# **CHAPTER FIVE**

# Figures in the Landscape: the experience of the station's least visible workers

"Who does not know what sums are made by cottagers and small occupiers of the produce of their gardens and orchards, by carefully looking after it and ... bringing it to market?"

Wm Howitt, Rural Life of England, 1840

Until the last quarter of the twentieth century Australia's history in the colonial and early-Federation period was examined through a predominantly Anglo-centric and almost exclusively male lens.<sup>1</sup> The overstatement and over-simplification which resulted was nowhere more evident than in the depiction of life in rural districts, where references to women, children and non-European workmen were uniformly slight, subordinate and peripheral to the particular historian's theme. This heavilymale imbalance was reinforced by the publication, between 1958 and 1973, of successive re-interpretations of the colonial period. While each highly-respected author gave different reasons for the colonies' socio-economic development, from Ward's itinerant bushmen and Blainey's determinative 'distance', to 'squatterdom's domination' (Roberts, Kiddle and Waterson) and the influence of Clark's 'men of the Enlightenment', all agreed on the overwhelmingly male character of Australian society. Nor, later in the 1970s, did the emergence of innovative feminist historians like Miriam Dixson, Ann Summers and Beverley Kingston. While each concentrated upon women's unacknowledged agency in Australia's socio-economic development, they paid scant attention to their low profile in rural history.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For want of a more suitable alternative, 'Anglo' is used to refer to Great Britain/United Kingdom

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Typical examples include: Ernest Scott, *A Short History of Australia*, London, 1924: S.H. Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement 1788-1920*, Melbourne, 1924; R.M. Crawford, *Australia*, London, 1952: Gordon Greenwood, *Australia: A Social and Political History*, Sydney, 1955; R. Ward, *The Australian Legend*, Melbourne, 1958: M. Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday: A Social History of the Western District of Victoria 1834-1890*, Parkville, 1961 (emphasis added); S.H. Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia 1835-1847*, London 1935; G. Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: how distance shaped Australia's history*, Melbourne,

However, from the 1980s, the established 'white-male' historiography came under further challenge from a disparate group of social historians, many of whom were both female and feminist. Concerned to correct the long-established imbalance, they explained the significant contribution each of these groups made to the development of rural Australia in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. While Maree Murray focused upon the ubiquity of children's labour, Patricia Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake and Katrina Alford described the crucial importance, from the mid-1860s, of the unpaid 'outdoor' and 'indoor' labour of free-selectors' wives, unmarried female relatives and children. This 'family economy', the subject of a recent detailed study of the Dungog district in the late-nineteenth century by Glenda Strachan, Ellen Jordan and Hilary Carey, was thus as essential to small-holders' survival in northeastern New South Wales as it had been in pre- and proto-industrial England.<sup>3</sup>

Other revisionist historians, including Kathryn Cronin, E.B. Swanson, Roger Millis and, in particular, Maxine Darnell, have traced the origins and living and working experiences of the shiploads of cheap bonded labourers whom desperate squatters imported from Amoy in southern China between 1848-9 and 1852. A larger subset, containing Henry Reynolds, Dawn May, Alison Howard and Peggy Brock, has examined the vital, widespread but long-neglected contribution which, until the 1960s, Indigenous people made to Australia's rural economy. All researchers into Indigenous history agree that the nation's original inhabitants were relegated to the lowest-paid, most menial casual or seasonal employment. However, some, including

<sup>1966;</sup> C.M.H. Clarke, A History of Australia, Vols I-III, Carlton, 1962-73; D. Waterson, Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper: A history of the Darling Downs 1859-93, Sydney, 1968: A. Summers, Damned whores and God's police: The colonization of women in Australia, Ringwood, 1975; B. Kingston, My wife, my daughter and poor Mary Anne: women and work in Australia, Melbourne, 1975: M. Dixson, The Real Matilda: Women and identity in Australia 1788-1975, Harmondsworth, 1976.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Maree Murray, 'Children's Work in Rural New South Wales in the 1870s' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 79, Nos. 3-4, 1973, pp. 226-44; Patricia Grimshaw, 'Man's Space, Women's Place', in P. Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath & Marian Quartley (eds), *Creating a Nation 1788-1990*, Ringwood, 1996, pp. 106-30; P. Grimshaw, C. Fahey, S. Janson & T. Griffiths, 'Families and Selection in Colonial Horsham', in P. Grimshaw, C. McConville & E. McEwen (eds), *Families in Colonial Australia*, Sydney, 1985; M. Lake, 'Helpmeet, slave, Housewife: women in rural families 1870-1930', in Grimshaw et al, *Families*, pp. 173-85; K. Alford, 'Women's Employment in Urban and Rural Australia', in *Production and Reproduction? An economic history of women in Australia*, 1788-1960, G. Strachan, E. Jordan and H. Carey, 'Women's work in a Rural Community: Dungog and the Upper Williams Valley, 1880-1900', *Labour History*, No. 78, May 2000, pp. 33-52.

Ann Curthoys and Clive Moore, Kay Saunders, Ann McGrath and I.C. Campbell, argue that rather than remaining purely passive and 'acted upon', Indigenous people, when given the opportunity, exerted a degree of active agency in their negotiations with incoming European settlers, exchanging labour for continuing tenure of their traditional 'country'. This was certainly true of Ollera's dispossessed Banbai people, who lived and worked on the station until the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter, which closely examines the lives and work of women, their children, single Chinese males and Indigenous people on Ollera-Tenterden, supports and extends the revisionist historians' case. Support for, and an extension of, their argument is provided by evidence of the modified, highly successful operation of the traditional pre-and proto-industrial 'family economy' on the twin-stations both prior to and after the advent of free-selection in 1866, and of the substantial amounts earned by the rural labourers' families throughout the colonial period.

Though still adequate, albeit far less extensive where Chinese and Indigenous employees are concerned, the station's highly detailed records provide valuable insights into the significant contribution all these hitherto largely overlooked workers made to the economic and social success not only of European workmen's families but also of the paternalist squirearchy on which they worked. Their efforts were hidden as references to them in the journals, account books and personal letters written by the station's owners are terse and almost always indirect. Although a few women and girls *were* paid separately, it is only by reading between the lines of the male workers' quarterly wage settlements that the supplementary earnings of most of the European women and children can be ascertained and their value determined. Further detailed and valuable insights into the daily lives of these largely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> K. Cronin, 'The Chinese Rural Labourer', in R. Evans, K. Saunders and K. Cronin (eds), *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland; A History of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination,* St Lucia, 1988, pp. 237-53; R. Millis, *The Wallabadah Manuscript: Recollections of the Early Days by William Telfer Jnr*, Kensington, 2003; M. Darnell, 'The Chinese Labour Trade to New South Wales 1783-1853, PhD Thesis, UNE, 1997; E.B. Swanson, 'Chinese Immigrants in Hew England', *Journal of the Armidale District Historical Society,* Armidale, No.11, 1968, pp. 28-33; H. Reynolds, With the White People: The Crucial *Role of Aborigines in the Exploration and Development of Australia*, Ringwood, 1990; A. McGrath, K. Saunders (eds) with J. Huggins, 'Aboriginal Workers', in *Labour History*, Vol. 69, 1995, pp. 52-64; I.C. Campbell, 'Social Backgrounds and Relations with the Aborigines of New England', *Journal of the Armidale District Historical Society*, Vol. 14, 1971, pp. 1-11; Ollera Station Records (OSR), *University of New England Regional Archives* (UNERA), A103:V3052/29.

unacknowledged people are provided by the almost complete sequence of station diaries kept by Ollera's long-serving superintendent, James Mackenzie, between 1862 and 1887.<sup>5</sup>

As we have seen, the Everett brothers' skills as resident managers and longterm planners are exemplified by two crucial decisions the siblings made during their twenty-year joint residence in New England. Between 1840 and 1861 they brought more than fifty assisted immigrants to Ollera from the countryside around their father's Wiltshire estate. Successive generations of these eighteen shepherd and labouring families, many of whom free-selected land on the station after 1866, formed the nucleus of the Everetts' permanent and remarkably stable workforce. Then, with characteristic caution, in mid-1857 John Everett delayed his return to England by almost a year as he confirmed the suitability of Ollera's new superintendent, James Mackenzie.<sup>6</sup>

Mackenzie's appointment proved vital to the venture's long-term success. For thirty years until his death in late 1887, the honest, hard-working Anglo-Scot was the linch-pin which held the increasingly prickly, long-distance partnership together. A member of the Wyndham-Everett network of 'kinship and friendship', Mackenzie consolidated his position in New England's landholding elite when, in 1860, he married the daughter of E.G. Clerk, of Clerkness near modern Bundarra, and within a decade was appointed to the regional magistracy and Anglican Synod. But Edwin Everett's presence at Tenterden, the station on Ollera's western boundary which the sibling partnership purchased in 1861-62 and where Edwin based himself from 1864, meant Mackenzie's position in the station's hierarchy, which matched that of an English land agent, remained equivocal. Overall responsibility for the daily management of Ollera-Tenterden was his, but ultimately, decisions about the greatly-enlarged station's direction were the province of his resident and English-based employers.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OSR, UNERA, A103a-c; A103: 2010, Access. No. pending.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M. Rodwell, 'A few honest men: Assisted Immigration and the Family Economy at Ollera Station, Guyra 1840-c.1960', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 11, 2009, pp. 47-68, 72-4; OSR, Fragment of Edwin Everett's Diary, 1856-67, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, London, 1992, for the importance of 'kinship and friendship' networks; OSR, Edwin to John Everett, 7 May 1862, *UNERA*, A103:2010 Access. No. pending.

Mackenzie's wife's position was perhaps even more ambivalent and only obliquely 'visible'. Anna-Maria Clerk Mackenzie belonged to one of the district's highly respected and influential founding families. As Edwin Everett remained a bachelor, Anna-Maria was *de facto* mistress of Ollera-Tenterden and Mackenzie's diaries record the diligence with which she fulfilled her responsibilities as a colonial 'lady of the manor'. Accompanied by her husband or by a trusted male employee, she constantly did the rounds of the isolated shepherding stations and selections on the vast run, aiding and comforting ill and injured men, women and children; consoling the recently-bereaved; attending at child-birth and generally doing her paternalist duty to these families. On medical visits to station families she was accompanied by Jane Farrell, the station's veteran nurse-midwife. On primarily social visits, Mrs Mackenzie was accompanied by Miss Wright, Ollera's long-serving children's nurse/lady's companion and by one or more of the children.

Anna-Maria Mackenzie's other responsibilities included entertaining a constant stream of visitors to both head-stations to evenings filled with whist or chess, music and dancing and in the 1880s, as her older children reached adulthood, by amateur theatricals. She organized and presided over fund-raising bazaars and Christmas Trees for the Anglican and Presbyterian churches in Armidale and, after 1876, for the construction of Ollera's beautiful little church which was dedicated to both denominations. From the early 1880s she organized the 'Harvest Home' service which, followed by sports in the afternoon then dancing and fireworks at night, was a highlight of the station's religious and social year. She also monitored the conduct of the teachers and students at each of the five secular, Sunday and evening schools which were functioning on the station by the 1870s, overseeing examinations, prize-givings and school picnics.<sup>8</sup>

However, the inherent ambivalence of Mrs Mackenzie's position and the consequent demands upon her time are most evident in her responsibility for the smooth running of two households. The diaries record the frequency with which the busy mother of ten children was called down to Tenterden where she installed new servants, 'house-sat' in Edwin Everett's absence, and with her adolescent daughters, generally spruced-up the interior. Although the diaries contain no hint of Anna-Maria's reaction to the demands of her aging and increasingly wilful employer, years

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, passim

of unwilling compliance may explain the depth of the strained relationship between the recently-widowed Mrs Mackenzie and Edwin Everett in early 1888. Grieving and clearly reluctant to leave her home of almost thirty years and move to Stratton, the 2,000 acre selection Mackenzie took up between 1875 and 1884, Anna-Maria obstinately stayed put, refusing to acknowledge her increasingly impatient exemployer's need to house his new superintendent. Though things settled down and Stratton's sheep continued to be shorn, at a price, in Ollera's shed and her sons worked seasonally on the station, Edwin's marked coolness towards her persisted.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the diaries' circumspection, repeated references to the constant turnover of household servants at Ollera head-station suggest that repressed resentment may have made Mrs Mackenzie a difficult and demanding mistress. Governesses proved increasingly difficult to retain, posing a continuing problem. Only Miss Wright, who between 1864 and her return to England in mid-1880 earned at least £59.3s.6d, remained for more than a few years evolving from children's nurse into lady's-companion. Between 1872 and mid-1887 seven governesses, five of whom arrived between 1880 and 1887, were employed at Ollera.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, in the preceding eight years, when responsibility for the education of up to seven of the ten Mackenzie children made the governess' workload greatest, both Miss Nisbet and her successor, Miss Toole, remained for around four years. Though almost certainly incomplete in Miss Nisbet's case, the records show that during these years she received payments of £29.11s.2d, while the apparently more skilled, experienced and almost-certainly harder-worked Miss Toole was paid £88.4s.2d. The records suggest that age, experience and the number of pupils determined each governess' salary. In 1880-81 Miss Buckley, who was teaching six or seven pupils, was paid £15 per quarter (£63 per annum). In eleven months from mid-December 1885 to late October 1886, Miss Elliott, with only half as many pupils, was paid £7.5s.0d per quarter. A cryptic note dated 1887 which appears at the end of her 1885-6 'settlements' suggests that she may also have been paid extra for piano lessons. '1887: Miss Elliott has had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> OSR, Edwin to John Everett, 7 May 1862, UNERA, A103: 2006, Access. No.pending

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> OSR, Station Ledgers, 1865-1890, UNERA, A103:V2261-63

up to date on her Piano: £12.0s.0d'.<sup>11</sup> She apparently left Ollera in the first half of 1887 when the diary records the arrival of her replacement, Miss Soares.

Household servants proved no easier to retain than governesses. The regularity with which kitchen, house and nursery-maids and especially cooks came and went at three-, six- or, in a few cases, twelve-monthly intervals suggests that more was involved than the difficulties of serving a large family in still primitive conditions. For example, between May 1874 and April 1876 at least eight different adolescent girls worked for weeks to months as domestic servants at Ollera's headstation.<sup>12</sup> Like Tantiock, Sammy and Jimmy Morseman, the Chinese shepherds who, with at least one Indigenous workman served as cooks of last resort, most of these women and girls were recruited, often at very short notice, from the families of the station's employees. Female cooks such Mrs Jane Farrell, Mrs Mitchell and the recently-widowed Mrs Beazley, each of whom worked frequently for the Mackenzies, earned 15s.0d a week. Housemaids received 6s.0d or 7s.0d a week; nursery-maids 4s.0d to 5s.0d. Washerwomen earned £7.10.0d a quarter. At about 5s.9d a week this was about the rate at which boy-labourers were paid.<sup>13</sup>

Service in either of the head-stations offered important opportunities to young women who could cope with long days of hard work for an apparently demanding mistress. Those who persisted could acquire training in a variety of highly valued household skills. But, for women and girls alike, the chance to contribute to their families' income was almost certainly a greater, more immediate incentive. Between May 1879 and October 1883 Carry Carpendale earned £82.3s.6d as she rose through the ranks from nursery-maid to cook. With her sister, Mary Ann, who in the nine months she worked at Ollera House in 1882-83 earned a further £8.1s.0d, Carry contributed significantly to her family's income. Their father, Thomas Carpendale, earned £40 pa. for shepherding a single flock. His daughters' combined earnings of £92.4s.6d therefore represented more than two years of his wage. It is possible that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> OSR, James Mackenzie's Private Account Book [JMPAB], *UNERA*. A103:V2257; DJM, V3052/40-48; V3053/23/24; V3054/1-12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3054/1-3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3052/40-48; 3054/4: JMPAB, A103:2257

Carry's financial contribution influenced Carpendale's decision to free-select 100 acres of land on Ollera in late 1879.<sup>14</sup>

Mrs Jane Farrell made an even greater contribution to her family's income. Residence on Ollera since the early 1850s, possession of valuable nursing and domestic skills and marriage to the station's long-distance bullock-driver combined to make her the Everetts' most frequently mentioned and thus most clearly 'visible' female employee. Until the northern railway reached Tamworth in the late 1870s, shortening her husband's absences from home, for ten to fourteen weeks each year Mrs Farrell had sole day-to-day responsibility for her growing family and the opportunity to earn independently. In addition to her duties as the station's nursemidwife and regular and varied service in the Mackenzie household, Mrs Farrell also cooked, washed and sewed for the station's shearers and for several single male employees, earning £128.18s.9d in the five-and-a-half years between December 1866 and May 1871. This sum comprised £58.6s.3d earned as the superintendent's and the shearers' cook, £11.14s.0d for housework and £52.10s.0d for laundry work for the Mackenzie family, and £6.8s.6d washing and sewing for single workmen. The importance of Mrs Farrell's earnings is clear when her husband's wage is considered. During these years Garrett Farrell was paid £1 per week for his work as a bullockdriver and 15s.0d (£40 per annum) as a shepherd for the remaining months, giving him an estimated annual wage of £43 -£45.<sup>15</sup>

Nor was Mrs Farrell the only other contributor to the family's income during these years. Between 1868 and 1871, when the name 'J. Farrell' appears in the record of her earnings, one of her sons (James or John) earned a further £111.3s.9d. Probably about twelve years old when first employed in 1868, the lad earned £10.17s.6d in the first year, £29.11s.3d in the next, £54.15s.0d in 1870 and £16.0s.0d in 1871 for his work at lambing time, as a rouseabout in the shearing shed, and as a drover and general labourer. Thus, in the five-and-a-half years between 1866 and July 1871, during which she earned £128.18s.9d, Jane Farrell and her adolescent son contributed £240.2s.6d, or the equivalent of almost six years of Garrett Farrell's earnings, to their family's income.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> OSR, JMPAB, UNERA, A103:V2257; Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, A103:V2258

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> OSR, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, UNERA, A103:V2258

Only the combination of particular skills and the greater independence which resulted from her husband's frequent long absences made Jane Farrell a direct, and thus more immediately obvious, member of the station's paid workforce. In every other way, the Everett brothers' best-paid female employee was typical of the increasing number of women and children who made similar, though less 'visible', contributions to family budgets. Their experience was not a recent development. Since the early 1840s, and particularly after 1847, the paid, supplementary employment of the families settled on the Everett brothers' 'run' had been an important element in the station's management. Many of them were newly arrived, assisted immigrants from England's impoverished rural south who were encouraged by their new 'masters' to become at least partially self-sufficient. As a result, most shepherding stations were soon fringed with quarter- to half-acre plots of cultivated land on which various cereals, potatoes, vegetables, fruit and hay were grown. Poultry, a couple of farrowing pigs, and one or two cows and horses were also kept.<sup>17</sup>

The scheme, a modified version of the traditional 'family [or cottage] economy' which characterized England's rural society until the 1760s, benefited both 'masters' and 'men'. As dedicated paternalists and convinced Evangelicals, the Everett brothers may also have been influenced by the success of the recently-introduced allotment system in improving the living standards and tractability of those fortunate southern English rural labourers who could access them. Whatever their motivation, the increased self-sufficiency which all three Everetts encouraged in their workers increased employee-satisfaction and stability and reduced the high cost and difficulty of transporting bulky, perishable foodstuffs on the long haul up from Maitland or from Lawrence, the port on the Clarence River.<sup>18</sup>

At Ollera the assumption, by shepherds' wives and children, of the male hutkeeper/watchmen's duties replaced the domestic spinning and better-paid fieldwork that had been a traditional source of supplementary employment for women in rural Britain. Unlike their female forebears and their increasingly employmentdeprived English contemporaries, women at Ollera and Tenterden not only added to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> OSR, Station Ledger, UNERA, A103;V2263; Rodwell, 'A few honest men', pp. 61-66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> M. Berg, *Age of Manufactures: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain 1700-1820*, London, 1985, pp. 121-23; British Parliamentary Papers (1843), 'Report of the Select Committee on the Labouring Poor (Allotments of Land), *Agriculture*, Vol. IX, Shannon, 1968, pp. 11-13.

their families' income but performed work usually reserved for men, normally receiving about half the male wage. Moreover, in times of dire need exceptions were made. When labour scarcity peaked at the height of the Rocky River goldrush in the early 1850s, both Mrs Maria Canning Bryant and Mrs Sophia Wilson earned  $\pounds 15.9s.3d$  and  $\pounds 23.0s.0d$  as shepherds. Significantly, each was paid independently, and at the full male rate for such work.<sup>19</sup>

But except for occasional, specific tasks like laundry-work, sewing and cooking during the shearing weeks, almost all the money earned by Ollera-Tenterden's women and children was hidden within their male breadwinner's wage. Some historical imagination must therefore be applied to the quarterly or half-yearly 'settlement' records of these workmen to reveal the important contribution made by their family members. The first clue lies in the traditional division of labour within the 'family economy' and later allotment systems and which was maintained when these families became free selectors. Women and pre-adolescent children supplemented the family finances in several ways. They assisted during the busy, five-to-six week lambing period, reared poddy lambs and calves, kept poultry, ran the dairy and raised pigs; produce which, largely, was then sold to the station. For example, in 1863 Mrs Cameron earned £5.8s.6d for the sale of 138lbs bacon to the station store, while in seven of the ten years between 1866 and 1876 Sam Dudman's wife Mary received a total of £18.3s.5d from the sale of bacon worth £15.13s.5d, another 10s.0d for a sucking pig and a bonus of £2.0s.0d for milking.<sup>20</sup>

However, the small acreages they cultivated were by far the steadiest, most rewarding sources of supplementary income for Ollera-Tenterden's families. Although the preparatory 'spade' work was done by men, the women and children planted, cultivated and helped harvest the crops, though their input was unrecorded. But how, without the consistent labour of their families, could full time 'general labourers' and shepherds of single or double flocks of 1,000 to 2,000 sheep have regularly supplied the station with quite considerable quantities of wheat, oats, barley, corn, potatoes, onions and hay? For example: at the quarterly settlements in spring 1863, John Matley was paid £35, consisting of £16.1s.0d for shepherding a double flock and £18.19s.0d for corn. His fellow shepherd, J. Macintosh, received £34.8s.3d,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> OSR, Account Book 1841-72, UNERA, A103:V2259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> OSR, Station Ledgers, UNERA, V2261-2.

at least half being from the sale of corn and potatoes. Between 1862 and 1864 their workmate James Jackson earned £26.16s.0d, about an extra nine months' wages, from the sale of 49 bushels of oats (£20.6s.0d) and a ton of potatoes (£6.10s.0d). In the six years after 1862, the shepherd Tom Dawson earned an extra £58.7s.3d from the sale of corn, wheat, oats, butter and poddy lambs to his employers.<sup>21</sup>

Close examination of the payments made to the farm labourer, Thomas Cotterell, between 1866 and 1883 (Table 10) reveals the consistency and significant value of these supplementary earnings. While Cotterell continued to work as a farm labourer on Ollera-Tenterden, his wife Martha sold produce worth £182.9s.9d to the station. By 1879, to their master's chagrin, the childless couple who had arrived at Ollera as penniless assisted-immigrants from Wiltshire in late 1848, possessed '450 acres of improved land, 2,000 four-year-old sheep and a prelease'.<sup>22</sup>

'ear	Produce	£. s. d	Totals
866	25 bushels oats	8.15.0	
	$7\frac{1}{2}$ bushels wheat (T)	6. 0.0	
	Oats for Entires	<u>20. 0.0</u>	£32.12.6
867	Wheat to E. Everett (T)	25.0 0	£25.0.0
876	Eggs, Poultry & Potato	es 1.9.0	£ 1.9.0
877	Hay and Oats	26.0.0	£26. 0. 0
879	Hay	16.0.0	
	Oats, 31 bushels	7.0.0	£23.0.0
880	49 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> bushels Oats & 2.0	)d 7. 8. 6	
	Crop of Hay	15.0.0	£22.8.6
881	Crop of Hay	15.0.0	£15.0.0
882	41 bushels Oats @ 4/6	9.4.6	£ 9. 4. 6
883	94 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> bushels Oats	21.5.3	
	Нау	6.0.0	£27.5.3
883			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> OSR, Station Ledger, UNERA, A103:V2260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> OSR, John Everett to James Mackenzie, 23 April 1879, UNERA, 2010, Access. No. pending.

Though impressive, these supplementary earnings were surpassed by those of James Mackenzie's immediate subordinate, Donald Stewart. Within three years of his employment as a labourer at Ollera in 1860, the young, self-funded immigrant Scotsman became the station's capable overseer a position for which, for the next twenty years, he received from £100 to £120 a year.<sup>23</sup> Although the station's sheep were his principal responsibility, for a decade beginning in the mid-1860s Stewart appears also to have managed the agricultural outstation at Tangley on Sandy Creek, south of Ollera's head-station. Two separate entries strongly support this suggestion. In 1862, James Reeves had also earned £100 'by farming and attending to the Ollera farm for one year without rations'.<sup>24</sup> Table 11 details Stewart's sales of produce to the station in the decade after 1866. Evidence that, for the first five years Donald Stewart received exactly the same wage as Reeves for his oversight of the station's flocks *and* management of the farm at Tangley, suggests that unlike Reeves, he had little 'hands on' involvement with the farm. This, with male help at peak periods, would have been the province of his wife and younger children.

Mrs Catherine Stewart and her children would therefore have contributed considerably to the £817.9s.2d, which represented almost half of the £1,907.9s.2d her husband earned during these years. The family's successful operation of the station's modified 'family economy' labour-system enabled Stewart to purchase Tangley from Edwin Everett between 1872 and 1875. The fertile 320-acre farm formed the base from which, in the following fifteen years, Donald Stewart acquired a further 3,421 acres of adjoining land. 1,400 of these 3,741 acres were selected under Stewart's name, a further 1,250 were taken up in the names of four of his children and the remaining 1,091 acres were acquired from two adjoining failed selectors, Archibald McFarlane and Charles Willis Jnr. The sheep-overseer-turned-pastoralist continued in this manner until, by 1902, he held 5,693 acres on Ollera run.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ross Fraser, 'Notes re my Grandfather Donald Stewart, Unpublished biographical material provided to the author in 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> OSR, Station Ledger, UNERA, A103:V2260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Tangley Station Records, Ledger containing Donald Stewart's handwritten list of this selections, dated 2 October 1910, *UNERA*, A133:V5628, Miscellaneous Station Records, *UNERA*, Box, 6.20

Year	Salary	Supplementary Income Earned	£. s. d	Total
1866	£100 p.a	Flour and bags to Station	103.2.0	£103.2.0
1867		Flour, siftens and bags	48.2.9	
		Potatoes	20. 8. 0	
		Oats	2.15.0	
		Flour - 660 lbs	4.17.6	
		Bags	2.10.0	
		Seed wheat	2.10.0	£85.1.0
1868		Bacon	1.12.0	
		Sandy Creek Account	80. 8. 0	
		Potatoes	1.8.0	£83.8.0
1869		6,913 lbs Flour and 22 bag bran	36. 1. 9	
		8 tons 3cwt Flour	122. 5. 0	
		Bran and Pollard	8.10.0	£166.16.9
1870		14,366 lbs	107.12.6	
		Bran	7.10.0	£115.2.6
871	£110 p.a	Flour	55.0.0	
		Bran and Pollard	4.10.0	
		Oats and Bags	30. 9.0	£89.19.0
872	£120 p.a	Wheat	70.15.9	
		Oats	23.2.9	£93 18.6
1873		Wheat, 45 bushels @ 6/-	13.10.0	
		Oats, 39 bushels, 33 lbs @ 5/-	9.15.0	
		Potatoes, 23 cwt 8qr @ 6/-	5.16.3	£29.1.3
874		Wheat, 205 bushels	46.13.9	
		Barley, 108[lbs] Barley, Watts f	àrm 9. 0	
875		Oats, 18 bushels	4.6.5	<u>£4. 6. 5</u>
				<u>£817. 9. 2</u>

Although the station's records tell us much about the lives and work of women and children on Ollera-Tenterden, they contain far less information about its Chinese and Indigenous employees. Chinese shepherds had worked on Ollera since 1852.<sup>26</sup> While all six of the Chinese men who arrived from Amoy as indentured labourers at £7.4s.0d per annum in 1852-53 had apparently left the station by 1860, at least twenty of their compatriots were employed on Ollera-Tenterden between 1862 and 1868, a presence which continued into the mid-1880s. Though most worked from a few weeks to less than two years, some spent more than a decade on the station. They included Untion, Tonyang and Tantiock, who with Young Sam did several short stints as the Mackenzies' cook, and also Loo Sue and Jimmy Morseman, both of whom died at their shepherding stations. But by far the longest serving, most valued Chinese shepherd was Old Sam who, until his death in the 1880s was one of the station's 'Old Pensioners'. Though the size of their flocks is not given, by the mid-1860s each was being paid about £40 a year, at or just under the wages paid to shepherds of a single flock. For example, between November 1864 and January 1865 Young Sam was paid £21.0s.0d, from which £9.4s.9d was deducted for purchases at the Store. He earned £6.15s.0d for helping at the lambing, £3.0s.0d for twelve days sheep-washing, £2.0s.0d for work at the woolshed, £2.5s.0d for two weeks and one-and-a-half days spent haymaking and £7.0s.0d for unspecified work on Mackenzie's account. Three Chinese shepherds who worked for six to nine months in the mid-1880s were hired at the 'going' rate of  $\pounds 36 - \pounds 40.0$ s.0d per annum.<sup>27</sup> The lives of these men must have been lonely. All appear to have remained single, the diaries' only reference to a married Chinese man being to a doctor who was on his way to treat 'a Chinaman's wife at Tingha' in the late 1860s.<sup>28</sup> Isolated geographically, linguistically and culturally, the Chinese shepherds often fought among themselves with fists or knives and at least one unfortunate man attempted suicide by hanging.<sup>29</sup> Bishop Turner recorded the evidence given by 'Song', a Chinese shepherd who, having witnessed the burning down of a hut by two unidentified compatriots, pleaded for protection from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> OSR, Account Book 1841-72, UNERA, A103:V2259

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid; OSR, DJM, UNERA, passim: Station Ledgers, A103:V2260-63

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> M. Darnell, 'The Chinese Labour Trade to New South Wales 1783-1853: An Exposition of Motives and Outcomes', PhD Thesis, UNE, 1997, pp. 66-79, 150, 324; J. Wilton, *Golden Threads: The Chinese in Regional New South Wales 1850-1950*, Armidale, 2004.
 <sup>29</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3054/2

another of his countrymen, a violent extortionist. Song's garbled narrative concludes; 'Plenty Chinaman like brother - I not like all Chinamen - some good, some bad.'<sup>30</sup>

Banbai people, whose territory the Everetts had claimed, had worked continuously as shepherds, stockmen, lambers, shearers, sheep-washers, teamsters' off-siders and general 'hands' since the station was founded in 1838-9, were employed on the station until the mid-1980s, but they have left only very faint traces in the records. A few, highly skilled Banbai men worked full-time as stockmen, shepherds, drovers and bullockies' offsiders. Others were employed seasonally during spring and early summer as lambers, sheep-washers, shed-hands, harvesters, threshers and bark-collectors. For example, Charley 'Blackboy' earned £2.18s.6d for twenty days sheepwashing in November 1886, from which £2.16s.0d was deducted to settle his account with the Store and 2s.6d was paid in cash. At an average of 2s.11d per day, Charley was paid far less than his European counterparts who earned 3s.6d-4s.0d a day if they worked with dry sheep and 4s.6d-5s.0d for working 'in water'.<sup>31</sup> However, most of the Indigenous men and women whose labour was recorded were employed casually and for the most menial tasks. Table 12 contains entries from 1869:

TABLE 12: 'Blackboys', 18	69 [sic]			
Dr	£ s. d	Cr		£. s. d
June 4: Jimmy's Store Accourt	nt 6.9	June 4: Cutting	g Bark (200	) 5. 0. 0
Percy's Store Account	10.6	Getting	Wood	2.0.0
Dudley's Store Accou	nt <u>8.8</u> £1.5.11	July 3: Dudley	getting	
June 8: Dudley Cash	2.0	wood	l etc	1. 6. 6
July 3: Dudley Store Account	<u>11.6 £3.14.</u> 0	Jimmy I	Drawing in	
Dudley Cash	15.0	split stu	ff with dray	y <u>1.11.</u> 0 <b>£7.18s.6d</b>
Dudley Store Accoun	t 10.0	-		
Dudley Cheque No. 12	21 <u>1.0.0</u> <b>£3.5.0</b>			
Aug 13: Store Account	2.0	Aug 13: Percy	at work wit	h
Cheque No. 145	1.8.0 <b>£1.10.0</b>	Bullo	ock Dray	1.10.0
		Sept 13: Percy	at work wit	th
			ock Dray	
		Oct 6: Black	boy at worl	x <u>8.6 <b>£3.8s.6d</b></u>
From Station Ledger, OSR, UNE	RA, A103:V2262.			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> OSR, Wandsworth History File, 'Extract from Bishop Turner's Notebook', UNERA, A103:2006, Access. No.pending

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Rodwell, 'Ollera and its People', op. cit., pp. 118-20, 382.

Most of these Indigenous men would probably have been infants or not yet born when the Everett brothers and their Halhed partners founded Ollera-Tenterden. The detailed records of their purchases at Ollera's Store show that, by 1851, their traditional culture had already been seriously eroded by their increasing integration into the local European lifestyle and economy as a result of their frequent, though almost always casual employment on Ollera and Tenterden. Those who were not issued with rations regularly bought small quantities of beef, flour, sugar, tea, tobacco, soap and apparel. For example, between 26 October and 17 November, 1857, 'Charley the Blackboy' spent 12s.6d on a 'garnsey frock or shirt' costing 8s.0d and a Regatta shirt worth 4s.6d. During the same weeks Jacky Jacky was charged 15s.9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d for a pair of Moleskin Trousers (10s.0d), 2 ozs tea costing 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d, 1lb sugar (10d) and a Regatta Shirt while Crooky Tommy paid 5s.1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d for 2 ozs tea, 1lb sugar, 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>lbs flour and 6lbs beef. European clothing was always popular, the cost of a variety of 'trowsers' and shirts, 'garnsey frocks' (Guernsey smocks?), 'sleep vests', braces and boots, being the most frequent deductions.<sup>32</sup>

But the three young Indigenous men whose serious offences in the 1860s and early 1870s are described below, provide an even more telling sign of the destructive impact of the dominant European society upon the mindset of the generation of Banbai who had been born at or soon after first-contact. Though each was employed on the station and was identified by his victim, only the last and least serious miscreant was apprehended. It is surely indicative of increased inter-racial tension that, despite long, well-publicized and thorough searches being made, and despite district newspapers' publication of detailed descriptions of one individual who was fully clad in good-quality European clothing, no trace of either rapist could be found by any of the district's skilled Banbai trackers.<sup>33</sup>

Children under twelve made perhaps their most valuable contribution to the family economy in the busy lambing period when each successive 'drop' had to be confined within, cared for and moved through the maze of hurdles which developed around the hut at the selected lambing place as the season progressed.<sup>34</sup> The reason

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> OSR, Stores Book 1848-57, UNERA, A103:V3054/14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3051/42

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> R.H. Gennys, 'Shepherds and Shepherding in Australia', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 11, 1926, pp. 281-89.

for a payment made to Tom Dawson, who as shepherd of a double flock earned  $\pm 17.10$ s.0d per quarter in 1862, shows the extent of his large family's involvement; 'All hands lambing down the strong mob,  $\pm 14.8$ s.0d'.<sup>35</sup> During the next two years Ralph Clough's 'little girl' earned  $\pm 4.12$ s.0d or almost one-quarter of her family's supplementary income of  $\pm 20.6$ s.0d, for her work during the lambing seasons.<sup>36</sup>

Thus when twelve-year-old boys began paid employment as their fathers' assistants at a little less than half the male wage, they already possessed some knowledge of the skills they would hone during several years' on-the-job training. From menial tasks such as picking stones, cutting burrs and 'following after the plough and the harvest', they progressed to assisting at the wash-pool, in and around the shearing shed and at the hay and grain harvests. Older, more experienced boys worked as sheep washers, shepherded newly-shorn sheep and herded and drove sheep and cattle over long distances. Then, as the youths neared full strength, they were employed, at 17s.6d per week, either as farm labourers or as shepherds of a small flock of about 500 animals. Adolescent boys were in particular demand during the lambing weeks to assist those shepherds who lacked the three or four family members needed to care for the three separate mobs of lambs (birthing, 'green' or new-born, and 'strong' or older mob) and at least three of ewes (peri-natal, nursing and 'dry') through which successive batches of ewes and lambs progressed. During the lambing weeks Mackenzie's diaries are filled with his efforts to recruit and transport boys whom their families could spare to distant parts of the station.<sup>37</sup>

The following examples reveal the variety and value of the work done by Ollera-Tenterden's boys. In 1863 young Billy Matley was paid £6.3s.4d for twentysix days' work at the washpool and in the next year his brother Edward earned £2 at the lambing and 2s.6d cutting burrs. In 1866, for thirty-five weeks' work as a shepherd, one of Isaac Spicer's late-adolescent sons was paid £33.2s.0d and another younger boy earned £3.15s.0d for six weeks' work, at 12s.0d a week, as a shepherd and £3.12s.0d more for minding newly-shorn sheep. In 1867 the boys received £13.0s.0d for six months' work shepherding, 15s.0d for washing James Mackenzie's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> OSR, Station Ledger, UNERA, A103:V2260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* A103:V2260-61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> OSR, DJM 24 August 1884, 'To Goodwin's [lambing] place and took young Ramage out there with me, *UNERA*, A103:V3054/9.

sheep, £3.0s.0d 'for lambing down the strong mob' and £9.13s.9d for 'shepherding, haymaking and work at the woolshed'. In two years Spicer's sons had contributed £66.17s.9d, just exceeding their father's annual wage as shepherd of a double flock. The quantitative elements of the modified 'family economy' were thus important warp threads in the fabric of women's and children's lives on Ollera-Tenterden in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their living conditions and experiences formed the qualitative weft of that fabric.<sup>38</sup>

Before discussing the quality of their lives we must first determine the number of women and children who lived and worked on Ollera-Tenterden in the four decades from its foundation in 1838-9 until the station reached peak prosperity and its greatest extent in the late 1870s. Drought, economic depression and insecurity of tenure meant that, at the end of its first decade in 1849, only eight females were among the fifty-five people named in Ollera's accounts. Better seasons and the fourteen years' security of tenure after 1847 which underpinned three successive importations of assisted-immigrant families from Wiltshire in the 1850s meant that by 1864 with the purchase of Tenterden completed, the names of 224 people were entered in the greatly-enlarged run's books. 167 of the 186 men were European, nine were Chinese and at least ten were Indigenous, leaving thirty-eight women, most of whom had children. When Mackenzie took the census in April 1871, his diary shows that 226 people were present on the two stations. There were sixty-one men and boys, sixty-eight women and girls, and ninety-seven children under twelve. However, his more-detailed record of the next census in July 1874 shows that the station's population had risen to 353. Sixty-nine were women and 182 were children under twelve years old. But as Table 13 shows, not only were free-selector families and those living at Wandsworth included, but only ten more males had been employed full-time on Ollera-Tenterden in the ensuing three years.<sup>39</sup> While the raw figures for 1871 and 1874 are the only census information contained in Mackenzie's dairies, the frequency with which entries refer to different individual women and children in the next decade and a half testifies to their increasing presence on Ollera-Tenterden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> OSR, Station Ledgers, UNERA, A103:V2260-61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> OSR, Account Book 1841-72, *UNERA*, V2259; 'List of Emigrants sent out to Ollera Station by the Messrs G J. E. Everett', A103:V3052/39; Store Book 3, 1862-64, A103:V2268; DJM, V3054/3

TABLE 13: Census Details: Ollera-Tenterden Station, July 1874					
Employees	Free Selectors	Wandsworth	Totals		
Full-time / Part-time O&T Men O=31; T=30 Women O=26; T=15 Children O=65; T=34	Men =10; Men = 10 Women = 4; Women = 8 Children=19; Children= 33	Men = 21 Women = 16 Children = 31	102 69 182		
O=122; T=79	33 51	68	353		
From James Mackenzie's Diary, 1874, OSR, UNERA, A103:V3054/1					

Like much of the station's infrastructure, most of the houses in which these women raised their families were rebuilt in the mid-1870s. Despite the increased use of nails, the new huts were still slab-sided and roughly-built. However, they were enlarged to two rooms and a skillion, possessed windows with moveable timber shutters and were roofed with shingles or galvanized-iron instead of bark. The slab walls were lined with calico against the inescapable draughts, straw-filled paliasses topped with sheepskins formed the bedding and kangaroo-skin rugs warmed the roughly-sawn timber floors. But perhaps the greatest improvement was the new hut's external brick chimney. Dominating the main room, the big fireplace housed the roasting jack and camp oven with which the women cooked for their large families. For example, the Kelly family contained thirteen children, the Dawsons had twelve and both the Judge and Skinner families had eleven.<sup>40</sup>

Food was not only plentiful, but for most of the families, quantities of beef, flour, sugar and tea were components of the shepherds' and long-term farm labourers' hiring contracts. The base-rate for rations varied according to the type and length of each recipient's employment, his marital status and family size and according to the heavier workload and participation needed during the lambing and shearing seasons. Table 14 shows the various (standard) quantities issued.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Rodwell, 'Ollera and its People', *op. cit.*, pp. 232-33.

Status	Usual	Quantit	ies			Seaso	nal Qua	ntities *
	Beef	Flour	Sugar	Tea	Beef	Flour	Sugar	Tea
Single Men	10	10	4	2	20-25	15-20	4-6	3-4
Boys	10	10	4	2	10	10	4	2
Couples	15	15	4	3	20	15	6	3
Families	15-30	15-30	6-12	6	30-50	30-50	12-20	6-10

Despite their monotony, the reliability and intrinsic value of these rations contributed considerably to the recipient's wage. In 1860 their prices at the station's store were: beef 3d lb, flour 8d lb, sugar 9d lb and tea 3s.0d lb. Each of the three families whose details appear below differed according to type and continuity of occupation and family size. As Table 15 shows, the full-time shepherd, John Matley and his two sons received the same quantity throughout the year, while the amounts received by the multi-skilled and diversely employed Tom Dawson and his large family varied markedly. Those supplied to Mrs Farrell differed during the three months her husband was away from Ollera. During this time she spent a total of £9.14s 10d on these items at the station's store. The detailed records of individual employees' purchases contained in Ollera's Stores Issue Book 1845-57 provide glimpses of living standards on the station and of the availability and comparative cost of various necessities. Table 16 (below) shows Mrs Sophia Wilson's purchases from the Store during the summer of 1856-57.

Between March and November 1857 a total of £10.19s.4d was deducted from Tom Cotterell's wages for purchases of clothing, boots, household items, suet and condiments. As always, footwear was the most expensive item, £6.10s.0d being spent on four pairs of men's and one pair of boy's boots. Next came five pairs of men's 'trowsers' costing £2.10s.0d; one moleskin, one cord[uroy] and three of 'duck' (heavy canvas). The remaining £1.19s.4d was spent on two rugs (16s.0d), eight yards of calico (5s.4d), 47<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>lbs suet (15s.9d), a bottle of vinegar (1s.9d) and <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>lb pepper (6d).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Fraser, 'Notes'; OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3052/12

Name	Beef	Flour	Sugar	Теа	Per Month	Per Year
	lb	lb	lbs	lbs		
Matley	30	30	12	6		
Value	7s.6d	£1	9s.0d	18s.od	£2.4s.6d	£32.14s.0d
Dawson						
11 mths	30	30	12	6		
Value	8s.6d	£1	9s.0d	15s.0d	£2.12s.6d	£30.10s.6d
1 Month	50	50	20	10		
Value	12s.6d	£1.13s.4d	15.0d £	1.10s.0d	£4.10s.10d	<u>£ 4. 10s.10</u>
						£35. 1s. 4d
Dawson's Boy						
4 mths	10	10	4	2		
Value	2s.6d	7s.6d	3s.0d	3s.0d	16s.0d	£ 4. 4s.0d
1 month	40	40	10	8		
Value	6s.0d	£1.6s.8d	8s.6d	£1.4s.0d	£1.18s.8d	£1.18s.8d
1 month	30	30	8	4		
	8s.6d	£1	6s.0d	12s.0d	£2. 6s.6d	£2. 6s. 6d
						£8. 9s. 2d
	Tota	l Value of	f Dawso	n family's rations:		£43.10s. 6d
Farrell						
3 months	5	5	2	1		
Value	3s.9d	10s.0d	4s.6d	9s.0s	£1.7s.3s	£4.1s.3d
2 months	20	20	8	4		
Value	5s.0d	13s.4d	6s.0d	12s.0d	£1.16s.4d	£3.12s.8d
7 months	25	25	10	5	21.105.14	
Value	6s.3d	16s.8d	7s.6d	15s.0d	£2. 5s. 6d	£15.15s.11
	Tot	al Value o	of Farre	ll family's rations:		£23. 9s. 10

Although well-paid supplementary employment, a guaranteed supply of staple foodstuffs and adequate, albeit often cramped and basic, housing were essential strands in the fabric of station life, other, often less tangible components were equally important. These elements included continuity of permanent and seasonal employment, much of which was multi-generational; the consequent development of a strong and deepening sense of community; and a general 'civilising' of everyday life. As each of these components resulted from and depended greatly upon the increased presence of women and children on the station, here again the family economy system that the Everett brothers had encouraged since the late 1840s was fundamental to their development.

TABL	TABLE 16: Wilson Family's Store Account, 30 Nov, 1856-16 Feb 1857					
1856	Nov 30	): 9lbs Soap 6/-; 35lbs Beef 5/10d	11s.6d			
	Dec 7:	165lbs Beef 22/1d; 2 pr Worsted Socks 3/; <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> lb Epsom Salts1/	£1.6s.1d			
		2 pr Women's Black Stockings 4s; 1pr English Boots 20/-	£1. 4s.0d			
1857	Jan 19:	: 4lbs Raisins 6/-; 6lbs Soap 2/-; 4lbs Sugar 2/-	10s.0d			
		11b Pepper 1/-; 2 Twill Shirts 8/-	9s.0d			
		2lbs Raisins 3/-; 1pr Women's Colonial Boots 14/-	17s.0d			
	30:	2¾lbs Soap 1/10	1s.10d			
	Feb 16	: 2½lbs Soap 1/8d	1s. 8d			
		Total Cost:	£5. 1s. 0d			
From Stores Issue Book 1847-57, OSR, UNERA, A103:V3054/14						

Church, school, team sports and local and colony-wide celebrations provided the 'social glue' which created and consolidated community bonds. Although, given the gender imbalance of the station's workforce and the period's mores, women were restricted to a passive and supportive role in community activities, their contribution was nonetheless important. They prepared the after-match 'feasts' which followed cricket and football matches against teams from neighbouring stations and the wider district and applauded the frequent 'scratch' or pre-arranged intra-station games that were a hallmark of life for men and boys on the station where 'no good cricketer was ever refused a job'<sup>42</sup> Women and older girls also spent days preparing for the annual picnics for pupils of the station's secular and Sunday schools. On Boxing Day the families of both 'masters' and 'men' celebrated Christmas and the end of shearing with horse-races at Wandsworth, returning to the townlet on Limestone Creek for the New Year's Day sports' carnival. Like the annual Queen's Birthday cricket match, each of these occasions concluded with 'fireworks at night'.<sup>43</sup> Whole families must also have looked forward eagerly to the regular, though infrequent, arrival of Ashton's

<sup>42</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3052/40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3053/24

Circus in the village and 'all hands' also turned out for weddings on the station. Women were actively involved in preparing for the bazaars and Christmas Trees which raised funds for the completion of Ollera's church in the 1870s. But the occasions which were probably longest remembered were the Ball held at Ollera in 1874 for 120 of the station people, the Harvest Festivals which were celebrated at each of the head-stations in the 1880s and the functions, a week apart, at which workers on Ollera and Tenterden commemorated Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887. On each of these gala occasions, if appropriate, a church service was followed by cricket and/or 'sports' in the afternoon then food, fireworks and dancing at night.<sup>44</sup>

However, despite these 'red letter' days, life on the station remained difficult and all too frequently painful or anxious. Deaths, accidents and illness were a persistent and recurrent threat to each family. Between 1862 and 1887, Mackenzie's diaries record the deaths of seventy-five people on Ollera-Tenterden. Thirteen of the thirty-six deceased adults were women. Only three of these females and three of the twenty-three males, two of whom were Chinese and one Indigenous, were described as 'old'. Although the particular child's name, age, or gender was seldom noted, Mackenzie's terminology provides a rough guide to the life-stage reached by each of the thirty-eight deceased children. Three of the six newborns who died were stillborn. One of the five deceased 'infants', Donald Stewart's two-year-old son, Finlay, died of snake-bite and another was a victim of infanticide. The cause of death is given for only three of the twenty-nine 'children'; the exceptions being seven-year-old Bella Ramage who also died of snake-bite and Tom Carpendale's son and daughter who succumbed to diphtheria. The remaining twenty-three children under twelve probably fell victim to the recurrent bouts of 'croup', the upper-respiratory tract infection which, like measles, returned each year to threaten the adults and children throughout the long, cold winter. However, the ever-present threat of smallpox was greatly reduced when the vaccination of the station's children began in 1868.<sup>45</sup>

Several of the fourteen children whose illnesses were recorded in the station diaries were accidentally injured. They included two of the superintendent's children, adolescent (Charlotte) Ethel Mackenzie, whose face was badly cut by a glass bottle and 'Baby' (Herbert) who was kicked by a horse. While the most common childhood

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3051/43; V3052/46: V3054/5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ibid

accident was a broken arm or leg, three boys also cut themselves badly enough to need medical attention, two were run over by their fathers' waggons, one was scalded, another survived serious burns and yet another was bitten by a snake.

At least six women suffered injuries that required police involvement during the twenty-five years between 1862 and 1887. In 1874, Mrs Marsh, the Tenterden shepherd's wife who confessed to deliberately drowning her little son, was imprisoned for two years. At least one, and possibly two shepherds' wives attempted suicide; Mrs Wright, who '[threw] herself in the creek' at Tenterden in 1881 and more questionably, Mrs Austin, who 'accidentally shot herself' in 1866.<sup>46</sup> In the same year Mrs Simpson spent several hours lost in the bush which surrounded her family's shepherding station, before being found by an Indigenous tracker. On two separate occasions in the first half of the 1860s a young woman from a shepherd's family accused a young Indigenous man of rape. Almost ten years later two more girls were terrified but otherwise unharmed when, late at night, a third Indigenous man broke into the hut in which they were sleeping. Despite well-publicised warrants being issued for each man's arrest and long, thorough searches being conducted, only the last and least serious offender was caught and charged.<sup>47</sup>

While each of these the women was regarded as a victim, three women, all of whom were married to shepherds on Ollera-Tenterden, were either associated with, or were actively engaged in, criminal activities. Mrs Simmons first came to Mackenzie's attention in early 1866 when her reasons for a stranger's visit to her isolated hut were met with frank disbelief. When their husbands joined the bushrangers who robbed Ollera's newly-restocked Store on Christmas Eve 1867, then 'bailed-up' the farmhouse at Sandy Creek a week later, Mrs Simmons and her sister, Mrs Ramage, were both charged as accessories to the crimes for which Simmons' husband received a long sentence. The last woman to be accused of a crime was Mrs Sarah Jane Grey, who was charged with sheep-stealing in 1882. However, despite having been caught literally 'red-handed' as she skinned the animal, she was later acquitted.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> OSR, DJM, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/46; 'Diary of Edgar Huntley of Stockbridge, Ollera, 1881', A103b:V5628

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3052/43

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3054/3; V3052/57; V3054/8

Several women coped poorly with the anxieties induced by the loneliness and not infrequent robberies that characterized life in the isolated huts on colonial Ollera-Tenterden. An apparent 'nervous breakdown' meant that, in 1883, one of Ollera's many cooks, the 'mad, Lord-Be-Praised Woman', had to be restrained and taken away by the police.<sup>49</sup> In 1877 two searches, the second of which lasted three days, were made for small boys whom their anxious mothers had mistakenly reported lost. Each child was later found hiding in his family's barn. In 1870 and in 1884 two further, long searches were made for genuinely lost little boys, who were found several miles from their homes. The first search took three days and the second, involving thirtyseven men from neighbouring stations, took five. But perhaps the most telling evidence that life could be as difficult for the station's children as it was for their parents can be found in diary entries from the early 1880s. The first, and possibly most touching and explicable, concerned 'Ryder's boy' who ran away from his family's selection near Sandy Creek six months after his mother's death. Two incidents involving children from the Orchard family have less obvious causes though significantly, each occurred during the busy lambing period, when 'all hands' worked all day and into the night. Did overwork, or harsh parenting, cause at least two of the shepherd's children to run away from his out-station on Tenterden in October 1883 and be found several miles away near the Washpool on Ollera head-station? Something was clearly wrong for, almost exactly twelve months later, 'Orchard's boy ran away from home again'.<sup>50</sup>

But, as young Ryder's sister, Mrs Janet Ryder Avery, recalled nearly sixty years later, these experiences were almost certainly exceptions to most children's lives on colonial Ollera-Tenterden. Returning to the station on which three generations of her family had lived since the 1850s, seventy-three-year-old Mrs Avery described one of the five schools which had been provided, at about 1s.6d.a week per child, for the station's families during the 1860s and 1870s. Schools were first established at each head-station and at Limestone Creek/Wandsworth, then at Brushy Creek and, as Mrs Avery remembered, 'near the store and [...] a few residences' at Sandy Creek. Housed in 'a large canvas tent' and presided over by young Miss Gallaher, who had recently arrived from Sydney, Sandy Creek's school contained

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3054/8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> OSR, DJM, UNERA, A103:V3054/3.

'desks, a press for books, blackboards, maps etc'. Mrs Avery also remembered that, as she and her younger siblings trudged three miles home to their father's selection, they would meet their older brothers who, after a day spent shepherding, 'were on their way to night school'. In providing 'evening' lessons for adolescents who, at twelve, were old enough for full-time work, the Everett brothers were following yet another traditional English practice.<sup>51</sup>

The aim of this detailed examination of the nooks and crannies of the Ollera Papers has been to add more local colour, increased perspective and different characters to the traditional, male-dominated landscape of colonial New England. In retrieving these European women and children, Chinese men and Indigenous people from the obscurity to which they have for too long been relegated, the important social and economic contribution the disparate group made to the success of their individual families, to the station on which they worked and to the community and wider district in which they settled has been revealed. Without their largely unacknowledged efforts the outcome for Ollera-Tenterden may have been different and the prosperity the station enjoyed from the mid-1870s would almost certainly have been much longer delayed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> OSR, Mrs Janet Ryder Avery to Tom Everett, 12 August 1946, UNERA, A103:2006, Access. No.pending

# CONCLUSION

In seeking to redress a perceived imbalance in the historiography of rural Australia in the colonial period, this study has considered the management of Ollera-Tenterden Station, near Guyra in northern New South Wales, from its foundation by George and John Everett in 1838-39 until 1907-10. Closely-resembling the format of the management system it investigates, the study has three major elements, each of which is inter-dependent, and closely related to two resultant themes. Thus, examination of the structure, function and composition of the system itself reveals the crucial importance of its executives, the station's superintendent and his principal assistant, Ollera's sheep overseer. The third, connecting element is the information contained in the annual diaries in which for twenty-five years, both executives kept a detailed record of their activities and of daily life on the station. When combined with information from ledgers, account books, maps and other documents and the Everett brothers' personal and business correspondence, this almost complete series of diaries provides the most important of the primary sources upon which the study's three main and two related sub-themes depend.

Different aspects of the station's management connect each of the study's five inter-related themes. The first three chapters addressed the station's management, while the remaining two considered the subject from the perspective of the people they managed. The Everett brothers' responsibilities and the changes in the power relationships which characterised the tripartite system under which the siblings managed Ollera until 1856-58 were examined in Chapter One. Literally three-way, albeit unequal, for almost two decades, the permanent return to England of the two elder brothers in 1856 and 1858 necessitated a major change in their station's management. Thus, by 1865 a two-level 'tripartite' management system had been established on Ollera-Tenterden which persisted until 1883-87 after which it survived in modified form until the death of the last surviving founding partner in 1907. This fifty-year period provided the study's main focus; in particular the years 1861 to 1887 during which, under Edwin Everett's direction and his elder partners' distant oversight, its superintendent and principal sheep overseer managed GJE's extensive properties.

The seminal importance of the contribution made by this highly skilled, dedicated executive duo is the subject of Chapter Two. Their all-but 'seamless' cooperation provided a level of expertise and stability which underpinned the twinstation's most expansionary and profitable period. Their diaries, the station's ledgers, Mackenzie's personal balance book, and the records both men kept of their landdealings and of a variety of business interests, reveal the broad range of the two men's 'interests', activities and their long partnership's pivotal involvement in the social and economic development of the station on which they worked and of the district in which they lived. Their diaries also reveal the attitudes, ambitions and abilities of these hard-working and 'driven' men and the high expectations they placed upon themselves and upon the men they managed. Although each writer did so differently, Stewart by disclosure and Mackenzie by the almost complete absence of his personal feelings and responses, both men emerged from their diaries as three-dimensional and very 'human' beings.

The study's third chapter addressed the process and outcome, for both parties, of free-selection before survey, which proved to be the longest lasting problem station owners and managers faced in an ultimately difficult half-century. The chapter examined the Everett brothers' attitudes and reaction to the increasing loss of 'their' vast lands. Though perhaps less blatantly than many of his peers, with his English brothers' support, for more than forty years after their introduction Edwin Everett systematically 'worked' the land laws to the sibling-partners' advantage. The strategies the resident sibling-partner employed to encourage and later forestall free selectors included newspaper 'puffery' and disguised tenancies at Ollera/Wandsworth, the 'peacocking' of fertile, best-watered land along the major watercourses, the use of 'dummy' selectors to acquire other choice land and the purchase of small and otherwise unremarkable but strategically-located blocks to counter extensions to some, but not all, free-selections. This last strategy reflected the paternalist principals upon which the station was founded and managed into the first quarter of the twentieth century. By encouraging and actively supporting some employee-selectors and vigorously opposing others, the Everett brothers both retained a skilled workforce and 'managed' free-selection on their station. In the process they ran the gamut of the ways in which the powerful landholding 'interest' tested,

manipulated, side-stepped and bent laws whose true purpose, as Bill Gammage infers, may have been to protect them.<sup>1</sup>

The study's remaining two chapters considered the twin-station's management from the viewpoint of the men, women and children who comprised its acknowledged and all-but unacknowledged workforce. The first of these closely-related chapters addressed two important aspects of European male employees' experience on Ollera-Tenterden; the conditions under which this acknowledged labour-force worked and the outcomes for the many 'white' men who became free-selectors on the station. Their working conditions and the stability of their employment, which provided an interesting contrast to the disparate reports of two contemporary observers, were discussed first. Important points considered included the number of males employed, their status as employees and employee-selectors, the wide variety of their occupations, the consequent levels of skill required and the various periods of time for which men and adolescent boys were hired. Similar differences were observed in the wages these males received. Rates of pay varied according to the individual's age, skill and experience; the type and difficulty of the work he did and according to the conditions in which he worked; and, increasingly, in the inclusion of a 'kind' component in the quarterly payment he received. These inquiries revealed a paradox which benefited both parties to Ollera-Tenterden's management policies. In developing a system which featured high worker-mobility within locational stability, the Everett brothers gained a multi-generational labour-force. In return, the employees enjoyed the freedom to choose their workplace, the work they did there and the particular employer for whom they 'agreed' to work on the station on which many selected land on which to settle.

These employee-selectors and the process, progress and outcomes of freeselection on Ollera-Tenterden were then examined. Total acreages selected and retained or regained between 1861 and 1910 were assessed, as were the chronology and pattern of free-selection on the twin-station. Two elements of this pattern received particular attention. Firstly, the importance, to both sides of the free-selection process, of the station's three central parishes and of the centre-to-periphery nature of the freeselection which ensued. Secondly, the different way in which men made their applications; as individuals or as (and for) members of a family. The number of men

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gammage, op. cit., passim

in each group and the total acreages their members acquired were then calculated before case studies revealed 'who won and who lost?' in the struggle to 'unlock' the Everett brothers' extensive lands and why this was so..

The study's final chapter returned to one of its principal themes; the need to add increased perspective, different characters and local colour to the traditional maledominated landscape of rural Australia in the colonial and Federation era. In examining the experiences of European women and children, Chinese men and local Indigenous people it revealed the important, though traditionally disregarded, contribution they made to the success of their families and of the station on which they lived and worked. From records of the station's female population between 1870 and 1875, discussion moved from the ambivalence of Mrs Anna Maria Clerk Mackenzie's position on the twin-station, to her duties as its chatelaine and thence to the wages earned by the successive governesses and female servants she employed at Ollera's headstation. Particular attention was given to the earnings of Ollera's mostvisible female employee, its long-serving nurse-midwife, Mrs Jane Farrell who, with at least two of her sons, contributed significantly to her family's income. The supplementary earnings of several wives and mothers who worked as general and shearers' cooks, laundresses and needlewomen and even, when necessary, as equallypaid shepherds, were also addressed. Retrieved from their inclusion in the wages paid to their male 'breadwinners', the earnings of these women were shown to add considerably to their families' ability to save and often to take up land on the station and to reduce their employers' 'overheads'. They did so by means of the traditional pre- and proto-industrial 'family economy' system which, in modified form, was a feature of the Everett brothers' management of their 'run(s)' throughout their long partnership.

Having discussed the contribution made by the workmen's prepubescent children and the payments they received for their work during the busy lambing and shearing weeks and as field hands and 'followers after the harvest', the focus shifted to the experiences of the women and children who lived and worked on the station during the decades under discussion and upon the quality of their lives. While the various records contain far less information about the Chinese men and the Indigenous people employed by the Everett brothers' during their seventy-year partnership, they contain sufficient detail of their occupations, their wages and their experiences to permit at least some understanding of their lives and work. Despite the benevolent attitudes and treatment for which the sibling-partners received official commendation, what emerges is a hierarchy of occupation, payments and importance in which the individual's position was determined by both skin-colour and gender. However, and just as clearly, this least 'visible' workforce contributed significantly to the profitability of the station on which they lived and worked.

This, and the modified 'family economy' system on which these 'hidden' workers' achievement mainly depended, was but one outcome of the study. Just as crucially important to the station's profitability and long-term success were the multi-skills, high degree of co-operation and stability provided, not only by the Everett brothers but, in particular, by the stations' executive management. Equally, and perhaps even more important are the diaries which form the study's 'bedrock'. Like the many which lie waiting their researchers, they are indeed 'a significant primary source of information on the managing (sic) of a pastoral station' and an entrée into rural life in the colonial period.

# **APPENDICES**

- A: The Necessary Articles Required in the Formation of a New Station
- B: Edwin's Account of Expenditure, 1832
- C: Agreement: Distribution of Shares in Ollera -Tenterden
- D: Everett Land Titles: Selectors' C.Ps Acquired
- E: Typical Week's Work: Mackenzie and Stewart
- F: James Mackenzie's Costs: Purchase of Copes Creek
- G: Wages: List of Employees Paid by Cheque, 1875-1880
- H: Wages: James Mackenzie's Payments to Private Employees
- I: Landholders on Ollera-Tenterden: 15 April 1902
- J: Original Landholders in Ollera-Tenterden and Adjacent Parishes, 1847-c.1920

# **APPENDIX A**

# The Necessary Articles Required in the Formation of a New Station

### Ref: OSR, UNERA, A103: V3053/17

### The Necessary Articles Required in the Formation of a New Station

Inch and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch mortice chisels1 Hand saw and 1 small hatchet1 inch Auger and 1 doz. saw files6 Gimlets6 Tin Quart and 6 Pint Pots120 1 Tin Washing Basin and 2 Buckets96 1 Water Keg – 3 gallons26 Slops for use of men at the Station6 Pair Fustian Trousers30 6 Pair Duck Trousers11 140 6 Ch(eck?). Shirts140 6 pair Boots31 Shepherd's Coat11 Saw and 2 Claw Hammers61 Saw and 2 Claw Hammers60 20 Bags at 2s 6d – 2 Bushels each29 Wool Bags 8s.0d. 3 coarse bags 1s 8d3	<ol> <li>Breeching complete for 8 bullocks</li> <li>8 Bullocks at £10</li> <li>1 Tarpaulin</li> <li>1 Plough and set of Harrow Tines</li> <li>2 Spades and 2 Hoes at 9s 6d each</li> <li>1 Cross cut Saw, 1 shingle throw</li> <li>1 Adze at 4s 6d, 2 falling axes 7s 0d</li> <li>2 Candle Moulds 8s 0d, Scales and Weights</li> <li>1 Steelyard butcher's steel, 2 knives</li> <li>1 Mortice Axe</li> <li>! Set iron Wedges, 2 sets maul rings</li> <li>2 Iron pots 9s 0d, 1 doz. Crosscut saw files</li> <li>2 Frying pans 7s 6d, 1 log chane (sic) 18s 0d</li> <li>I Light leading chane 10s, 2000 hurdle nails, 18s 0d</li> <li>1 Grindstone 12s 0d, 1 broad axe 5s 0d</li> <li>1 Doz. Sheep shears</li> <li>500 3 inch nails</li> <li>1 Small Wheat mill</li> <li>1 Set Wheat Sieves</li> <li>2 Flour sieves</li> <li>6 Sickles</li> <li>1 Spare Yoke and Bows complete Set of Spare Keys for Do.</li> </ol>	£ 20 80 6 7 1 1 1 1 1 2 3 1 1	$ s \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 19 \\ 5 \\ 11 \\ 8 \\ 7 \\ 3 \\ 1 \\ 14 \\ 5 \\ 8 \\ 17 \\ 14 \\ 7 \\ 10 \\ 0 \\ 18 \\ 12 \\ 5 \\ 5 $	d 0 0 0 0 0 0 6 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
6 lb twine, 1 and needle 5s 0d 1 0 0	<ul> <li>1 Hand saw and 1 small hatchet</li> <li>1 inch Auger and 1 doz. saw files</li> <li>6 Gimlets</li> <li>6 Tin Quart and 6 Pint Pots</li> <li>1 Tin Washing Basin and 2 Buckets</li> <li>1 Water Keg – 3 gallons Slops for use of men at the Station</li> <li>6 Pair Fustian Trousers</li> <li>6 Pair Duck Trousers</li> <li>6 Ch(eck?). Shirts</li> <li>6 pair Boots</li> <li>1 Shepherd's Coat</li> <li>6 pair Blankets</li> <li>1 Saw and 2 Claw Hammers</li> <li>1½ Tons Flour for six months</li> <li>20 Bags at 2s 6d – 2 Bushels each</li> <li>9 Wool Bags 8s.0d. 3 coarse bags 1s 8d</li> </ul>	1 3 1 3 30 2 3	9 2 0 14 14 0 1 12 6 0 10 17	6 6 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

30 lb Negrohead (Tobacco) £6. 1 gross pipes 6d 1 Tea Kettle 5s 0d, 50 lb Soap £2 12s 0d 8 pair Bullock Hobbles, 2 pair horse Hobbles	6 2 3	6 17 0	0 0 0	
2 Riding Horses	80	0	0	
3 Slab Huts	25	0	0	
	£	S	d	
1 Wool Shed	25	0	0	
100 Hurdles 2s 0d	10	0	0	
Fencing a Paddock	30	0	0	
1 Watch Box	3	0	0	
Hire of an extra to bring up Supplies	30	0	0	
Washing 600 sheep, 4 men at 6s. 0d each	1	4	0	
Shearing 600 sheep at 3s 0d a score	4	10	0	
Dry Rations	2	10	0	
1 Bullock Driver £30 Mate £25	35	0	0	
1 Hut Keeper	30	0	0	
1 Shepherd	25	0	0	
Personal Expenses	100	0	0	
Licence and Assessment	14	10	0	
	£663	15	6	Total

# **APPENDIX B:**

# Edwin's Account of Expenditure, 1832

### Ref: OSR, UNERA, A103:V2259

1842					
E. Everett: Dr to G an	d J Everett	E. Everett: Credit			
Funds paid in due	£1,000				
Sundry Expenses	£1.16s.9d	Dare(?) cattle	£260.0s.0d		
		Paddock; cattle, Patrick's Plain	s£ 1.0s.0d		
		Colonial Treasurer	£ 2.0s.0d		
		Mills	£ 1.0s.0d		
		Saddle	£ 2.8s.0d		
		Stockyard, Northie's	£ 9s.4d		
		Loder's rations	£ 8s.0d		
		Atkinson's, the Page Stockyard	£ 5s.0d		
		Armitage. rations	£ 1.19s.8d		
		For Postage	4s.1d		
		Macdonald River, Hugh	4s.0d		
		Ditmas, rations	14s.0d		
		Ferguson, cattle	£ 41 0s.0d.		
		Jones	£210.0s.0d		
		Sundry Expences (sic)	£ 4.17s.0d		
		Three men's expences	16s.6d		
		Corn, Glennie's Creek	10s.0d		
		Expences, Glennie's Creel	£ 1.3s.6d		
		Paid into Joint Account	$\pounds 450.0s.0d^2$		
			£991.9s.8d		
	Entry, late 1844				
Probable part repaym	ent by G. and J Everett				
Dec 21, 1844	: London, H(enry) E(vere	tt) [sibling-solicitor] £524. (	0s.0d		

ec 21, 1844: London, H(enry) E(verett) [sibling-solicitor]	£524. 0s.0d
London, H. E.	£100. 0s.0d
E(dwin) Everett	£518.10s.0d
Interest	£ 15. 2s.5d
Ditto	£ 7s.0d

<sup>2</sup> Emphasis Added

# **APPENDIX C**

### **Agreement: Distribution of Shares in Ollera - Tenterden**

Ref: UNERA,A103:2006

### John to Edwin Everett, 25 August, 1862 (Accession No. pending)

### Agreement re Distribution of Shares in Ollera-Tenterden<sup>3</sup>

\* The tone of this letter typifies the business-like approach which was typical of the elder-sibling partners' interaction and, in particular, of John Everett's shrewd but fair attitude.

#### John Everett's reminder of Edwin's terms for Tenterden's purchase.

'Valuing the whole at  $\pounds 40,000$  I [Edwin] am to pay for Tenterden  $\pounds 12,000$  in cash and horse stock, John will pay  $\pounds 3,000$  in cash and horse stock and George  $\pounds 1,000$  in cash and horses - the Balance in cash we shall have to pay interest upon according to our respective shares - to be paid except for Bligh's  $\pounds 3,000$  and that the New Firm will pay the Interest on and I will pay the principal'.

#### He continues...

You (Edwin) would have been much worse off if George and I had not taken shares... There is no doubt that the partnership is an immediate advantage to you as the expenses of Tenterden separate would have been at least one-third higher [than] it will be joined to Ollera. You also gain immediately from the sale of surplus stock amounting to £1,000 to £1,500. Our advantages are only in prospect and [our] income is considerably less this year and next and as Tenterden has no income this year you must borrow and [the] debt may decrease next year's income. You may therefore agree that Tenterden at so high a price may have been a bad bargain for us

....the £2,000 proceeds of the sale of sheep to Cheesbro (sic) is right and frees George, John and Edwin from all debt except the cash balance which is now agreed to be paid by paying off

Edwin Everett's debt of £2,000 borrowed in England to the amount due by George Everett and John Everett. John Everett threw into the firm private horses to the amount of £930. Therefore *the sum being paid according to his shares, Edwin Everett pays half, George Everett nine-fortieths, eleven-fortieths being John Everett's share of any profits and is the only part of the £2,000 which John Everett pay individually and he retains the worth of his share in the horses.* Or say John Everett wants to purchase a £1,000 share in Tenterden and he sells his private horses to any person and pockets the £1,000 they fetch and goes and pays Cheeseborough instead of selling them to another instead of another he sells them to the firm and the firm pays him - of course part, eleven-fortieths of the money paid to John Everett by the Firm us John Everett's own money but that eleven-fortieths he has in value in horses which are thrown into the Firm.

...the advantage you gain will make it fair that you should pay all interest that must in any case have fallen on you and the only interest the Firm can be charged with is on any money you have advanced to carry on Tenterden in the first year ... I shall also send you out £400 in part payment of my debt of £702. This of course goes into your pocket, I thought it would be more useful to you at once, so I shall now only have to pay £302 of J[ohn] Smith's debt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Emphasis added

### **APPENDIX D**

## Everett Land Titles: Selectors' C.Ps Acquired

### Ref: UNERA, A103:V2772

Date	Acres	When Taken Uj	pOwner Rent Due	Rent Paid	Remarks
12/69	320	E.E*	Edgars 31 March	£15.12s.11d	Freehold
2/73	40	GJE*	Mitchell "	£ 2. 0s. 0d	Freehold
3/73	200	GJE	Jackson "	£10. 0s. 0d	Freehold
1/74	50	GJE	Jackson "	£10. 0s. 0d	Freehold AWE 93
8/74	70	GJE	Jackson "	£ 3.10s. 0d	Freehold
8/75	40	GJE	T. Lane "	£ 2. 0s. 0d	Under Old Act
12/75	198		Crough "	£ 9.18s. 6d	Freehold
4/78	320	GJE	Mitchell "	£16, 0s. 0d	Freehold
8/78	302	E.E	Edgars "	£16. 0s. 0d	Freehold 1905
8/78	60	GJE	Mitchell "	£ 3. 0s. 0d	Freehold 1905
9/78	200	E.E	Bailey 16 October	£ 8.17s. 0d	
10/78	224	GJE	Mitchell 31 March	£11. 0s. 0d	Freehold 1905
12/78	122	GJE	Jackson 16 October	£10. 0s. 0d	Freehold AWE 93
6/79	40		Crough "	£ 2.0s.0d	Freehold
8/80	60	GJE	Holt "	£ 3.0s.0d	Freehold
1/81	50		Crough "	£ 2 10s. 0d	Freehold
2/81	100	E.E	Crough 3 December	£ 5. 0s. 0d	
11/82	60		Crough March	£ 2.10s.0d	Freehold
6/82	80	E.E private	Huntley 31 March	£ 4. 0s. 0d	Freehold
6/82	120	E.E.private	Huntley "	£ 6. 0s. 0d	Sold to Mayled
6/82	100	GJE	T. Lane "	£ 5. 0s. 0d	Freehold
8/82	100	GJE	T. Lane "	£ 5. 0s. 0d	Freehold
6/82	80	E.E private	A.W.E ."	£ 4. 0s. 0d	Freehold 1908
9/82	180	GJE	T. Croft "	£ 9. 0s. 0d	Freehold 1908
10/82	564	E.E private	A.W.E "	£28. 0s. 0d	Freehold 1908
10/82	248	E.E	O. Mackenzie "	£12. 8s. 9d	Freehold 1908
6/83	96	E.E	O. Mackenzie "	£ 4.16s.0d	
5/83	86	E.E	Crough 3 December	£ 4. 6s. 0d	
5/83	115	E.E	Crough "	£ 3.15s.0d	Freehold 1908
10/83	50	GJE	T. Croft 16 October	£ 2.10s.0d	
11/83	50	E.E	A.W.E March	£ 2.10s.0d	Freehold 1909
5/84	50	E.E	A.W.E "	£ 2.10s. 0d	
9/84	410	E.E private	Burey's 31 March	£20. 0s. 0d	Freehold 1909
10/84	400	E.E private	Judge "	£16. 0s. 0d	Freehold 1909
12/84	480		Crough 3 December	£24. 0s. 0d	
2/90	300	E.E	'The Falls' 13 May	£15. 0s. 0d	
7/90	177		Judge 16 October	£ 8.17s. 0d	
8/90	45	E.E private	Brushy Crk 7 Nov	£ 2.10s. 0d	Freehold
7/91	200	E.E	Jackson 21 March	£10. 0s. 0d	Converted 1993
5/92	100	E.E.	Bailey 31 March	£10. 0s. 0d	Freehold
10/08	270	E.E private	B(ailey) October	£339.10s. 0d	ex CL 22615

\*Notes: 'E.E' refers to land owned by Edwin Everett alone and 'GJE' to land held by the partnership. Italics indicate selections made by Arthur Everett and by James Mackenzie's daughter Alice Ollera Mackenzie Everett, whose selections reverted to the station upon her marriage to Arthur in 1892.

### **APPENDIX E**

### Typical Week's Work: Mackenzie and Stewart, 14-21 October 1881

### Ref: UNERA, A103:V33456; A133: V5644

**14 October:** [Mackenzie]: With Huntley to the Big Plain and Ross's - saw all the sheep - went to Ross's lambing place after lunch at Tenterden - dray came from Armidale

[Stewart]: Little progress with grass - went to Mosman's lambing place and took a turn around to see the strong mob - Brass far back as to previous seasons - poor lambing - ewes weak

**15 October:** [Mackenzie]: To Percy's lambing place and saw McGee with the strong mob - saw what had to be done at the Washpool

[Stewart]: To Percy's then to the Shingle Hut, R. Thomas's and Garrett [Farrell's]. Took the milk from about 30 ewes that had fed dead lambs - went to Brushy Creek paddock and took the dry sheep out and took them to Carpendale's.

- 16 October: [Sunday]
- 17 October: [Mackenzie]: To Tenterden early and took 139 dry ewes out of Thomas's sheep then to Tenterden for breakfast - Father Paul there - heard that Mrs Wright [wife of a Tenterden shepherd] had tried to drown herself - Glennie went to Tingha for the Police - I went with Donald Stewart for Highfield and Mitchell's place - drafted Thomas's sheep at Tenterden - Huntley here [at Ollera] on his way to Armidale

[Stewart]: Drafted some sheep at Tenterden with Mr Mackenzie and back by Brushy Creek - took some oats to Paddy Heffernan

**18 October:** [Mackenzie]: Very wet night and day - To Percy's lambing place - after early lunch went with Anna and Edith to Wandsworth to meet Dr Segol but he was not there.

[Stewart]: To Percy's lambing place until 12 then to the [Big] Plain and found the strong mob all astray Johnstone's girl not being able with the sheep - I put the man Thompson there.

- 19 October: [Mackenzie]: Very wet all day went to Percy's lambing place then to Tenterden Huntley back from Armidale cold wind killed a great many lambs
   [Stewart]: Still wet and cold Went to Johnstone's to make a yard for the strong mob Raining all day Finished the yard and stayed there till after dark trying to save the animals
- **20 October:** [Mackenzie]: To the Big Plain saw all Johnstone's sheep then saw young Percy spoke to him about his Prelease saw Wilson and his sheep Donald Stewart went with me Huntley went to Tenterden T. Blythe came

[Stewart]: Went with Mr Mackenzie to the Plain - Spoke to A Frazer about his Prelease - Johnstone had 100 droppers lost - came round by Tenterden - ran a bullock up to the yard and went to the [Big] Plain - got the ewes but the lambs doing bad - Stayed the night at [my] selection

**21 October:** [Mackenzie]: Very cold wind - Went with Donald Stewart to J. Farrell's lambing place-Mr Edwin [and] Mr John Everett and his son [Arthur] arrived [from England] - Blythe and Mrs Blythe went to Wandsworth

[Stewart]: Still cold - drafted some of Willis's sheep and went to Mosman's lambing - still no good result - grass scarce - ewes weak - bad lambing - Went to my selection.

## **APPENDIX F**

## James Mackenzie's Costs: Purchase of Copes Creek

### Ref: OSR, UNERA, A103:V2257

1: <u>Jam</u>	es Mackenzie's Expenditure on Purchase of Copes Cr	eek	Station, 1864-65
1864	June 1: To Purchase Money	£2	,500. 0s.0d
	" R. Payne's account - Transfer	£	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	" Rent and Assessment	£	40. 0s.0d
	" One Journey to Armidale- horse and loading	£	5. 0s.0d
	" Cart, two horses and Harness	£	40. 0s.0d
	" One Plough	£	10. 0s.0d
	" Ploughing Paddock	£	12. 3s.9d
	" Shepherding Sheep		10. 0s.0d
	" <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ton Rock Salt		
			,630. 3s. 9d
	July 13: "Transfer of Run		2. 0s. 0d
1865	" Ross's Bill		
	" Perfrement's Bill		
	" One hut and 100 Hurdles	£	20. 0s.0d
	" Drawing-in do do	£	5. 0s.0d
	" Shearing Sheep	£	13. 0s.0d
	" Shepherding	£	30. 0s.0d
	" Salting Troughs	£	3. 0s.0d
	" Rent	£	40. 0s.0d
	" Fencing		
	" Reaping	£	7. 0s.0d
	" Hut at Crossing Place		12. 0s.0d
	" Interest on Purchase Money		105. 0s.0d
	" Carriage of Wool to Maitland		10. 0s.0d
	" 446 Mixed Lambs		
	" <u>380</u> " "		
	" Farrant's old Ewes		
	" 100 Head of Cattle from Edwin Everett	£	150. 0s.0d
	" Lambing-down Wages	£	
		~	10. 05.04
On Op	posite Page		
1865	May 1 By Wool Money		
2000	Nov 1: By Cattle sold to Edwin Everett		,500. 0s.0d
		••••	

## 2: From James Mackenzie's Private Account Book

### Bank Account re Copes Creek

1865	Sept 6: To Ch	neque 116148: D. McLe	nnan	£17. 6s. 9d
1005	7:	11649: do	IIIIdill	£ 2. 0s. 0d
	9:	116150 Mrs Beazely		£ 2. 5s. 0d
	11:	151: Sam Dudma		£ 5. 0s. 0d
	11.	151. Sum D'uumu 152 " "		£ 2.15s 0d
		153 E.G. Clerk I	Esa	£20. 0s.0d
	18:	155 R. Rumming	-	£ 1.12s.0d
	10.	156 " "	50	£ 19.15s.0d
		157 " "		£ 2. 7s.0d
		158 ""		£19. 0s.0d
		159 Johnstone		£22. 0s.0d
	27:	160 C. S.Nav Co		£ 5.0s.0d
	29:	161 James Buch	anan	£20. 0s.0d
	James Macke	enzie's Copes Creek Ad	ccount (co	ontd)
1865		heque 116162 J. Reeve		£ 6. 0s.0d
	Oct 4:	163 Ross		£ 1. 0s.0d
	9:	164 D. McL	ennan	£ 6.15s.6d
	15:	165 J. Ross		£50. 0s.0d
	16:	166 Edwin E		£ 2.12s.0d
		167 John Ma	2	£ 5. 0s. 0d
	28:	169 Rummir	-	£ 3.16s.0d
		170 do	do	£ 6. 0s. 0d
	30	171 Wm Car	•	£ 4. 4s 6d
	Nov 4:	172 D. McL	ennan	£18.19s.0d
		173 do		£15.7s 9d
	14:	174 Mrs Bal		£ 8. 0s. 0d
	22.	175 M[ary] I		£ 3. 0s. 0d
	22:	176 Clarence		
	Dec 1:	177 D. McLe		£ 4. 5s. 0d
	19:	11577 J. Moore		£40. 0s. 0d
		J. Matley		£10. 0s. 0d
		578 Hunter(1 579 G. Coop		£ 6. 0s. 0d £10. 0s. 0d
		579 G. Coop		£10. 05. 0u
		Swinton and Whalle	<u>y</u>	
1865	April 1 To 53	60 sheep at £1	£5,360	. 0s. 0d
		26 sheep	£ 200.	
	Ca	attle and Horses	£ 300.	0s. 0d
	St	ores from Ollera	£ 88.	0s. 0d £5,908
10.11				0.01
1866		sh paid by E.G. Swintor		
	•	sh paid by E. Whalley	£ 450.	
		sh paid by do	£ 250.	
		rchased for E.G.Swintor		
	ву weaners p	purchased for do	t 124.	0s. 0d £1,200
10/7	Mar 27. T		C 100	0- 01

 <sup>1867</sup> May 27: To cheque paid to E. Everett £ 100. 0s. 0d

 1: To Rent of Copes Creek - 1 yr £ 400. 0s .0d

£ 100. 0s. 0d
£ 200. 0s. 0d £826. 0s. 0d
£1,703.16s.0d £1,703.16s.0d
£ 600. 0s. 0d
£ 36. 0s. 0d
£ 36. 0s. 0d
£ 36. 0s. 0d
$\pounds$ 30. 0s. 0d Settled
£500. 0s. 0d
£ 36. 0s.0d Settled
and E.C. Sminten
£ £ 253. 0s.0d
$\pounds$ 436. 7s.0d $\pounds$ 2,140. 3s.0d Settled
,
<b>Section Section</b> Section <b>Section Section Section</b>
winton £1,701. 3s.0d
£ 640.12s.7d
enzie -Interest £ 36. 0s.0d
o do £ 36.0s.0d
f the £600 £ 100. 0s.0d
? 6 6 8 8 8 8 8

p.64

### Memo of Tin Land with F(rank) Huxham

James Mackenzie has half a share in one hundred acres of Tin Land at Emily's Gully. I have paid on approval of this land - £20, first; £10, second; and £8 to start work on it.

JM/FH went into Partnership.

## **APPENDIX G**

## Wages: List of Employees Paid by Cheque, 1875-1880

### Ref: UNERA, A103:V2258

	Male	Employ	ees I alu	by Che	que, 10	/3-1000	
Employee	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	Key
J. Matley	Shpd	Shpd					S = Shepherd
E Hartman	Shpd	Shpd	W	_	_	_	W = Wages
A. Hartman	_		_	W	W	W	J = Job
F. Blagg	Shpd	Shpd					C = Carrier
G. Cook	Shpd	Shpd	_	_	*	_	P = Ploughing
Tom Hayes				Shpd	W	Ē	$\mathbf{B} = \mathbf{Building}$
J. Jones	H				_	_	$\mathbf{F} = \mathbf{Fencing}$
H. Jurgens	Н	_	_	_	_	_	Stk = Stock
J. Cameron	Н						H = Haying
D. Cameron	*	*	Stk	W/S	W	W	B/Sm = Blacksmith
Dougal Cam	eron_	_	W				
P. Heffernan	Η	_	_	_	_	_	
Jas Hefferna	n _				*	J/S	
John Reeves		W	W	W	W	W	
Henry Reeve	es _	_	_	_	W	_	
E. Sergeant			W	W	W	W	
J.Auer	$\overline{J}$						
E. Tarrant	Stk	_	_	*	_	_	
E. Huntley	Т						
T. Cotterell	Pl/So	*	Pl/S	_	*	W	
H. Clark	С	*					
J. McDonnel	ll C						
H. Lock	С						
W. Battersby	y Stk						
R. Thomas	С						
D. Hutton	*	*	W	W	W	W	
W. Hutton	*	*	W	W	W		
Jas Hutton	_	P1	Stk/L	W/C	_	_	
W. Hutton		*	W				
John Hutton		_	_	W.	_	W/C	
T. Hutton		W					
W.H. Huttor	1 _	_	W	_	_	_	
H Hutton			_			W	
A. Mitchell	*	*	W	W	W	W	
Jas Mitchell	_	_	_	W	*	_	
W. Clemesh	a Stk& I	Η					
H. Mitchell	*						
T. Mitchell	_	_	_	_	_	*	
J. Richardso	n *	_	$\overline{W}$				
Wm Canning	g *						
O'Brien	*	_	_	_	H/L		
		_	_	_			

Male Employees Paid by Cheque, 1875-1880

W. Baker	*	B/F				
Quin	*	D/1				
J. Menzies	*					
W. Farrell	С	*			*	С
Fritz Cramer	*	*	_	_		e
Jas Munsie	*	*				
Geo Dawson		*				
Wm Sully	—	*				
A. Dolphin	_	*				
Tom Burns	—	*				
Employee	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880
R. Jones	1070	F	10//	10/0	10//	1000
W. Jones	—	*				
A.W Brown	_	*	W	W	W	+
P. Short	_	*	**	W	W	W
J. Short	_	*	$\overline{\mathbf{W}}$	W	W	W
P. Murphy	_	*	W	vv	vv	vv
D. Meehan	—	W	vv	W		
J. Baker	_	vv *	_	vv	_	_
	_					
T. Lansley	_	L *	<b>W</b> 7			
J. Wagner	_	*	W			
McCann	—	*				
J. Hawsin	_	*				
A. Simpson	_	4.		C	C	C
Jas Skinner	_	_	Pr/C	C	C C	C L/E
Henry Skinner	—	_	Ā	С	C	J/F
T. Pitkin	_	_	C			
T. Maxwell	_	_	C			
Saunders	_	_	Bl Sm	T. 1.		
Durkin	_	_	C/W	Job	-	-
John Herrick	_	<u>.</u>	W			
John Summers	—	W	117			
E. Hall	_	_	W			
Wm Tully	—	_	Bl S	T /337	117	117
A. Shelton	_	_	Ŧ	L/W	W	W
H. Shelton	_	_	L	L/W	W	W
R. Shelton	_	_	L	L/W	<del>.</del>	L
Wm McIntyre	_	_	_	W	W	*
D. Dawson	_	_	_	W	_	
T. Dawson	_	_	_			С
C. Williams	_	_	_	W	W	W/S
Wm Brennan	_	_	_	W	_	_
H. McDermott	_	_	_	W	_	_
Bricky	_	_	_	W	*	_
Neilson	_	_	_	_	Hay/W	_
Young Neilson	_	_	_	_	W	_
G. Forster	_	_	_	_	H/L	_
Orchard	_	_	_	_	W	_
A. Monaghan	_	_	_	_	W	_
Wm Howard	_	_	_	_	W	W
T. Smith	_	_	_	_	W	_
T. Lane	_	_	_	_	Bldg	J
John Turner	_	_	_	_	_	W
Young Walsh	_	_	_	_	W	_
P. Hans	_	_	_	_	*	_

H. Thorpe	_	_	_	_	W	W
R. Dickens	_	_	_	_	_	С
J. Judge	_	_	_	_	_	С
T. Jackson	_	_	_	_	_	С
M. Fuller	_	_	_	_	_	W
Job Dunn	_	_	_	_	_	*
Wm Fraser	_	_	_	_	_	J
Hallam	_	_	_	_	<del></del> .	J
H. Clark	_	_	_	_	W	<u></u>
Wm Simpson	_	_	_	_	W	W

### **APPENDIX H**

## Wages: James Mackenzie's Payments to Private Employees

Ref: OSR, UNERA, A103:V2257

### Typical Wage-Settlements for Everett Employees working privately for Mackenzie

T. Lane

	Dr		Cr
1877	July 21 Cheque £12. 0s.0d		By stumping at Stratton £ 5. 0s.0d
	" £ 4.15.0d	£24.13s.0d	"Wool Press (part) £ 5. 0s.0d
	Store account	£24.15s.0d	By Fencing Entire 415
			panels, part new stuff £20.15s.0d
	Cash - Saddler a/c	10s.0d	By 577 Rails at 25s.0d £ 7. 4s.0d
			"285 Posts at £4.7s.6d £ 6.15s.0d
			" Bouring (sic)Post 10s.0d
			" Cleaning Water Hole 15s.0d
			£35.19s.0d

**Note**: This entry reveals that after his debts to the station's store and to its saddler had been paid Lane had owed the station £13.19s.0d

		W. Matley			
	Dr			Cr	
Jan 22 (	Cheque	£ 3. 0s.0d			
Apr 19	Cheque	£ 1.10s.0d			
	Cash ad	£ 1. 0s.0d			
-	Paper	14s.0d	July 20	: By shepherding	g £17.0s.0d
July 27	Cheque	£ 5. 0s.0d	2	To J. Cleary's a	-
2	Cheque	£ 7. 0s.0d		2	
Dec 10	Cash -Bazaar	£ 3. 0s.0d			
	" Wilson shpd	l £ 1. 5s. 0d			
	"H.R	£ 2. 0s. 0d			
	Mail	£ 1. 6s. 0d			
	Store Account	£10.19s.0d			
		£34.14s.0d			
			Jan 20:	By shepherding Cleary's a/c Carpendale [digging] Burrs Balance	4s.60 3s.00
	Cheque	£ 1.10s.0d			
Feb 23	To Cheque	£ 1. 0s. 0d			
	Cash H. K[elly]	] 5s. 0d			
April 9	Cheque	£ 5. 0s. 0d			
	Cheque	£ 1. 0s. 0d			
	Papers	£ 1. 6s. 0d			
July 20	: Store account	£ 4. 11s.0d	July 20	: By wages	£17.10s. 0d
	Cash £2.4s.0d			[Carried over]	11s.11
	Chq £2 0s.0d	£4. 4s. 0d			£18. 1s.11
		£18. 1s.11d			

## **APPENDIX I**

## Landholders on Ollera-Tenterden: 15 April 1902

## Ref: OSR, UNERA, A103:V2272

From Arthur Everett	's List of Landl	olders: Ollera	-Tenterden,	<u>15 April 1902</u>
Owner	Holding	Post Town	Acreage	Sheep
Cameron, Alex	Glen Loy	Wandsworth	800	1.000
Cameron, Mrs J	Glen Loy	Wandsworth	811	1,000
Cameron, A.K	Gowrie	Guyra	3,085	2,900
Carpendale, Thomas	Ollera	Guyra	2,175	1,366
Cook, Val	Oakwood	Wandsworth	200	150
Cook, George Mrs	Hazel Green	Wandsworth	4,000	2,715
Cook, Joseph	Glen Eden	Wandsworth	1,128	970
Dawson, Thomas	Sandy Flat	Guyra	2,000	2,450
Dawson, R.G	Hillsdale	Guyra	3,000	2,771
Drabsch, C.R.	Pleasant View	Guyra	1,069	759
Drabsch, Gottleib	Rosewood	Guyra	960	650
Dawson, Thomas G.	Rocky Flat	Guyra	783	988
Dawson, David	Tenterden	Guyra	1,741	2,000
Dawson, George		Wandsworth	1,381	
Farrell, Jane	Ollera	Guyra	1,500	1,047
Fraser, Andrew	Inverness	Wandsworth	2,600	2,459
Everett, G, J & E	Ollera	Guyra	15,446	11,361
Everett, Arthur W	Danebury	Guyra	818	1.762
Everett & Mackenzie	Oakley	Guyra	1,280	1,986
Farrell, John	Ollera	Guyra	720	400
Hawkins, T	Tenterden	Tingha	2,000	1,700
Ince, Wm	Tenterden	Guyra	51	75
Jackson, James	Brushy Creek	`Guyra	8,300	5,198
Jamieson, Mrs M	Clifton, T'den	Guyra	2,370	740
[Late] Jas Mackenzie	Stratton	Guyra	2,120	3,320
McCrossin, S.H	Oak Ridges	Wandsworth	1,320	732
McCrossin, Wm	Jones Flat	Wandsworth	1,115	1,000
Leverett, W, R	? House	Wandsworth	1,000	490
Parsons, John	Wandsworth	Wandsworth	2,000	1,900
Parsons, Edwin	Ellerslie	Guyra	4,000	3,633
Maurer, Joseph	Osborne Vale	Wandsworth	1,100	321
Mitchell, J.R	Dunmore	Wandsworth	1,500	1,300
Skinner, James	Green Valley	Guyra	1,645	1,900
Stewart, Donald	Tangley	Guyra	5,693	5,939
Spicer, Isaac	Tenterden	Guyra	1,310	850
Spicer, Walter	Tenterden	Guyra	800	337
Spicer, James	Tenterden	Guyra	1,490	963
Reeves, H.J	Oakwood	Wandsworth	790	380
Richards, G.E	Tenterden	Guyra	1,280	1,400
Rizzi, Antonio		Guyra	2,640	1,220
Tarrant, Edward	Triangle	Wandsworth	1,760	1,400
Thomas, J.W.O		Wandsworth	640	140

Willis, Wm	Eastern Plains	Guyra	3,937	3,748
Ward, Andley		Wandsworth	1,648	1,658
White, Edwin	Dernlee Vale	Wandsworth	4,252	3,748
McDonald, Thomas	Tea Tree Gulle	y Wandsworth	600	385
McDonald, John	Brushy Grove	Guyra	6,073	4,117
McKay, P. N	Briarbrook	Guyra	6,120	3,415
Jones, John Senior	Tenterden	Guyra	1,430	750
Jones, John Junior	Tenterden	Guyra	3,200	1,555
Jones, David	Tenterden	Guyra	1,280	730
Baxter, Thomas	Hillview	Guyra	1,250	830
Dalton, A.T	Urandangie	Guyra	6,399	5,740
Glasser, John	Briarfield	Guyra	1,171	1.090

## **APPENDIX J**

# Original Landholders in Ollera-Tenterden and Adjacent Parishes, 1847-c.1920

### Ref: A103c:V5763 and Parish Maps

<u>12,000</u>	)+ - 8,000 Acres
12,000+ Acres	8.000 Acres
Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes	Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes
EVERETT 7 12,691 68 6	Cr <b>eg</b> an 6 9,332 16 1 [Moredun]
	McDonald 4 8,551 32 4
	Jackson 8 8,120 30 4
<u>7,99</u> 7,000 - 7999 Acres	<u>9 - 6,000 Acres</u> 6,000 - 6999 Acres
Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes	Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes
Dawson 10  7,396  40  4	Stewart 6 6,784 36 3
Parsons 5 6,225 23 4	Sicult 0 0,704 50 5
5.00	9 - 4,000 Acres
5,000 -5,999 Acres	<u>4,000-4,999</u> Acres
Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes	Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes
Cook 3 5,838 20 2	Ferguson 2 4,624 20 2
McKay 2 5,488 11 2	Kemp 3 4,488 18 2
	Cameron 5 4,369 23 5
	Moore 16 4,139 63 3
	- 2,000 Acres
3,000-3999 Acres	2,000-2,999 Acres
Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes	Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes
White 2 3,628 18 2	Mackenzie 4 2,948 17 3
Judge 5 3,613 19 3	Williams 6 2,776 25 1
Pearson 4 $3,512$ 14 3	Carpendale 2 2,766 6 3 Fraser 3 2,599 14 2
Mulligan 4 3,431 16 1 [M'dun] Thomas 7 3,341 16 2	<i>Fraser</i> 3 2,599 14 2 Coleman 2 2,476 2 Mdn
1110111as 7 5,541 10 2	Willis 3 2,465 8 2
	Mitchell 4 2,088 18 5
	Ninchen 4 2,000 10 5
	<u>- 1,400 Acres</u>
<b>1,700 – 1,999 Acres</b> Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes	<b>1,400 – 1,600 Acres</b> <u>Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes</u>
Palmer 2 1,957 5 Mdn	Tarrant 1 1,657 4 Mdn
Wade 4 1,922 13 2	Robt Mac 2 1,604 7 1
	Skinner 3 1,473 12 1
	Spicer 4 1,343 10 2
<u>1,399 - 1,000 /</u>	
1,200 – 1,399 Acres	1,000 – 1,199 Acres
Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes	Name Mbrs Acres Lots Parishes
S. Reeves 1 1,292 3 1 [Mor]	Love 1 1,192 5 2
Jamieson 1 1,280 3 2	Johnson 2 1,180 8 2
Yule 1 1,280 2 1	Battaglini 1 1,192 1 1 Ward 1 1,162 7 Ward
	Ward 1 1,163 7 Wms
	Ward 1 1,163 7 Wms Dunn 5 1,154 4 4
	Ward 1 1,163 7 Wms

## <u>12,000+ - 8,000 Acres</u>

	<u>999 - 60</u>	0 Acres			
800 – 999 Acres			-799 Acres		
Name Mbrs Acre	s Lots Parishe	s Name Mb	rs Acres Lo	ots Parishes	
Snape 2 991	2 Evt	Youman 1	783 6	Eld	
Wright 5 913	6 Mdn	Collins 2	660 6	Eld	
Dalrymple 1 890	5 Evt,Mdn	Hunt 1	355 2	Evt	
Moffatt 1 870	8 Eld	Warden 1	640 1	Evt	
Wagner 2 830	9 Evt	Goodwin 1	640 3	8 Mdn	
Izz(e)ard 2 815	2 Eld,Clk	Fenton 2	620 4	Oll	
<i>Baker</i> 1 800	2 Mdn	Baker & }			
		Reeves ,} 2	604 3	Mdn	
		Richards 2	600 3	Evt,St.G	
		Burey &}			
		Everett } 1	600 1	Evt	
	<u>59</u>	9-100 Acres			
400 – 599 Acres		) – 399 Acres		199 - 100 Acres	
Name Mbrs Acres Lo		me Mbrs Acres Lo		Name Mbrs Acres Lots	
Egan 1 590		nderson 2 355	3 Mdn	Barbour 1 199 3	Mdn
Morehead 1 560		<i>tterell</i> 1 350			Wms
	5 Ev, Mac Do		2 Ev, El	Hutton 2 183 2	Eld
	2 Ev,Eld Ry		6 Ol, El		Eld
		gar 1 320	1 Evt		O/Md
Blomfield}		ckyer 1 320	1 Clk	5,	Eld
& Croft } 2 460		ckey 1 320	1 Mdn	,	Mdn
0	4  Eld  Ba		4 Eld	<i>Ramage</i> , 1 135 3	Eld
Kirk 1 440		right 1 320	5 Mdn	Low 1 120 2	Oll
Webb 1 435	4 Mdn $En$		2 Mdn	Dewar 1 120 2	Eld
Farrell 3 434	5 O,Sk,M Lit		3 Mdn	I	Evt
Stanley 1 400		<i>llock</i> 1 300	3 Mdn	0	Md
		kins 1 296	1 Mac		Evt
	Per		3 St.G		W/Eld
		lkins 1 262	3 Evt		Evt
		Leod 1 250	5 Eld		Evt
		xter 1 250	4 Tdn		Mdn
		ntley to	4 Clum	Mundy 1 100 2	Elar
		win E } 1 242	4 Sknr		
	-	wer 1 242	1 Mdn		
	Cr		2 St.G		
	Jon		1 Md		
<b>200 -399 Acres</b> (cont) <u>Name Mbrs Lots Acres Parishes</u>					
	Pri		2 Evt, Eld	L	
		<i>mmarel</i> 1 205		1	
		rrens 1 200		len	
	La	wler 1 200	3 Evt		

### Less than 100 acres

80-99 Acre	es	60-79 A	cres			`	30-59	Acres	
Name Acres Lots	Parishes	Name Acre	s Lots	Pari	ishes	Name	Acres	Lots	<b>Parishes</b>
Brookes 97 2	Mdn	Butler	71	2	Mdn	Casey	56	1	Evt
Rizzio 90 1	Evt	O'Sullivan	70	2	Mdn	McCrossin	ı 55	1	Mdn
Ardill 80 2	Eld	Grover	68	1	Ol′ra	Perry	52	2	Mdn
O'Gorman 85 1	Evt	Crough	60	1	Evt	Clarke	50	1	Mdn
Purser 80 1	Eld	Ū.				McIlveer	1 50	1	Mdn
						Henderso	n 50	2	M'dn
						Canning	g 46	1	Ol′ra
						Lane	40	1	Sknr
						Holt	40	1	Sknr
						Ryan	40	1	Wms
						Hindsor	1 40	1	Evt
						Leveret	t 40	1	Clk

Gibbs	40	1	Eld
Torregiani	40	1	Mdn
O'Brien	40	1	Wms
Dudman	37	1	Mdn

#### Everett Family Original Landholdings, Ollera-Tenterden Parishes, 1847-c.1920 GJE Firm John Edwin George Acres Lots Ps Acres Lots Ps 615 5 2 Acres Lots Ps Acres Lots Ps 5,403 26 5 1.353 12 1 4.562 12 4 Willie **Ollie Mackenzie Everett** Arthur Acres Lots Ps 1,200 7 2 Acres Lots Ps Acres Lots Ps 559 362 4 1 2 1

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Everett Notebook, 1836-48	A103:V231
Everett Notebook, 1838-46	A103:V3053/17
Notebook of Arthur William Everett, 1889-1906	A103:V3053/1

Diary of John Everett, 1881-82	A103:2006				
Correspondence (i): Personal - in original (accessioned) donation					
Letters: John Everett to his father, sister & brothers, 1833-1867 A103:3052/3-4					
Letters: George Everett to his father, sister & brothers, 1839-41 (copies)	A103; V3052/5-6				
Letters sent by George Everett to his sister and brothers, 1850-54 (m/film	n) A103:M10 ptB				
Letters: Edwin Everett to his brother John, 1854-56	A103:V3052/7				
Correspondence (i): Business					
Letter: John Everett to Edwin, 25 Aug 1862 on Tenterden purchase	A103:2006				
Jane Farrell to Edwin Everett, 17 Sept 1890	A103:2006				
Agreement: Division of profits on Sale of Wool, Jan 1853,					
renewed Jan 1873; 1883	A103:2006				
Document: Progress Report, Edwin Everett to John, 30 June 1888	A103:2006				
Letter Book, Everett and Mackenzie, Wool Scourers, 1896-1917	A103c:V1606/1				
Correspondence (ii)-`85 Personal Letters - in A103: 2006 (unaccession	oned) donation				
1 Letter: John Everett to his brother Edwin, 1867					
55 Letters: John Everett to his son Arthur, 1883-94					
2 Letters: John Everett to James Mackenzie, 1867; 1883					
3 Letters: Arthur Everett to his father John Everett					
14 Letters: Edwin Everett to his brother John, 1860-94					
4 Letters: Edwin Everett to his nephew Arthur, 1890-95					
3 Letters: John Everett Jnr to his brother Arthur, 1889-95					
1 Letter: George Everett to his brother (Rev) Tom, 1838-9					
2 Letters: William F (Willy) Everett to his cousin Arthur, 1890-c.1900					
9 Miscellaneous Items - mainly business letters and documents	A103:2006				
Correspondence (iii) - 152 Personal Letters - in A103:2010 (unaccess	sioned) donation				
17 Letters: John, George and Edwin Everett to their father, sister and brothers, 1838-59					
6 Letters: To John, George and Edwin Everett from their English family, 1838-90					
8 Letters: Seven to Arthur Everett and one to his wife Alice Ollera Mackenzie Everett					
(Ollie) 1890-94					
6 Letters: John Everett to his brother Edwin, 1860-89					
29 Letters: John Everett to his son Arthur, 1883-94					
1 Letter: John Everett to his brother George, 1884					
15 Letters: John Everett to James Mackenzie, 1860-87					
27 Letters: Edwin Everett to his brother John, 1860-95					
3 Letters: Edwin Everett to his brother George, 1880-92					
13 Letters: Edwin Everett to his nephew Arthur, 1887-94					

4 Letters: George Everett to his brother John, 1880-92

5 Letters: George Everett to his brother Edwin, 1880-89

10 Letters: Arthur Everett to his father John, 1883-94

3 Letters: John Everett Jnr (Johnny) to his brother Arthur, 1889-95

1 Letter: William F. Everett (Willy) to his cousin Arthur, c.1900

1 Letter: James Mackenzie to George Everett, 1880-87

2 Letter: James Mackenzie to Arthur Everett, 1887

1 Letter: James Mackenzie to his children, 1887

24 Miscellaneous Items - mainly business letters, and also sketch maps etc A103:2010

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Diaries of James Mackenzie, 1862-1887:	1862-1868:	A103:V3052/40-46
	1869	A103:V3053/24
	1870	A103:V3053/47
	1871	A103:V3053/23
	1873	A103:V3053/48
	1874-87	A103:V3053/1-12
Diaries of Donald Stewart of Tangley Station	1871-85:	A103V5634-48
Diaries of Edgar Huntley of Stockbridge, Ollera	1878; 1881	A103b:V1199/26
Journals of Arthur William Everett, June 1896-1904;	July 1908-1914	A103c:V5763
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Yearly Balance Book 1865-92		A103:V2258
Day Book Tenterden, April 1862-April 1869		A103:V2256
Private Account Book, James Mackenzie 1864-87		A103:V2257
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