonial Secreary. Of those who had been in the New South Wales Corps, typical examples were William Cox and John Macarthur.

Cox had been paymaster of the 102nd Regiment from 1798 to 1802. He was suspended from duty in 1803 for defalcations. In November, 1802, he owned 1,440 acres, the whole of which he had bought. Government sequestrated to trustees his farms, stock and £4,000 of other property. Individuals as well as the military chest had suffered through his speculations. Early in 1804 the trustees of Cox's estate (Marsden, Wentworth, Robert Campbell and Capt. William Rowley) reported that of Cox's debts, nearly £8,000 was owing to the Army Agents. They had £1,500 worth of

his 3 per cent. stock against that debt, and secured Governor King's permission to make up several thousand pounds of the balance with wheat from his farms, to be bought by the Commissariat Store, making 10s. in the £1 of his obligations ([9A]). From an early bankruptcy Cox made a rather remarkable recovery. He acquired land at Mulgoa, and in 1813 was cultivating 250 acres of wheat with the hoe ([10]). In 1820 he was grazing 5,000 sheep at Bathurst. Of the 24 flocks there he controlled 10 ([11]). By then he was employing with his sons 100 men. "We manufacture cloth for Trowsers and frocks from our Coarse Wool," he told Bigge, "boots and shoes from hides tanned upon the Estate; we grow our own Flax. We make our own Hemp and keep a Taylor to make up the clothing, a Smith for a Blacksmith's Forge and a Carpenter, also a Wheelwright when we can get one" ([12]). This was at Clarendon, near Windsor, where he lived like a patriarch with his large family. He had learned the ways of farming after early setbacks, and his lands spread far and wide. He and his children by 1820 held grants at Windsor, Mulgoa, over the mountains at Bathurst, and in Van Diemen's Land ([13]). He was one of the most successful of the early pioneers because he knew how to handle assigned servants, and happened to be, moreover, extremely capable in matters of stock raising and farming. Bigge had quite a deal to say of his way with convicts, by which, without paying any money at all for labour given, he provided a "quid pro quo" with his "Captain Cox's liberties," through magisterial beneficence ([13A]). He had built the road to Bathurst through the extraordinary means of selling tickets of leave and "Cox's liberties" for labour rendered and horses and carts engaged ([14]).

John Macarthur emerges from the early history of New South Wales with his name sprawling across almost every page. Macarthur in 1826 was a member of the Council, his "family connections exceeding in number those belonging to any other person . . . rich in having large tracts of land well covered with Merino sheep . . . Cattle and horses almost innumerable . . . affording employment to very many persons and families" ([15]). He had also a "superb mansion at Pyrmont Point" ([16]). By then he was immensely wealthy, an acknowledged leader of the exclusionists, one of the underwriters, if not "the great originator" of the fabulous "Million of Acre Company" which, midway in the 1820's was commencing to pour wealth into the colony ([17]). In 1820 Macarthur possessed "the virtual occupation of 9,000 acres at the Cow Pastures . . . but this did not allow him to feed or maintain more than 7,000 sheep and . . . he was anxiously looking for opportunities of extending his own land either by additions to his grant or by purchase" ([18]). By 1835, the Macarthur flocks totalled 24,000 head—three and one half times as many sheep as were in all New South Wales when Macarthur had sailed to Australia in 1801 ([18]). At the beginning of his career he had acquired a fortune as one of the trader monopolists of the key days of preference, and in fact he had always been the leader of this group. Governor King had said of Macarthur and his place in the colony so early as November, 1801: "Half of it (the colony) belongs to him already, and he very soon will get the other half" ([19]). At that time, he possessed Elizabeth Farm at Parramatta, a home, flocks, gardens,

and was eminently prosperous ([20]). Arrested and sent home to England by Governor King, he had turned his months of idleness to good advantage by persuading the manufacturers in England of the value of Australian-grown wool, and had been equally persuasive with Lord Camden in obtaining a large grant of the most favoured parts of the Crown reserves at the Cow Pastures. It was his boast as Dunmore Lang ([21]) records, that he had been personally responsible for the recall of the successive governors from Hunter to Bligh, and there is little question that it was his advice which most impressed Commissioner Bigge when he came to adjudicate on the administration of Macquarie. Endowed with an intelligence outstanding in that early community, shrewd, persevering, intensive, he was nevertheless vexatious, domineering, implacable and, throughout a long lifetime, the most considerable hurdle to clear for the establishment of friendly relations between government and settlers ([22]). His story, however, really falls later in this narrative.

"ELIZABETH FARM" HOUSE, PARRAMATTA.

Built in 1793 by Capt. John Macarthur, while still an officer of the N.S.W. Corps, this building, a modern view of which is here shown, ranks as Australia's oldest homestead. It is at present occupied by its owners.

Many descriptions of "Elizabeth Farm" in letters written by Mrs. Macarthur are available in "The Early Records of the Macarthurs of Camden," Sydney, 1914, by S. M. Onslow.

Macarthur, himself, was not a prolific letter-writer. This is his description of his property in a letter which has been preserved:—

". . . As for myself I have a farm containing 250 acres, of which upwards of 100 acres are under cultivation, and the greater part of the remainder is cleared of the timber which grows upon it. . . . In the centre of my farm I have built a most excellent brick house, 68 feet in front, 18 feet in breadth. It has no upper storey but consists of four rooms on the ground floor, a large hall, closets, cellar, etc.; adjoining is a kitchen with servants' apartments and other necessary offices. The house is surrounded by a vineyard and garden of about three acres, the former full of vines and fruit trees and the latter abounding in the most excellent vegetables. . . . The farm, being near the barracks, I can, without difficulty, attend to the duties of my profession."

(By courtesy of the Royal Australian Historical Society.)

As apart from these "Old Hands," there were in the category of Gentlemen-settlers those who had not come penniless to the colony but with fortunes to invest. Typical of these were the Blaxlands. They, John and Gregory, were somewhat different from the retired military gentlemen who took grants because they could get them, and farmed them for the same opportunist reasons. The Blaxlands were gentlemen adventurers, who, it was said, sought Australia as a likely investment and owed their grants to political influence in England. Gregory Blaxland arrived with his family in 1806. He was given a pastoral grant of 4,000 acres and his choice of the government herd. He bought 80 head for £2,240, and King gave him, as he had given to Macarthur and Davidson before, all the convict labour that he sought ([23]). Six and a half years later, however, Macquarie found that the government had spent £4,500 on setting up John and Gregory Blaxland, and that the brothers had not been worth the expenditure ([24]). Bligh had been of the same opinion as Macquarie concerning the brothers, considering them speculators rather than producers ([25]). All told, they received 8,000 unspecified acres, the services of 80 convicts on the store for 18 months, and free passages for themselves, their households and their goods ([26]). In Gregory's case, he had brought with him in 1806, in addition to money to invest, 12 Merino sheep, 4 bulls, a swarm of bees, seeds, plants, a plough, tools, glass and ammunition—chattels of an inclusive character for farming ([27]). John's additions to colonial wealth were his wife, four children and a numerous household, which he brought with him in a whaler specially chartered for the purpose ([28]). Eventually they were settled on three properties, raising cattle at Luddenham on the Nepean, Boke on the Wollombi and Newington on the Parramatta ([29]). They had been interested in a brewery and a colonial salt works, but despite the services they rendered the colony—they reduced the price of meat from 2s. 6d. to 1s. per lb., supplied Sydney with its first dairy and generally increased the supply of vegetables—Macquarie had little or no favour for them ([30]).

These grants to the Blaxlands and Macarthur were all more than 3,000 acres, but these were exceptional. Bigge could find from the records few as large ([31]). There was a parcel of 4,555 acres made by Macquarie by way of gift in 1810 and 1814 to Lieut.-Col. O'Connell and his wife*, and although there were grants to D'Arcy Wentworth totalling 6,200 acres, it was found that of these 3,550 acres appeared to have been granted on the consolidation of other grants purchased by Wentworth, and of land exchanged by him with government.

* *Col. Maurice O'Connell, soldier adventurer, was appointed to the command of Macquarie's regiment and came to New South Wales with the Governor in 1809. Within three months of his arrival, O'Connell married the widowed daughter of Captain Bligh. The influence of the O'Connell's proved very soon embarrassing to Macquarie in view of Mrs. O'Connell's uncompromising attitude to those who had been instrumental in the deposition of her father and because of a refusal to mix with emancipated convicts. The situation was relieved by the withdrawal of O'Connell's regiment from the Colony. Years later, knighted and promoted to Major-General, O'Connell returned to New South Wales as officer commanding the forces there stationed. He was Lieutenant-Governor of N.S.W. and Governor of Queensland on a number of occasions. He died on 25th May, 1848, at Potts Point, Sydney, in his 80th year.*

The properties of the smaller gentlemen "like Roman colonia" were scattered through all the settled districts ([32]). One of the nearest to Sydney was The Farm, a grant of 100 acres at Woolloomooloo, belonging to John Palmer, one-time Commissary. (John Palmer, the honest Commissary of Governor King, sometime purser of H.M.S. "Sirius.") ([33]). The miniature settlement was surrounded by acres of orchards and gardens. Here everything was grown or attempted, even tobacco. "The Farm was a little working model of an ideal settlement," but it could not save its owner from eventual bankruptcy ([34]). Captain Piper's naval villa on Point Piper was famous for its house.** Along Parramatta Road was Ultimo House, on the original grant of Doctor Harris of the New South Wales Corps.*** In the grounds ran a herd of 400 spotted deer from India. About four miles from Sydney an avenue led to Annandale, a property named by Colonel George Johnson after his birthplace. Still further out was Petersham, owned by Captain Piper. Homebush was the important property of the Wentworths. Just left of the Parramatta Toll Bar was the handsome house and farm of the Reverend Samuel Marsden. Along the Parramatta River there was the "Vineyard Cottage" of Hannibal Macarthur and a further "cottage" of John Macarthur ([35]). On the Nepean at Penrith, the property owned by "Sir" John Jamison, the son of Phillip's surgeon, was a high manor. This estate was a complete world in itself with home farm, dairy, stables, wool sheds and workshop for tailors, carpenters, weavers and harness makers, manned by some 200 assigned servants ([36]). On the Hawkesbury was "Regentsville," and just south of Regentsville was Clarendon, owned by William Cox. There had been others. For instance, the "valuable estate of Burwood, the property of the late Captain Rowley, consisting of 750 acres, opposite the Parramatta Road" was auctioned in August, 1812, and fetched £520 ([37]). In June, 1818, William Balmaine's estate, including a grant of 550 acres called Gilchrist's Farm, which had formerly been occupied by Major Ross, was sold: "It had been

** *Captain John Piper returned to New South Wales in* 1814, *as Naval Officer at Port Jackson, after a prior appointment as Acting-Commandant at Norfolk Island* (1804-1809). *In his new post, Piper combined the duties of Customs Office, Harbour Trust and Water Police. As the Colony grew so Piper prospered. In* 1816 *he received a grant of* 190 *acres, comprising all that area now known as Point Piper. A mansion was built on the estate, which reputedly cost* £10,000, *not finally occupied, however, until* 1822. *Piper lost his estate, retiring in* 1825 *to "Alloway Bank," his property at Bathurst. This he also lost in the great depression of the* 1840's. *Piper died in* 1851.

*** *John Harris came to New South Wales as Surgeon's Mate of the N.S.W. Corps. In* 1792 *he achieved the substantive rank of "Surgeon" when posted to Parramatta. Soon Harris acquired land. His original grant at Parramatta being required for public purposes, he was given another* 110 *acres, which adjoining a property he had bought from James Ruse, became the estate since known as Harris Park. In* 1798, *he was given by Governor King an additional area of* 34 *acres in the present Ultimo, named after the original homestead "Ultimo House." A right of way through his property is the present Harris Street. By* 1808, *Harris was one of the biggest landholders in the Colony. Harris was surgeon to Oxley's famous expedition of* 1818, *which discovered the Liverpool Plains and Port Macquarie. He died in April,* 1838.

used by gentlemen sportsmen residing in and near Sydney for the diversion of hunting and killing deer, kangaroo and the various other species of game inhabiting that place" ([38]).

This William Balmaine had been a leading member of the rum ring in the worst days of the traffic. He was a surgeon and by extortion along with his associates, Macarthur, D'Arcy Wentworth, James Williamson the Commissary, and others, had amassed by 1803 considerable wealth, including a good deal of land ([39]). Further examples could be quoted, but it is sufficient to sketch the broad outlines.

These Gentlemen Settlers were conscious of their station in their little world, mostly made up of convicts and ex-convicts. A self-advertised "gentleman" would offer for sale about 40 horned cattle in 1812 ([40]). They were "most of them females—the finest breed in the colony . . . prompt payment required in sterling money." It was another "gentleman" who, in 1815, introduced "the drill plough on his maize plantation, which in the first experiment is computed to have saved five-sevenths of the labour of planting and harrowing" ([41]). Who alone but a "gentleman" could have advertised in 1816 for "a contract with two or three well qualified men to erect 2 miles of fencing at Liverpool to enclose a paddock . . . the fence to be morticed with three rails" ([42]). It was "several gentlemen of the colony (who had) arduously exerted themselves in the improvement of some of the fine British grasses which had been introduced recently" ([43]).

The Horticultural and Agricultural Society with Sir John Jamison as president was confined in its membership to the gentlemen. This was perhaps the main reason why Macquarie would not give it his support. But these men were not really farmers at all, depending solely upon the produce of their lands. First and foremost they were stockowners with many irons in the fire, dilettantes only in farming in some instances, speculators in others. Nevertheless, some of them were at least very good managers, for Bigge found that "the estates that are in the best state of cultivation, and exhibit the greatest improvement, are those of Mr. Oxley, the Surveyor-General, Mr. Cox, Sir John Jamison, Mr. Hannibal Macarthur, Mr. Redfern, Mr. John Macarthur, Mr. Thoresby and Mr. Howe" ([44])*

By and large, the primary interests of these men were concentrated in stock, for it could not otherwise have been so. At a period when fences were unknown, the man of few acres could

* *Surveyor-General John Oxley, explorer, farmer and public servant, came of aristocratic lineage, his mother being the daughter of the fourth Viscount Molesworth. Oxley joined the Navy, when sixteen years of age, as a midshipman. In* 1804, *as a Master's Mate, he assisted in the survey of Westernport. Promotion being slow in the Navy, Oxley applied for and was appointed to the position of Surveyor-General of Lands in New South Wales as from* 1st *January,* 1812, *when* 29 *years old. Macquarie, whilst disallowing a grant of* 1,000 *acres Oxley had received at the time of Bligh's deposition, placed a special trust in Oxley's zeal and diligence. From* 1817-20 *he was occupied with memorable explorations, later on following with the discovery of the Tweed, Moreton Bay and Queensland. Taxed to the limit of his physical resources by the hardships of these explorations, Oxley prematurely died in* 1828 *at Kirkham in his* 45*th year.*

not control any considerable number of stock, whether pigs, cattle, sheep or horses, without either the stock ruining the crops or trespassing on the properties of neighbours. On small farms all was confusion if stock were carried unless the settler had the right to common pasture nearby. The small grants permitted no expansion and to all intents and purposes the small settler was "landlocked." This lack of stock was fundamentally the cause of small holdings being worked out. But it was different with the man of broad acres. Stock raising in the small ill-balanced colony offered from the very commencement immediate and certain returns in payments for meat supplied to the Commissariat, and in the sale of animals to those with money to buy. Later, returns were assured from fine wool. The essential requisites for success were a grant from the Government which the bigger men were better able to select than the small men, capital to furnish immediate resources for profit-making and a sufficiency of money to tide over a waiting period. And these alone the "gentlemen" were able to command.

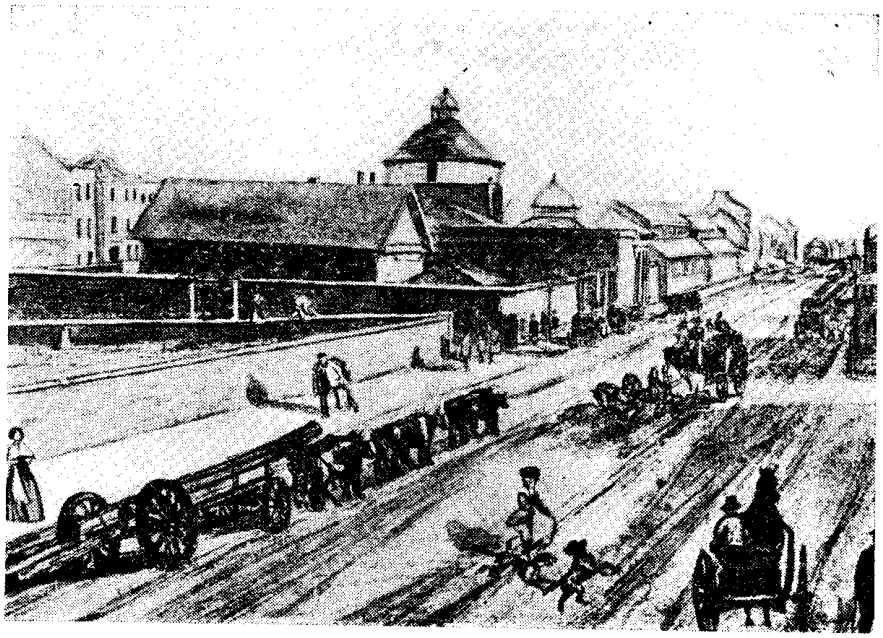
FREE SETTLERS OF THE SECOND CLASS.

In the contemporary descriptive language of the early colony, these were in the main immigrants of very limited means who arriving in the colony, often encumbered with wives and families, took regulation grants of 130 to 150 acres of uncleared country, somewhat haphazardly and indifferently selected by the government, in order to husband limited resources and obtain immediate subsistence. After 1815, many were ex-servicemen demobilised in England on the cessation of the Napoleonic war. The selections were offered indiscriminately by the government in Macquarie times, rent free for the first ten years, but after that liable to a quit rent of 1s. for each 50 acres. In the early part of his administration, the governor was able to take a personal interest in the cases of most of the free immigrants arriving, but over the last five years or so was far too busy in the turmoil of an expanding administration to deal with the large mass of applications awaiting consideration. Small as were the grants to these men, they were yet too large for immediate cultivation. To assist in clearing and initial farming, they were provided with assigned servants on the store and rations, and with what amounted to a loan of stock, but, even with such governmental help, they had a hard struggle to exist. When after 1817, Macquarie, pressed to economise by the Home Government, reduced the period during which they were allowed free labour and rations from eighteen months to six months, their plight was desperate. Often the land offered them was unsuitable for farming, accepted in ignorance to be perhaps later abandoned. Furthermore, the labour usually offered them was of the poorest quality, a handicap rather than a help, as Gregory Blaxland situated in entirely different circumstances had cause to complain to Bigge in 1820 ([45]). Sometimes again the Government was short of livestock and the promised loans to start a herd could not be made. The indulgences in this, as in practically every other detail, looked better in prospect than they were in actual fact.

Of the difficulties to which these free immigrants were subject from the very moment of arrival, the first, undoubtedly, was lack of capital. From such a beginning it could never have been expected that they would prosper. Thrown into the bush, unskilled, untrained even for labour, unused to the heat and discomforts of the climate, bewildered by the strangeness of the conditions, the tasks before them stretched never-endingly on all sides. It was not a case of a number of problems to contend with; mere subsistence was in itself a problem. To begin with, nothing could be done until the timber was cleared. This task in itself was almost hopeless with their small means. Shelter had to be provided; and to do it all there were a few axes and hoes provided at first by a beneficent government, but which the settler later had to find himself. Wants were numerous otherwise. A hundred and one items had to be purchased from traders, who, if we may believe the contemporary accounts, were singularly, all of them, "avaricious." Immediately, the result was that they were thrown into debt, their only hope frugal living, intense work and some luck with the first crops brought under the hoe. The chances were all against them, for the soil throughout the settled areas was everywhere "cold and hungry." It was the later immigrant settlers of the Macquarie period—the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars—who had the worst deal. By then it was becoming realised that the land nearer to Sydney was naturally barren and unsuitable for agriculture. The river flats of the Hawkesbury and the Nepean were already occupied, and the only country left was distant from the town—in actual fact economically inaccessible—and this made the marketing of his produce almost hopeless for the small man. Moreover, Macquarie personally attempted to settle the new arrivals as far as possible away from the older districts of the colony and particularly into the newer country of Argyle. There is the evidence of Lawry in the later Macquarie period that in some cases (1818) produce was being transported a hundred miles by road to the market of Sydney ([46]). This may be compared with Oxley's estimate of 1820 that 75 miles from Sydney was the uttermost distance within which agricultural settlement could profitably extend ([47]). The costliness of such marketing in labour, time lost and actual money outlay must have been prohibitive. Roads were bad and not everyone was fortunate enough to possess a horse and cart.

Enough has been sketched of the contemporary state of agricultural knowledge in England for it to be realised that these ex-soldier immigrants must have been hopelessly lost when transplanted to the primitive outpost of settlement in New South Wales. Rural knowledge except in the hands of the yeomen and capitalist farmers was making but slow headway in England, and the soldiers by both training and inclination could not otherwise but have been poorer material for pioneering than even the backward labourers of agricultural England. The settlers were, the majority of them, ignorant of any conception of farming, and for that matter unskilled in any other trade or productive employment. Farming in Australia was very different from farming in England, as even the few with some knowledge of home agricultural practice must have found to their cost.

Largely these small free settlers are inarticulate in the records. However careful a search may be made for some details of names and careers, the fact is that they cannot easily be found. They merge in the main with the lower orders in a common destitution and misery. Many were in fact dispossessed, some even selling their grants before cultivation was actually entered upon—the grants being used only as a means of obtaining rations for the time being. Some, after a vain attempt at farming, simply abandoned their grants and sought work as labourers. Not infrequently, the only way found for maintaining a simple hand-to-mouth existence was for the settler to cultivate a small portion of his grant and afterwards to travel in search of labour until such



GEORGE STREET LOOKING NORTH BY OLD CENTRAL POLICE STATION, 1842.

The view here shown in this sketch would have been seen by an observer standing in front of the present Town Hall, Sydney, on the opposite side of the road and facing towards the Queen Victoria Markets, with George-street extending in a north-easterly direction towards Circular Quay.

Joseph Fowles, a contemporary illustrator, in a book of sketches published by him in 1848, has this to say of the central building here shown:—

"The Police Office was erected for a market house, from the design of Mr. Greenaway, and, as far as its exterior is concerned, is certainly creditable to the Colony. The portico on the south side, or front, with four Grecian pillars supporting a pediment and roof, forms the entrance, with doors leading into the courts on either side. . . . This building, surmounted by its cupola and lantern rising from the centre to a considerable height, forms a considerable object visible from all parts of the city and the country for many miles around. The internal arrangements, however, are both unsightly and incommodious and anything but realise the anticipations formed by the external appearance of the building. . . . It is in contemplation to make some alterations and improvements in the interior of the present building, and, we confess, not before they are required, for it can hardly be expected that a building erected for a Market House and used for some time as a store, should be at all suitable for its present use."

(Sydney in 1848, from drawings by Joseph Fowles, pp. 57-59—by courtesy of the Mitchell Library.)

time as his crop was ready to harvest, and then to return and reap, thresh and market the miserable produce. Recultivating the land and resowing, the search for labour continued as before, wherever it could be found. Not a few were sold up by traders for non-payment of debts, and forced to continue working as tenants for merciless landlords, holding writs over their lands and possessions.

No doubt the hopes of government behind all this plan of free settlement had been to establish a flourishing yeomanry of capable farmers who would provide a balance between, on the one hand, the emancipists settled on small farms and maintaining a simple subsistence through the benevolence of government and the "king's store," and on the other hand, the larger farmer—graziers, content with their herds and flocks and the enriching of their own pockets. These yeomen, it was anticipated, with experience of English farming, would balance the primitive agriculture of the grain growers, dependent solely on wheat and maize, and exposed to the ravages of droughts, floods and pests. They would be "mixed farmers"; they would grow new crops; enlarge the possibility of exportable commodities; enter into dairying; cultivate "the olive" and "the vine"; and combine together many avenues of production so that they would not be bankrupted should one or other fail. But, with the exceptions, it was never like that. King, in 1802, had given a poor account of the free immigrants who by then had arrived, comparing them unfavourably with the settlers from convicts. He thought that New South Wales farming would be advanced "if fifty respectable families, the heads of which ought to be good practical farmers, were sent here with the idea of staying all their lives ([48]). Hunter before him had concluded that "very few of those sent out are likely to benefit the colony" and had wished with some feeling that "they had been left in their own country" ([49]). Bligh reported later that "the free settlers hitherto, have been a thoughtless lot of men—classes of plain farming men, of moderate expectations, are the most valuable to come here" ([50]). But it was Macquarie who had most to say on the subject. Of the free settlers in general he reported that "I find it now becoming almost a constant practice for persons who wish to get rid of some troublesome connections, to obtain permission at the Secretary of State's Office for their being allowed to come out here. By this means they relieve themselves and throw the weight of a most troublesome and useless set of persons on this country" ([51]). All he could say of the ex-soldiers was that: "The military habits of idle laziness possessed by these people render them the worst description of settlers, being almost universally lazy, dissipated, turbulent, and discontented" ([52]). He recommended that ex-soldiers be no longer considered eligible for land grants on retiring from the Army, but this advice was not followed by a home government faced with mass unemployment after the long years of war (1793-1815), and the task of finding jobs for the men at last demobilised after the more than twenty years' struggle against France. He asked for farmers, as every governor before him had asked for farmers, but the only conclusion can be that those who were capable stayed behind. Only the incapable, the unskilled, sought the new colony for opportunities.

In considering the ideal that was probably inherent in all these plans, the career of one successful farmer should be mentioned. This man was a friend or acquaintance of W. C. Wentworth, a Dumfrieshire farmer, who emigrated to New South Wales in 1815-1816 with a capital of £2,000. He would have been a "gentleman" no doubt in the early colony, but his story is of particular interest since it illustrates the diversified farming which was above everything else the need of the early colony, and which alone imported English free settlers could have provided. The name of this farmer is unknown, but it requires little imagination to see behind his activities the drive and foresight so lacking elsewhere, the "newer knowledge" which he was adapting to the colony. He was exceptional in possessing a capital of £2,000 in a settlement where pence rather than pounds counted in the pockets of the farmers, but at least he is a prototype of the free settler immigrant that Macquarie wished to see settled. The details of his career are condensed in two letters written to Wentworth in 1820 ([53]) :—

"*New South Wales, 1st September*, 1818.

Everything with me in this country goes on well, and Mrs. ——— and myself are more than content with the place, and our situation in it. My flocks do now, I think, rival the best in the colony in shape and fineness of wool. I hope to be able to send you of very good at least a ton and a half. We have the prospect of a great deal of grass this season. My lambs have done very well on rape, July and August, and cows for three months on turnips which enabled us to make plenty of butter when it was scarce. Our cheese turns out remarkably fine, not inferior to Cheshire. We shall probably make near a ton annually, and I think it will meet with a market in India by and by. I shall feed next year sixty hogs. Our hams are excellent. I have put in this year, with one pair of horses, 50 acres of wheat. It looks capital, and is estimated at 25 bushels per acre. It is all folded, and put into the ground in a different manner to what my neighbours do, and at half the expense. They are astonished at the appearance of it. I have likewise twenty acres of maize, and shall have more this season. I mean to sow forty acres of rape, and turnips for the sheep, to feed off old ewes, etc., etc. I find and know the benefit of this. I have got a 10-acre field of fine English grasses on my own land. Our flocks are now increasing to upwards of 2,100, including 630 lambs of this season. I have been very fortunate, you see, and have lost scarcely any and have no scab or other disease, but are all in good condition. They only want attention to do well in this fine climate. I mean to sell or feed 300 draft ewes, as I think it will be best not to have more than two breeding flocks, and besides I cannot afford to let them increase, but hope soon to get into the plan of selling off each year 300 3-year-old wethers, and 300 draft ewes. I think my situation will soon be very independent. I shall be very sparing, cautious and industrious until I get this brought about. My boys are now becoming very useful, and I thank God my own health is very fair. We are in great comfort here, I can assure you,

and can furnish our table well each day from our own produce. We have plenty of butter, cheese, milk, mutton, bacon, pork, poultry, etc., etc., and with fruit and vegetables of all descriptions we abound. With such fare, in this fine climate, our children, I assure you, grow like mushrooms and are content and happy, all inheriting their father's dislike of Sydney and love of the country."

"*From the same, dated 20th July,* 1819.

I have just finished sending off to Sydney, for shipment, sixteen bales of fine wool, the produce of our last shearing. I am happy to say the sheep continue doing as well as I could possibly wish, and the wool advancing equally in fineness. I can now commence selling after this year's shearing to advantage, having 300 3-year-old wethers, 300 2-year-old, and 300 wether lambs, so that I shall have 300 fat wethers regularly for the market. We are now busy making cheese and butter which regularly sell, cheese at 2s. wholesale and butter from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per lb. . . . I have this year put in 120 acres of wheat, and have my fine land at ——— all cleared to the extent of 120 acres. Indeed all things continue with me to go on well."

There were very few farmers in the early New South Wales colony like this Dumfrieshire yeoman, self-sufficient, capable, hard-working, enterprising, supported by his family in combining together successfully stock raising and the growing of both wheat for sale and green feed for his animals. With an income from many sources he was not dependent alone on one article of produce, but because he could weather the storms of markets and prices, he was certain to do well. Atkinson in 1826 stated that he could scarcely name ten good farmers in the colony ([54]). This friend of Wentworth's merited being one of them.

The only conclusion that it seems possible to draw from the effects of free settler immigration on the colony is that, whilst there was "a great increase in the cleared lands of the colony" this was the result of unplanned haphazard settlement, not "the progressive operation of a flourishing agriculture" ([55]). The clearing over and above what was required by the immediate situation of the colony constituted the "unnatural means" whereby through cost measured in terms of lives and miseries, the bush was brought into partial subjection for later development ([56]A). Certain it is, the indiscriminate settlement of everyone, both poor free immigrant and emancipist, irrespective of capital assets, adaptability or training, could never have assured a successful agriculture. Newer men, better than the first, arrived in the 1820's and 1830's; but even so, they did not really become prosperous except through stock-raising or trading.

It was thus that Commissioner Bigge was able to find in 1820 "very few persons of the free classes, who however respectable in character (were) not still suffering from the effect of early or later embarrassment" ([56]). "Their habitations possess little of the comfort or convenience that distinguish the houses of the middle

classes in England; and it is chiefly amongst those who have been connected with the superintendence of the labour of convicts and the sale of spirits" so he said, that he was able to distinguish "traces of wealth" ([57]).

THE MIDDLE AND LOWER ORDERS.

In considering the position of the small emancipist farmers, a convenient starting point is Macquarie's final apologia to Lord Bathurst in defence of his administration: " I found New South Wales a gaol and left it a colony. I found a population of idle prisoners, paupers and paid officials and left a large free community thriving in the produce of flocks and the labour of convicts" ([58]). True, the settlement had in the years of his office (1810 to 1821), increased considerably in size and importance. The population had been 11,590 persons, including the military; it was now 38,778. Acres cleared and under cultivation had increased from 7,615 to 32,267, horned cattle from 12,442 to 102,939, sheep from 25,888 to 290,158, pigs and other stock proportionately ([59]). He was correct in assuming that statistically the colony was more valuable when he left it than at the time of his arrival, but the figures misled him, or was it that by then he had given up all hope for the small settlers and by a change of front was looking to the capitalist, local and immigrant, to develop the colony? The truth is that, as all other contemporary observers make it plan to see, a healthy and well-balanced agriculture was showing, by 1820, as yet no signs of emerging. Farming was of all possible things the riskiest and least profitable; and the position of the small farmer-settler little above destitution. The evidence for this conclusion is overwhelming.

Atkinson (1826) is merciless on the emancipist farmers of the wheat lands ([60]). "If a foreigner who had travelled through Europe," he wrote, "were afterwards to visit New South Wales, he would scarcely be able to persuade himself that the inhabitants were derived from the same stock; he could hardly believe that the people who in the Mother-country cultivate their lands with such perseverance, industry and intelligence, should have become so extremely slothful and negligent, yet such is the case—the state of agriculture being rude and miserable in the extreme." He thought he saw the reasons for this being thus, from the fact that from the very first, the small settlers had been convicts and useless ex-soldiers, very few of whom had had any knowledge of agriculture, being mostly town bred and "from the very lowest orders of the people." They were thoughtless and negligent, with little regard for the comforts and conveniences of civilised society, and none for respectability; their whole wants satisfied by a sufficiency of food; little concerned with clothing except the barest minimum; their pleasures centred in drunkenness and debauchery. He could not see that men of this description could possibly have been calculated to develop the agricultural capabilities of the country, and his observations were that their farms exhibited "to this day nothing but a scene of confusion, filth and poverty." Their first necessarily rude huts of bark were still unreplaced in 1825, and their families had grown up "without education, useful knowledge,

or religious principles." They were the "Dungaree settlers"—men, women and children alike clothed in the coarse blue cloth imported from India—and he could not imagine "a more improvident, worthless race of people." And unfortunately, the greater number of them were farming on the banks of the Hawkesbury and Nepean and in the district of Airds—the "best lands of the colony." Then there is the evidence of Reverend William Lawry, a Wesleyan missionary, writing home to his parents in May, 1818 ([61]): "There are not taxes of any sort here. The farmer goes into the woods, cuts down timber, builds him a house, and when the trees are cleared, sows his corn and gets his crops without any difficulty; he pays no rent, the land is his own, no rates, no tythes, in short, has no expenses of any sort but labour;—upon this representation who would not image that New Holland was the best country in the world for farmers—and yet it is a fact that the farmers here are mere slaves and beggars; there is not one in the country worth a hundred pounds, and many of them not a hundred pence." Peter Cunningham in 1828 ([62]), and looking back on the earlier years of the colony, estimated that probably three-fourths of the emancipist settlers had been bankrupted through lack of capital, exhaustion of the soil, or debts to "rum traffickers." Wentworth in 1820 ([63]), speaking humanely of the local agriculture in a long argument as to the causes of its embarrassments, can speak only of "desertions," the "abandonment of farms," "dreadful deficiencies," "disease of the agricultural body," "pressure and embarrassment," "distress and misery," and of the "poor creatures who were farmers." Neither Wentworth nor Lang could see any "progressive operation of a flourishing agriculture." There are endless descriptions of these small settlers. From the first landing until the late 'twenties, when they sink behind the rising importance of the shepherd, they are variously described as "slovenly," "given to debauchery," "idle," "negligent," "improvident," and "drunken." There is scarcely anything ever said in their favour. They were always the small men without capital, their farms "indescribable scenes of chaos and confusion." Perhaps they were little worse in their agriculture than their counterparts, the arable field and common farmers of contemporary England, but there was this difference, that many were debauched before they ever farmed, and their farming experiences only served to intensify the hopelessness of their position. The primitiveness of their farming, the mistakes they made, were understandable; their fondness for strong drink was but a universal habit of the times among both rich and poor, but there can be nothing but sympathy for the privations they endured and the floods, droughts and pests they could not control. Throughout the early years of settlement, moreover, they were continually pressed by monopolists, fleeced constantly by traders who charged "100 per cent. to 500 per cent. interest" on their investments. Without command of resources indispensable to proper farming, their laborious hoe-husbandry, no matter how consistently pursued, was never able to command the poor soils which many of them were obliged to work. And if perchance there happened a good harvest, the government was unable to take their produce, and they were left exposed and without protection to the vagaries of

a market and prices which fluctuated invariably to their disadvantage. Oxley ([64]) thought that considering "the small means at their disposal," they might have "by industry and some capital" made farming pay, but almost universally, once their sentences had expired or been remitted, they were bundled out into some uncleared forest or some bank of a river "with very inadequate means." Inevitably the greater part of these men were bankrupted, or forced to follow a shiftless precarious existence. Some even by later Macquarie's time and even before this, were forced to abandon their farms and to seek employment in "job work for their more opulent neighbours," or else subsistence by "plunder and robbery."

It is not surprising then that Macquarie saw much that offended his susceptibilities on his periodical tours. In December, 1810, he could not forbear expressing his regret after a visit to the Hawkesbury and Nepean districts that "the settlers in general (had) not paid that attention to domestic comfort which they ought to do by erecting commodious residences for themselves and suitable housing for the reception of their grain . . . . nor (could) he refrain from observing on the miserable clothing of many of the people . . . . whose means of providing decent apparel at least (was) sufficiently obvious to leave them no excuse for that neglect . . ." He called attention to more "Economy and Temperance" ([65]). In 1813, he stated that "I look forward to an increased exertion on the part of the people by regularity of conduct and industry to render the colony less burthensome to the Mother Country and themselves worthy of the great benefit which has been conferred on them by the formation of it" ([66]). Again in 1815, he was forced to publicly express his regret "to (have) so frequently remarked that among the lower orders, great slovenliness and neglect of the most obvious and necessary duties of farmers were but too frequent and evident in their personal appearance and the state of their farms in regard to cultivation and improvement" ([67]). "Here (the Hawkesbury and Nepean districts)" he said, "farms, although long in a certain degree of cultivation, still remain totally devoid of fences, whereby the crops of grain are continually exposed to the inroads of the wandering herds and flocks and are frequently thereby destroyed or at least trodden down . . . . The fallen trees and dead stumps still remaining unburned, at once disfigure the appearance of the country and present the greatest impediments to everything like neatness or lucrative cultivation; and where these do not prevail the noxious plant called the Cotton Tree extends over large portions of rich soil, which, with a little industry, might be made to yield valuable crops of grain and pasturage. A very great neglect of manuring and otherwise improving these lands is also too evident to be passed over unnoticed; and to all these circumstances may be justly attributed the general deficiency of those comforts the families of the settlers seem commonly to labour under. The wretched mean appearances of the farm-houses and offices in these districts and the inattention to personal cleanliness of the inhabitants had frequently attracted (his) notice and (had) frequently called for his occasional reproof and admonition." He again, so he said, "calls the attention of the settlers to

all these points and most earnestly recommends to them to adapt a new system of industry and attention to the domestic comforts . . . . and trusts his advice and admonitions will be attended to (and) therefore expects to see well enclosed farms, good and bountiful crops, thriving cattle, good houses and a well dressed happy and contented people." There is something idealistic in these appeals of the governor, for there can be no doubting the sincerity of his motives, but he could not cure the apathy, the profound abjectness of his small farmer subjects, nor remove those causes which in New South Wales eventually bankrupted and led to the dispossession of at least the large majority of them. There is no argument that the drunkard, the improvident and the worthless were hopeless material for individual enterprise on the land, and were bound sooner later to lose their farms under any circumstances; but, as the sequel to this study will show, the tragedy of it all is that even the hard working and the worthy were caught up in the cogs of those discouragements and unfair practices which eventually ground them also penniless from their lands.

To the freed convict in Macquarie times, irrespective of suitability or resources, provided only that he had not been broken, there was always the certain prospect that he might become a landowner. The standard grant to the ex-convict was 30 acres if single, 50 if married, with an extra 10 acres for each child. This was magnamimously free of all taxes and quit rents for 10 years, but after that the owner was to pay the government 6d. a year for the 30 acres. The intention was that he would be supplied with cattle, sheep, pigs, seeds and tools by the government, and convict assistance to clear and cultivate and so establish a farm. In actual fact, however, these were never liberally supplied, for sometimes they were not there to be given; and in any case stock was only granted in the form of a loan to be later repaid in produce returned to the store. At the beginning, the settler, his family and servants, were victualled free of charge from the store for 18 months, but, as it has been seen, after 1817, this was reduced to 6 months, which even Bigge thought too short a period and recommended increasing to 12 months ([68]). The emancipists, it is true, were not obliged to take up farming. They could and did penetrate into every calling in the early colony, and in total they were probably wealthy enough—traders, settlers and the many others—at the time they addressed their memorial to the King in 1821 ([69]). The men, however, that farmed were in the main those who were unskilled for any particular calling or trade, not shrewd enough for dealing; what would be now termed unskilled labourers, blessed with nothing but a pair of hands. There may have been a few equipped with some knowledge of farming, but all contemporary observers seem agreed that they were in a very small minority.

There are just a few whose names appear in the records. When making his survey in 1820, Bigge found that "the most favourable instances that had occurred of the effect of transportation were exhibited in the persons as well as the properties of three men who had been transported in the early days of the colony" ([70]). These were George Best, John Pie and William Mobbs, all of

whom were living in the neighbourhood of Parramatta. "They were distinguished for the propriety of their conduct in the colony, for their respectable characters and for their unremitting industry." The Commissioner suggested that the "state of their farms and habitations attested in a conspicuous manner the united effects of good conduct in New South Wales and of industry when well applied." At Windsor, Richmond, Wilberforce, Portland Head and Pitt Town, out of a total of 149 persons, settled on their own properties and generally married, the Rev. Mr. Cartwright, however, could name only 83 whom he considered "industrious and well disposed, living upon their property and educating their children" ([71]). The Rev. Mr. Cowper at Sydney, a man who had always "paid unremitting attention to his clerical duties," thought that "with regard to character and respectability, allow me to observe briefly that while some are in general well conducted persons, concerning many, little that is praiseworthy can be advanced; though on their property resident, they are poor and immoral; there is not much religion amongst the best and the far greater part have not the appearance of it" ([72]). The Rev. Mr. Cartwright was charitable, for in his return of persons whom he considered respectable, were included the names of two persons thought of well by the Magistrates, but who in 1820, a short time afterwards, were tried and executed for cattle stealing, a practice in which it was believed they had been dealing extensively for a considerable time ([73]). Bigge's conclusions were that out of a total of 4,376 convicts whose sentences had been remitted, and who were resident in New South Wales in 1820, 296 could be considered respectable in character and conduct, and considering one half of those in Sydney in the same light, the total would be increased to 396 ([74]). In Van Diemen's Land, however, the "moral character and the general condition of the emancipated convicts appeared to be still lower than what it fairly may be taken in New South Wales" ([75]).

In the pages of the *Sydney Gazette* one further name stands out, and that is Thomas Gilberthorpe ([76]). Of him Macquarie had notice inserted in February, 1814: "The Governor publicly acknowledges one individual settler—Thomas Gilberthorpe in the district of Pitt Town . . . This person was the first to come forward in the present season of scarcity with the lowest and most reasonable Tender to supply Government with all the wheat and maize he could spare, and was the only settler in the Colony who last year delivered into the store the complete quantity he had tendered at the stipulated rate, although Grain had advanced considerably in price after he had sent in his original Tender. Such an instance of fair and upright conduct is entitled to the Governor's present commendation and acknowledgement with an assurance that his meritorious conduct on both occasions alluded to shall not pass unrewarded." No later reference can be found of any particular benefit which Gilberthorpe received. In the March flood of 1817 he had serious losses in property and stock of an estimated value of £700 or £800 ([77]), but apparently he recovered, for in November, 1818, there is this notice by him in the *Gazette*: "To all Hawkesbury men: Thursday 19th harvest commences at Hawkesbury, and among other Farmers Thomas

Gilberthorpe of Pitt Town will have 50 acres ready for reaping and the remainder in succession . . . Thomas Gilberthorpe in order to encourage first rate reapers to take the field will give 3 prizes to be reaped for on three different days. Each person will bring his own sickle or hook . . . Two prizes offered also to women—a wedding ring and a fine gown piece . . ." ([78]). Gilberthorpe must have been not only quite a fair farmer, but something of a psychologist as well.

The story of the small settler peasants, however, in the main, is throughout the whole first fifty years of agriculture in New South Wales a very sad one—pathetic is perhaps the proper description. It has been seen that from the very dawn of settlement, they were the victims not alone of the elements and of a peculiarly harsh and forbidding country, but of monopolists who had preyed upon their defencelessness. In the worst days of the rum traffic, the public stores had been so fixed that the settlers had had but few opportunities of getting full value for their crops. They had been "thrust out from the granary by (men) whose greater opulence created greater influence" ([79]). Collins had noted in 1798 the "poverty of the settlers" and the "ruination" of many of them, whilst there is on record the opinions of the Commissioners of Enquiry of the same year, Marsden, the principal Chaplain, and Arndell the Surgeon, that many of the ruined peasantry were sober and industrious ([80]). Throughout Macquarie times they continued miserably poor, living a hand-to-mouth existence, hundreds of them succeeding each other, three-fourths of them being probably bankrupted. In 1831 it is a case of the "poorer settlers being . . . depressed by bad seasons and floods," and the iniquities of an Impounding Act which had throttled all attempts at pig-raising, the only theoretically practical form of stock ownership open to them ([81]), whilst in 1842 it is a case of "God alone knows" what was going to happen to them because the bottom had fallen out of all markets for their products ([82]). It would be a fallacy, however, to consider that the poor settlers, "the lower and middling class", consisted of the same men, the same families over these fifty years. In point of fact, whilst the broad social grouping can be said to have continued throughout, its composition varied probably from year to year. Much land was constantly changing hands, aggregating in Macquarie times into the possession of traders, the first absentee farm landlords in Australia. It is plain to see that in these times the problem of farm tenancy first arose.

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(4) Cf. Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. 7, Scott, pp. 111-2.
(5) Cit. Barnard Macquarie's World, p. 135.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid.
(8) Ibid.
(9) Bigge Colony op. cit. and general conclusions.
(9A) Fitzpatrick—British Imperialism and Australia, pp. 117, 118. See also H.R.A. I—III, pp. 613, 614; King to Hobart, 9.11.1802; King to Hobart, 9.5.1803, and the Memorials of the Trustees H.R.A. I, IV, p. 159.
(10) Transcripts of Evidence op. cit. (200 of the 250 acres had been blighted by the drought).
(11) Bigge A. & T. op. cit. p. 14.
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(13) Barnard op. cit. p. 50.
(13A) Bigge—Report upon the Colony of N.S.W., p. 123.
(14) Ibid.
(15) The Australian, 13th May, 1826.
(16) Peter Cunningham R.N. "Two years in N. S. Wales" Vol. 2, Chapter 5, p. 40.
(17) The Australian, 29th December, 1826.
(18) Bigge A. & T. op. cit. p. 15.
(18A) Pastures New—Baylis and Kenyon, p. 173.
(19) H.R.A. I, VIII, p. 347.
(20) Cf. Classic description by Mrs. Macarthur in "Early Records of the Macarthurs of Camden."
(21) Lang—An Historical and Statistical Account of N.S.W. (1875), p. 100.
(21A) C.H.B.E. Vol. 7, p. 102.
(21B) Ibid.
(21C) Ibid, p. 104 cf. Evatt, Rum Rebellion.
(22) Cf. H. V. Evatt, The Rum Rebellion—this gives an analysis of the controversies in which Macarthur was involved.
(23) Fitzpatrick op. cit. p. 137.
(24) Ibid.
(25) Ibid.
(26) Barnard op. cit. p. 133.
(27) Ibid.
(28) Ibid.
(29) Ibid.
(30) Ibid.
(31) Bigge A. & T. op. cit. p. 41.
(32) Barnard op. cit. pp. 48-50.
(33) Cf. Fitzpatrick op. cit. p. 116.
(34) Barnard op. cit. pp. 48-50.
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(37) Sydney Gazette, 29th August, 1812.
(38) Ibid. 13th June, 1818; 20th June, 1818.
(39) Cf. Fitzpatrick op. cit. pp. 102, 109, 115, 119.
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(41) Ibid. 9th December, 1815

(43) Ibid, 24th March, 1821.
(44) Bigge A. & T. op. cit. p. 13.
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(48) Cf. Fitzpatrick op. cit. p. 133.
(49) H.R.A. Hunter to King I, 1, p. 565; H.R.A. I, VI, p. 149.
(50) H.R.A. I, VI, p. 149.
(51) H.R.A. Ibid p. 597-8.
(52) Barnard op. cit. p. 136.
(53) Wentworth op. cit. p. 465.
(54) Atkinson op. cit. p. 34-35.
(55) Wentworth op. cit. p. 219.
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(62) Cunningham op. cit. p. 159.
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(67) Ibid, 16th December, 1815.
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(69) Barnard op. cit. p. 60.
(70) Bigge—The Colony, p. 142.
(71) Ibid pp. 142-43.
(72) Ibid, p. 143.
(73) Ibid.
(74) Ibid.
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(76) Sydney Gazette, 19th February, 1814.
(77) Ibid, 8th March, 1817.
(78) Ibid, 14th November, 1818.
(79) Collins—A History of the Colony of N.S.W. pp. 376-377, 343.
(80) H.R.A., I, 11, p. 141 et seq.
(81) Sydney Herald, 16th May, 1831; 13th June, 1831; 25th July, 1831.
(82) MSS. Diary of J. A. Bettes, kept at Wilmington, N.S.W.—Nov. 5, 1839 to Dec. 27, 1850 (Mitchell Library).