
DEVELOPMENT AND MATURITY: THE STATION. 1862-1879

... A man of keen intelligence, great knowledge of stock, commercial shrewdness and a military tactician's power of combination. ... He forgets nothing and superintends everything. He trusts nobody; he coerces, persuades and manipulates everybody. He has the terms of all contracts. He keeps the various parties in hand. Tailing all day and half the night, he does the work of two or ten men. [No wonder] that in a comparatively few years, out of a salary of £300, he saves as much as £2,000 or sometimes £3,000. He is usually rewarded by being taken into partnership or by becoming a runholder himself

James Collier, 1911: on the qualities of a good station superintendent.¹

In the quarter-century between 1861-1862 and 1889-90 the Everett brothers' Australian venture attained full maturity. These were the years in which the Everett 'family enterprise' achieved its greatest physical extent and the peak of its productivity and prosperity during the life-times of its founding partners. However this third phase in the growth and development of the station in the nineteenth century was far from problem-free, for the years of Ollera's maturity fall neatly into two discrete, unequal but vastly different parts. Each was the result of the coincidence and interaction of several elements, whose influence was benign during the first two decades but was adverse in the third. It is upon the 'years of plenty' that this chapter will concentrate.

From the start of the 1860s Ollera-Tenterden enjoyed almost two decades of consistent and almost uninterrupted growth which lasted until 1878-79, when expansion was halted by a sequence of diverse and in some cases hitherto latent structural problems which beset the Australian wool industry throughout and beyond the 1880s. The years of the stations' maturity also coincide almost exactly with the term of James Mackenzie's service as superintendent of the runs. Laconic, purposeful, totally-involved and, to judge from his station diaries, an apparently untiring worker, he wore himself out during his thirty years in the Everetts' service.² Close to John Everett, with whom he forged a friendship based apparently on a meeting of like minds, the dour Anglo-Scot clearly possessed sound judgement and great tact, for he appears often to have skilfully steered a path between the divergent opinions of his strong-minded and widely-distanced employers. Mackenzie, of whom Collier almost certainly knew nothing but who met all the criteria for the description which heads this chapter, was

¹ J. Collier, *The Pastoral Age in Australasia*, London, 1911, pp. 197-198.

² Ollera Station Records, Diaries of James Mackenzie, 1862-87 (missing 1872, 1879), *University of New England Regional Archives*, [Hereafter UNERA], A103:V3053/23-24; V3052/40-48; V3054/1-12. Whether recording livestock purchases or sales, routine maintenance work, accidents to himself and to his workmen, births, deaths and marriages his style remained terse and to the point.

crucial to Ollera-Tenterden's success in the years of its maturity. The turbulent 'interregnum' which followed his early death in December, 1887 testifies to the skill with which he guided the sister stations through both prosperity and adversity.

Three major benign elements combined to produce Ollera Station's eighteen-year-long 'heyday'. The period began with the passage in 1861, after several years of hotly contested debate, of Sir John Robertson's New South Wales Land Acts which permitted unrestricted free selection before survey.³ However, and most importantly, because official surveys of the New England district could not be initiated until the mid-1850s, the Everett brothers retained almost uninterrupted tenure of their run until the end of 1870.⁴ As the first surveyor did not begin work at Ollera until 1856, the Everetts and their neighbours were safe from the inroads of the free selectors for a decade after the passage of the Acts. Indeed, only sixty-nine pre-leases were approved for the Armidale district between January 1865 and December 1870, twenty of which were issued in the latter year.⁵ In the interim and until around 1875, despite important changes to the Acts in 1865 which shortened the length (to five years) and almost doubled the cost of the modified leases, the Everetts and their fellows were free to convert their licences and acquire new leases.⁶ Security of tenure coincided with an increased international demand for wool until at least the late 1860s and a run of dry seasons to encourage consistent territorial expansion to accommodate the constant, natural increase in the partnership's flocks and herds. Sheep numbers reached their peak in January 1878, when the valley held 38,512 sheep and 3,791 cattle, whose numbers rose to 4,152 by 1880.⁷

Year	Branded	Bought	Sold	Rations	Died	Return	Return per head
1878	588	130	512	600	159	3,629	£2.2s.6d
1880	727	....	170	145	147	4,152	£2.5s9d

To accommodate their livestock the Everetts more than doubled the size of their original run, completing the purchase of Tenterden in early 1862, extending their holdings throughout their valley and beyond its north-western fringes. In 1863 an outstation was formed at Copes Creek, near the present village of Tingha, and within a few years the Everetts reoccupied the problematical run at New Valley, whose sale they had finalized by May 1863. Cliffdale, the

³ C.M.H. Clark (ed), *Sources of Australian History*, London, 1969, pp. 334-354.

⁴ Ollera Station Records, Fragment of a Diary-Journal, *UNERA*, 1856-68, A103:V3052/11

⁵ *New South Wales Government Gazettes, 1865-1880*. A total of 22,064 pre-leases were issued in the colony in the same six year period. ; A.V. Cane, 'Ollera 1838 to 1900: A Study of a Sheep Station,' Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Sydney, 1949. p. 113.

⁶ A.G.L. Shaw, *The Economic Development of Australia*, Fifth edn, Croydon, Victoria, 1967, p. 74.

⁷ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, 'Return of Sheep, 1862-83', A103:V2258, Balance Book, 1865-92: 'Annual Returns of Cattle, 1878 and 1890', A103 V 2258; Cane, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 96.

estate at Bickham in the Upper Hunter which lay up-river from George Wyndham's Dalwood, was for some years leased from James Mackenzie's close relatives and purchased by one or more of the Everett brothers in December, 1869.⁸

Conditions were very different in the 1880s. The decade began with a sequence of adverse climatic conditions which coincided with economic and politico-legal difficulties. Stock losses were heavy as drought was followed by floods, record snow-falls and unseasonable cold-snaps.⁹ Wool proved consistently less profitable and a series of frequent and less-favourable alterations to the land laws, which the Everetts were ultimately unsuccessful in opposing, were introduced.¹⁰ As a result the influx of free selectors, which began as a trickle in 1871 and increased steadily but manageably from the mid-1870s, became a threatening flood. By 1890 John Everett commiserated with his son Arthur, who was faced with an apparently unstoppable 'rush of selectors'.¹¹

By 1863 James Mackenzie was well-established as long-term manager of Ollera Station. With his marriage in 1860 to Anna Maria, the daughter of Edward G. Clerk of Clerkness (now Bundarra), he entered the Armidale district's 'establishment', membership of which was confirmed when, in December 1864, he sat for the first time on the Armidale Bench of Magistrates.¹² In 1860 Ollera's original bark-roofed, slab-sided homestead was doubled in size to meet the needs of his wife and young family. It seems likely that within a few months the station's sole resident 'owner' Edwin Everett had moved to Tenterden, whose purchase from C. Chesborough Macdonald he had contemplated and discussed with his partners since at least the first half of 1860.¹³ Everett was certainly living there in mid-1862 where Mackenzie, who

⁸ *Everett Records, Guyra*, Letters, Edwin to John, 7th May, 1862; Edwin to John, 11th May, 1863; Ollera Station Records, Diaries of James Mackenzie, 1862-87. Various entries for the years 1863-70. *UNERA*, A103:V3053/23-4; V3052/40-48.

⁹ Ollera Station Records, Diary of Edgar Huntley of Stockbridge, Ollera, *UNERA*, A103b:V1199/27.

¹⁰ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letters, John to Arthur, undated but c.1889-90, Edwin to John, 5th October, 1889.

¹¹ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258. Entries show that between 1875 and 1877 the Everetts 'lost' an average of 1,213.3 acres of land per annum to selectors on Ollera. Between 1878 and 1881 the average rose to 2, 222 acres per annum; *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter John to Arthur, 15th September, 1890.

¹² Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, entry for 2nd December, 1964, *UNERA*, A103: V3053/23-24.

¹³ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, John to Edwin, 25th August, 1862, which refers to the terms of the proposed agreement to purchase the station in a letter dated 4th July, 1861.

was supervising the construction of a new workman's hut on the property, joined him as he entertained his fellow squatters Arthur Darby, John Goldfinch and George Morse.¹⁴

Tenterden's Wages Book, 1856-63, which covers the period in which Chesborough Macdonald held the run and extends into the early years of its purchase by the Everetts, contains an important clue to the date on which the Everett brothers took over the station. The marked change in handwriting evident in the record of the wages earned by the shepherd Patrick Heffernan between July 1860 and April 1861 suggests the likely date on which Edwin moved to Tenterden and took control of the station. Two entries, each written in a different, educated 'hand', were made for 4th January 1861. Like all those that precede it the first entry, which records the wages owed to Heffernan at the regular six-monthly settlement, was probably made by Chesborough Macdonald. The second and all subsequent entries in this part of the volume are written in Edwin Everett's characteristically sprawling, less careful hand.¹⁵

However several other volumes in the Ollera records for these years contain entries which indicate that the Everetts' sheep had been grazing on Tenterden since January, 1858. Chesborough Macdonald's years on the station, to which he moved from Falconer in March 1854, were apparently never a complete success.¹⁶ Invariably referred to as 'Old Cheese', 'Chessy' or 'Cheesbro', he had been neither liked nor fully trusted by the Everett brothers since his sheep were apparently deliberately allowed to cross Falconer's boundary onto Ollera in the late 1840s.¹⁷ Nor was he 'firmly seated' on Tenterden for he lacked the money (£11,250) to complete his purchase of the station from Frederick Vigne until mid-October 1856, when the 'run' was finally registered in his name.¹⁸ His financial difficulties may have been the reason for the Everetts' involvement with his station, for Ollera's 'Return of Sheep' for 1858 shows that from the beginning of that year a total of 2,790 Everett sheep were being cared for by three Tenterden shepherds. With Heffernan these men, James Jones, Andrew

¹⁴ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, entry for 12th August, 1862. *UNERA*, A103:V3052/23-24. Arthur Darby held Wanscombe while Goldfinch and another member of Sidney Darby's family held Tiengha (near of the later village of Tingha) while Morse was a partner in Balala.

¹⁵ Ollera Station Records, Ollera and Tenterden Stores Book, 1885-93, *UNERA*, A103:V2256. The information on Tenterden's early years is contained in less than a dozen pages at the rear of the large ledger which apparently remained unused until the end of 1885, when it was reversed and used as a Stores book until 1893.

¹⁶ W. Gardiner, 'Production and Resources of the Northern and Western Districts of New South Wales, c. 1850', n.p. *UNERA*, which records the sale of the station for the price of its 15,000 sheep, at a cost of £11,250.

¹⁷ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter: John to Edwin, 25th August, 1862 'I hope by the next letter you have completely done with [Old Cheese]. I don't like him – you need to get up early in the morning when dealing with him. I haven't trusted him since the cattle trespass.' Ollera Station Records, Everett Notebook, 1836-48, *UNERA*, A103:V231; Cane, *op. cit.*, p.51

¹⁸ Ollera Station Records, Letters: Edwin to John, 30th January, 1855, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/7; *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter: John to Edwin, 25th August, 1862; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 89

Wetherspoon and his son John, also shepherded for the Everetts during 1859 when their names appear on one or both lists of men employed by, and receiving rations from, Ollera Station.¹⁹

During the five years, 1859-64, in which Edwin Everett continued to keep a separate record, the employment details of twenty-one people were recorded in the Tenterden Wages Book. Only one was female. With her husband and fellow 'House Servant', Mrs Samuel Read (sic) shared a wage of £40 a year. Some of the remaining nineteen men named spent from many years to a lifetime in the Everetts' service, while others were employed for only a few weeks or months. Of the thirteen who worked for periods between twelve months and five years, one was the overseer, Hugh Cameron; nine were shepherds; one was a watchman/shepherd; one was a general labourer and the last a teamster. Of the six who worked for six months or less, Ball and Beazley, the builder-fencers who worked at Tenterden for six months in 1862, also became long-term workers on Ollera and Tenterden from this time. Their names and those of nine other Tenterden men appear in an alphabetical list of Everett employees in the Account Book, 1859-62, from which those beginning with 'A' are missing.²⁰ However the marked preponderance of shepherds and specialist workers and the equally striking absence of labourers among those whose details are recorded in the Tenterden Wages Book suggest that these were far from the only men who were working there at that time. As Chesborough Macdonald held the Everetts' down-payment for the station for at least a year, he almost certainly retained a degree of involvement with the station and remained responsible for the payment of some of its workers until mid-1862, when Edwin Everett informed his brothers that their debt to him had been cleared and that discharge papers would soon be received..²¹

The few letters which survive from this period show that the Everetts' purchase of Tenterden had been under discussion since the start of the 1860s and that, by mid-1861, a serious 'misunderstanding' had arisen over the finer details of the partnership agreement. At issue was Edwin's responsibility for the payment of interest on a loan of £3,000 which he had borrowed from 'Bligh'.²² Almost certainly the man concerned was William Russell Bligh, the ardent 'squattocrat' whom in March 1859 the colonial government had been forced to dismiss from his post as Armidale's Clerk of Petty Sessions.²³ In his prompt reply to Edwin's letter

¹⁹ Ollera Station Records, Sheep Returns, 1857-62, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/22; Monthly Ration Issue Book, Jun 1858-Mar 1859, A103: V3052/27; Account Book, 1859-62, A103:V3054/16.

²⁰ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

²¹ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letters: Edwin to John, 7th May, 1862; John to Edwin, 25th August, 1862.

²² *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter: Edwin to John, 10th June, 1862.

²³ Norma Townsend, 'Mutiny in Armidale: The Case of W.R. Bligh', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 21, No.85, October, 1985, pp. 534-535.

‘full of important money matters’ which was written on 10th June 1862. John made clear his attitude to the purchase and his opinion of his youngest brother’s accounting methods.²⁴

Tenterden at so high a price may have been a bad bargain for us... [*While*] *it was always my wish to possess Tenterden and I think eventually it will be a great advantage to all of us... it was bought at a high price, and it requires great care and economy in management until all debt is paid.* You generally I believe make up your accounts in July but if you have not sent them you must give us an account of all receipts and payments since the purchase of Tenterden, as I cannot make it out from scraps in different letters and there is so much money concerned that we must have it all in due form and then make out a deed of partnership for ourselves and our sons.

This letter is particularly important in several ways. It reveals the complex nature of the partnership formed over many years by first two and later three of the brothers, each of whom held land and livestock ‘privately’ and in common. It also provides valuable insights into the relationships between the siblings and into aspects of John Everett’s character; in particular his ability to temper long-held ambition with a perennially cautious approach to business and investment. Though he had clearly always regretted the loss of access to the pastures of the whole valley when the original joint-partnership with the Halhed brothers was dissolved, John Everett evidently had mixed feelings about Tenterden’s acquisition. His concern focused on the high cost of the station (£40,000 in cash and livestock) and on the extent to which Edwin had indebted the venture in doubling its holdings. Besides the £3,000 which ‘I will have to scrape up every farthing of my own before twelve months to pay off Bligh’, Edwin had twice borrowed £500, at eight per cent interest, from their friend and neighbouring squatter John Goldfinch. The first of these loans was negotiated in early 1862, the second in May 1863, and the debt was to be repaid by August 1866.²⁵ Then there was ‘my English debt’ whose repayment he first hoped J. Smith, the partnership’s English solicitor, would delay for twelve months and towards which he later proposed that his elder brothers should contribute the considerable sum of £994.4s.0d.²⁶ Although much of these latter debts resulted from the unavoidably-long delays in the receipt of profits from the sale of wool in England and because of the difficulty, until May 1863, of completing the sale of the run at New Valley, both George and John were also concerned by their younger brother’s more entrepreneurial attitudes and by his failure to provide a comprehensive record of the stations’ accounts.²⁷ In addressing the question of whose responsibility it was to pay the interest on the loan from Bligh, John felt it necessary to quote Edwin’s proposal for the brothers’ purchase of Tenterden. In doing so he

²⁴ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter: John to Edwin, 25th August, 1862. Emphasis added.

²⁵ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letters, Edwin to John, 7th May, 1862; 11th May, 1863.

²⁶ *Everett Records Guyra*, 11th May, 1863.

²⁷ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, Edwin to John, 11th May, 1863.

left a valuable record of the station's full price, a breakdown of the terms and conditions of the transaction and of its benefits to the partnership as a whole and to each of the brothers.²⁸

Valuing the whole at £40,000 I am to pay for Tenterden £12,000 in cash and horse stock, John will pay £3,000 in cash and horses and George £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 £3,000 and that the New Firm will pay the Interest on and I will pay the principal.

In previous letters about the purchase of Tenterden, George and John had apparently made repeated attempts to correct what they had initially believed to be a mistake or an ambiguity in the wording of Edwin's letter of 9th July 1861. They argued that, had they realized his intention 'to make the station pay' the interest, they would at once have refused. In his careful restatement of the case, John implicitly raised the possibility that Edwin may have originally intended to become sole owner of Tenterden and to run it separately.

*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 as Tenterden has no income in 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.*²⁹

John insisted that unless Edwin paid his brothers for the 'private horses' they had contributed to the purchase and the profits accrued 'since January, 1861', the only sums on which his elder brothers considered themselves 'liable to interest [were]: George, £270 [the interest on] nine shares; John, £642.9s.10d [the interest on] eleven shares'. Warming to the task and no doubt thoroughly exasperated by the necessity of spelling-out the finer details of their agreement to its proposer, John continued at length, quoting directly from and supporting wholeheartedly, Edwin's words in a previous letter to George.... 'The interest of this £2,000 (sic) is due to me'. (An entry in the Ollera Account Book, 1841-72 shows that this payment, which appears to have been made in sheep to that value, occurred in March 1862. It reads, 'Paid Cheesebro for Tenterden, £2,000'.)³⁰ Everett elaborated, albeit somewhat confusingly, adding that Edwin's payment of

... the £2,000 proceeds of the sale of sheep to Cheesebro (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 that sum being paid according to his shares, Edwin Everett pays half, George Everett nine-fortieths, eleven-fortieths being John Everett's share of

²⁸ Everett Records Guyra, Letter: John to Edwin, 25th August, 1862.

²⁹ Everett Records Guyra, Emphasis added.

³⁰ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, UNERA, A103:V22559.

any profits and is the only part of the £2,000 which John Everett pays 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 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 he sells them to the firm and the firm pays him, x (sic) of course part, eleven-fortieths of the money paid to John Everett by the Firm x (sic) is John Everett's own money but that eleven-fortieths he has in value in horses which are thrown into the Firm.

Softening somewhat, he concludes,

...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 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. Smith's debt.³¹

Evidence from several different sources indicates that, the Everetts having settled his £2,000 mortgage on the property, Chesborough Macdonald left Tenterden in March or April, 1862, leaving the brothers in complete control of the station. In May Edwin reported that 'Cheesbro (*sic*) has now been paid everything due to him and I have got a receipt from Sydney that he has written off the mortgage - the discharge is not here yet but I ought to get it any day'.³² The Account Book, 1841-72 also records that in August 1862 the Everett brothers paid £290 in licence fees for the stations, £165 of which was for Ollera and £125 for Tenterden.³³ Successive entries in this volume also record details of the wages and expenditure of several people whose names are listed in the separate Tenterden Book. Those concerned include Hugh Cameron, John Jones, Paddy Kelly, G. Hart, William Grey, William Whittle, Mulquiney, G. Berry and Mrs Read who, by July 1862, was owed £120 in wages and to whom a 'Baby's Chair' worth 15s.0d had been sold in May.³⁴

Ollera's employment records provide further evidence of the probable timing of Everetts' assumption of control of Tenterden. Entries in the 'Returns of Sheep' for Ollera show that, whereas in March of that year the Everett brothers owned 16,858 sheep and employed seventeen shepherds, in April they possessed 27,761 sheep which were cared for by twenty-six shepherds.³⁵ Between July 1862 and December 1863 Ollera Station issued rations for a short time to an unusually high number of people necessitated, perhaps by either a greater need for workers during the takeover period or by unresolved redundancies resulting from the unification of the stations' management practices. The records for these eighteen months show

³¹ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter: John to Edwin, 25th August, 1862.

³² *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter: Edwin to John, 7th May, 1862.

³³ Ollera Station Records, Account Book., 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

³⁴ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

³⁵ Ollera Station Records, Sheep Returns, 1857-62, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/22; Cane, *op. cit.*, p.89.

that eighty-four of the 117 people (112 males and five females) who were entitled to rations during the period received them for four months or less. While thirty-eight of these short-term employees received rations for from one to three months, the remaining forty-six did so for less than one month.³⁶ Despite this, however, the first official references to the Everetts' possession of Tenterden were delayed until late-1865 and early 1866. Using information from the Government Gazette for that year, a list of *Run Holders of New England at the end of 1865* contained the following entry for Tenterden.³⁷

Tenterden - G.J.E. Everett – 76,000 acres - £30 Annual Rental
£90 Assessment
£168 Appraised Rental

By mid-1862 the Everetts may also have made their first attempt to secure possession of their land through the selective and perhaps at times disguised purchase of scattered, small to medium sized blocks in strategic, well-watered parts of their vast holdings. An early entry in James Mackenzie's Diary for 13th July of that year is of particular interest as it raises this possibility. It reads, 'Mitchell signed papers for [the] transfer of [the] Limestone land we bought from him.'³⁸ As the land in question lay within Ollera's recognized boundaries, Mitchell may have belonged to the Everett-employed family with whom, in the next decade, the brothers had several similar dealings.³⁹ However another diary reference from these years suggests that the man either owned or managed a local squatting run.⁴⁰ Although much less likely in these early years, if Mitchell was an Everett employee he would probably have taken up his 120-acre block within the newly-declared Reserve on Limestone Creek under the terms of the Act introduced in the previous year, which permitted free and indiscriminate selection before survey.⁴¹

If this was indeed the case, while this particular purchase may have been perfectly legal and Mitchell may have been one of the many hopeful free-selectors whose too-small, too-isolated and often water-starved selections proved untenable, its timing and location suggest that, like so many of their peers, the Everetts were already 'working' the new Land Laws to

³⁶ Ollera Station Records, Ration Issue Book, 1862-69, *UNERA*, A103:V2276. While ninety-two of the 112 men listed were European, seven were Chinese and eight were Banbai.

³⁷ *Run Holders of New England District at the end of 1865*, Lands Dept, Sydney, 1865; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

³⁸ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie: Entry for 13th July, 1862, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/40; *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter: Edwin to 11th May, 1863, which refers to delay in the transfer of the deeds.

³⁹ Ollera Station Records, Everett Land Titles, 1869-c.1914, *UNERA*, A103:V5772.

⁴⁰ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1862-63 *UNERA*, A103:3052/40, entry for 1st July, 1863, noting 'Mitchell called here'.

⁴¹ C. J. King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales, Part 1: The sequence of the Land Laws 1788-1956*, Sydney, 1957, pp. 84-86 Until 1875, when it was amended to those aged sixteen and over, the Act placed no age limit upon prospective applicants.

their advantage.⁴² They certainly resented them deeply and had done their best to protect their investment. The Account Book records that in June 1852 they almost certainly exercised their pre-emptive rights under the 1847 Act to secure Ollera's homestead block, for in July 1853 a lawyer was paid £1 for the title deeds to 160 acres of land for which the brothers had applied. In 1856, after a man named Henderson carried out the first surveys of the run, '£73.9s.0d [was paid] for land at the head station' and for long adjoining frontages to both George's and Sandy Creeks. In all, 809 acres in three parcels were applied for in 1854 and acquired after survey in 1856.⁴³ They included:

A quarter section [169 acres] on the North side of Ollera Creek at the head station, 320 acres (a half-section) on the North side of Ollera Creek (sic) at the East end of the Lambamata Plain and extending a half-mile down the Creek to the West for John Everett, and also a half section at Sandy Creek sheep station for Edwin Everett's property'.⁴⁴

In this way the squatters 'locked up' the vast stretches of back-country which relied upon the creeks for their water.⁴⁵ For John Everett and for most of his fellows this remained a lifelong policy. In 1879, as the first wave of selectors crested, he wrote,

There are spots which I think we must secure if we can. My idea has always been to secure the water and a good block of land in one block. It would be a well watered fortress from which those who come after us could march out to buy up free selectors who have shot their bolt and have been ruined by a liberal democratic government which has eaten the oyster and left them the shell.⁴⁶

As first-comers and confirmed members of both the English and colonial land-owning oligarchy, the Everetts remained fundamentally opposed to the Robertson Land Laws. In 1868, John's opposition to proposed amendments to the Acts remained as strong as it had been for more than a decade.

I have been studying the Land Bill and have failed to find in it any other object except to work the pockets of the squatters. I think we are right in anticipating that if the free selectors are allowed to go on increasing and taking up land on deferred payment, a time will come when they will be powerful enough to refuse payment altogether. They ought to have been compelled to purchase outright and fence, or be liable to trespass on the squatter's run on which they located themselves. If they wished and had the means to become graziers and squatters, the country is open to them to do as we did when we commenced.⁴⁷

⁴² *Ibid*; Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴³ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

⁴⁴ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Letter, Edwin to John, 30th January, 1855, A103:3052/7; Fragment of a Diary/Journal of Edwin Everett 'Events at Ollera, 1856', Entries for 3rd, 5th and 7th May, 1865, A103: 3052/11.

⁴⁵ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Account Book, 1841-72, A103:V2259; Fragment of a Diary, 1856, A103:V3052/11.

⁴⁶ Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Letter: John to Arthur, 23rd April, 1879. Like many of those from this period, this letter, though apparently shown to Cane by Mr Tom Everett in the late 1840s, is no longer held in either of the Everett collections.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.112., Ollera Station Records, *op. cit.*, Letter, John to James Mackenzie, 1st January, 1868.

John Everett's attitude towards the encroachment of the selectors changed little, merely hardening as he aged. In 1879 he expressed surprise and a hint of resentment of the initially-impooverished assisted immigrant Tom Cotterell's growing prosperity.⁴⁸ Two years later, during his only return visit to the station, he voiced his disapproval and his fear that 'Tom Dawson's new selection at Falls station will spoil our [out]station.'⁴⁹ In a letter to his son Arthur, who by 1892 was managing Ollera, the old man vented his frustration and open hostility towards an unnamed selector, the close relation of an experienced and highly-valued employee. Everett clearly believed that in doing so the man was not honouring his obligations under the paternalist 'contract'.

When taken in conjunction with a list of the land titles acquired by the Everetts between 1869 and 1884, this comment and another which also dates from the early 1890s suggest the means by which the Everett brothers may initially have resisted and attempted to control the threat posed by the free selectors.⁵⁰ The clues are provided by the site, at Edgar's, of Arthur Everett's attempt to block the selector's expansion and John Everett's later comment,

.... *I always think Uncle Edwin's strong point is working the land laws* and I hope he will secure what we want and leave what we don't want...⁵¹

John Edgar's name heads a list of selections of land taken up on Ollera-Tenterden between December 1869 and October 1884, which were later acquired by the Everett brothers. Though at first glance the transactions seem above-board, closer inspection and in particular the omission of certain other important selections which were made at this time suggest that, under the guise of the new laws, the Everett brothers were actually installing tenants on their land. In doing so, not only would they have been adopting practices which were centuries-old at Biddesden and elsewhere in England's rural south, but which since 1856 had been established at Saumarez Ponds on the outskirts of Armidale, where the squatters William Maister (Tilbuster) and Arthur Hunter Palmer (Saumarez) owned tenanted farms on the Armidale Reserve.⁵² What appears certain is that, either directly or indirectly, the Everett brothers were collecting rent on land which returned to their outright possession during the next forty years. The following list contains the names and relevant details of those to whom this process applied in the 1870s.

⁴⁸ Cane, *op. cit.*, p.85.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116, quoting from the now lost Diary of John Everett, 1881, Entry dated 2nd November, 1881.

⁵⁰ Ollera Station Records, 'Records of Everett land titles, various dates', *UNERA*, A103:V5772.

⁵¹ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, John to Arthur, no date, but apparently written c. 1890-91.

⁵² J. Humphries, 'Enclosure, Common Rights and Women: The Proletarianization of Families in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of Economic History*, No. 50, 1990, pp. 23-26, 33-36, 43; L.T.W. Lane, *The Bedford Chapel at Saumarez Ponds: English Settlers in New England*, unpublished M. Lit Thesis, University of New England, 1990, p. 41.

Everett Land Titles: 'Selection C[onditional] P[urchases], 1869-1879.⁵³

Date	Acres	When Taken up	Owner	Rent Due	Rent Paid	Remarks
12/'69	320	E.E	Edgars	31 st March	£15.12s.11d	Freehold
2/'73	40	G.J.E	Mitchell	"	£ 2. 0s. 0d	Freehold
3/'73	200	G.J.E.	Jackson	"	£10. 0s. 0d	Freehold
1/'74	50	G.J.E.	Jackson	"	£10. 0s. 0d	Freehold (AWE '93)
8/'74	70	G.J.E.	Jackson	"	£ 3.10s.0d	Freehold
8/'75	40	G.J.E.	T. Lane	"	£ 2. 0s. 0d	Under Old Act
12/'75	198	.....	Croughs	"	£ 9.18s. 6d	Freehold
4/'78	320	G.J.E.	Mitchell	"	£16. 0s. 0d	Freehold
8/'78	302	E.E.	Edgars	"	£16. 0s. 0d	Freehold (1905)
8/'78	60	G.J.E.	Mitchell	"	£ 3. 0s. 0d	Freehold (1905)
10/'78	224	G.J.E.	Mitchell	"	£11. 0s. 0d.	Freehold (1905)
6/'79	40	.....	Croughs	"	£ 2. 10s.0d.	Freehold

However the fact that only a few of these transactions tally with the record James Mackenzie kept of free-selections made on Ollera during these years heightens the probability that, like his neighbours and from the very beginning, Edwin Everett was indeed 'working the land laws'. Although within a decade he regained possession of the 320 acres which Edgar selected at the end of 1869, the selections taken-up by several other employees in the early 1870s apparently did not return to the 'G.J.E.' fold. Both Wordsworth Clemesha and Thomas Cotterell, the self-styled 'grazier' who had come to Ollera in 1849 with the assistance of his parish and his future 'masters', made respective claims of 120 and 200 acres at Wandsworth, while William Millis chose 100 acres close to Ollera's eastern boundary.⁵⁴ Both James Reeves, who in the same year selected 150 acres of land at Wandsworth, and John Yates whose selection dates from late 1872 were also Everett-assisted immigrants.⁵⁵ They were joined in the next year by James Ramage and Edward Mitchell who selected sixty and forty acres respectively. Between 1874 and the end of 1879 a further thirty-six men, almost all of whom were Everett employees, took-up a total of 10,615 acres in fifty selections on the two stations. Several men made more than one acquisition. Donald Stewart, who in these years acquired 920 acres in three selections, acquired the most land.⁵⁶ The annual rate of less dubious selection shows that the Everett brothers' attempts to safeguard their holdings were therefore only partially successful.

⁵³ Ollera Station Records, 'Records of Everett land titles, *UNERA*, A103:V5772.

⁵⁴ Conditional Purchase Register, *University of New England Regional Archives*, B33/5138.

⁵⁵ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258.

⁵⁶ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258.

Year	Number of Selectors	Total Acreage
1874	6	1,500 ac.
1875	8	1,120 ac.
1876	5	620 ac.
1877	10	3,150 ac.
1878-79	<u>21</u>	<u>4,225 ac</u>
	50	10,615 ac.

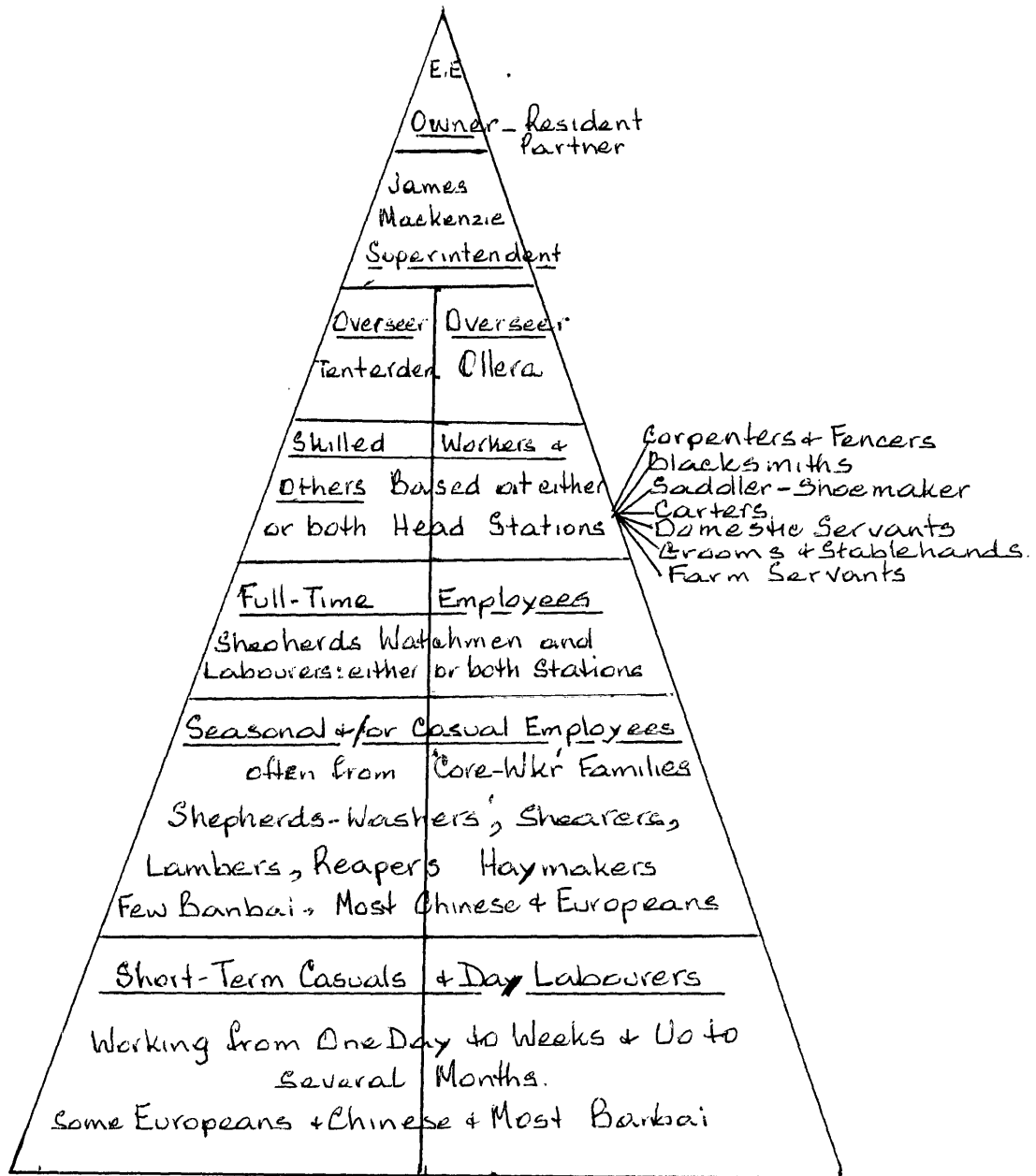
With James Mackenzie installed at Ollera and in day to day control of both stations' management and Edwin Everett in residence at Tenterden, the Everett brothers' colonial venture during the years of its maturity bore an even closer resemblance to the English estate on which it was modelled. The pattern was evident in both the style and the organization of each component station's management practices and in the arrangement, if not the appearance, of the buildings they contained. Though he never retreated entirely from participation in the stations' activities, Edwin Everett increasingly distanced himself from daily involvement. Instead, and increasingly as he grew older, he assumed the more 'gentlemanly' role of interested, resident estate owner, while James Mackenzie's status equated quite closely with that of the English steward or estate agent.

As in the 'Old Society' in which it had originated, power at Ollera-Tenterden continued to flow downwards, and dependence upwards, through each level of a steep and finely-graded pyramid of authority. Edwin Everett, the resident 'owner'-partner and Mackenzie, his superintendent, occupied the sharply-pointed apex of the hierarchical triangle and controlled the venture as a whole. Immediately below them came the overseers who were responsible for the sheep or cattle on one of the two component stations. Next came the storekeepers who maintained the Store at each head-station. However although responsibility was divided at these lower levels of authority it was not equal, for throughout these decades Ollera's overseers and storemen were paid significantly more than their counterparts at Tenterden. In the second half of the 1860s Ollera's sheep overseer Donald Stewart earned £100 per annum while his successive counterparts at Tenterden (George Hart till 1866 and thereafter Edward Arnold Hill) received £60 p.a.⁵⁷ The same inequality was evident in the wages paid to the storekeepers, a responsibility which increasingly was given to the schoolteacher at each head-station.⁵⁸ Whereas Ollera's incumbent was paid £60-£72 p.a. in these years, Tenterden's received only

⁵⁷ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, entry 23rd December, 1867, *UNERA*, A103:V2259; Cane, *op. cit.*, p 104.

⁵⁸ Ollera Station Records, *op. cit.*, Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

Hierarchy of Management at Ollera-Tenterden, 1868-89



£40-£50 a year.⁵⁹ The difference reflected Ollera's importance as the venture's foundation 'run' and the base from which Mackenzie conducted the partnership's operations. For example, both stores were stocked from Ollera and their account books were regularly audited and overseen by the superintendent, who was ultimately responsible for their performance.⁶⁰

Below the level of the overseers, at that of the 'men', the remaining two-thirds of the broadly-based pyramid descended through several levels of status, each of which was graded internally. Each employee's status was determined by the extent of their skills and the terms, conditions and duration of employment and also by age, race and, though the preponderance of males remained very great, by the individual's gender. The top-most category of the 'men' contained the specialist and semi-skilled workers and the domestic and farm 'servants' who were based at either or both head stations. Its members included the indispensable blacksmith(s) leatherworker(s) and teamsters, the carpenter-fencers, the storemen and male teachers at each head-station, the governess who instructed the younger Mackenzie boys and all their sisters, and also the domestic servants, grooms, stable-hands and, in later years, the gardeners.⁶¹ Immediately below them came the 'core' and full-time workmen; the shepherds, the dwindling number of watchmen and the general labourers. Then came those 'hands' who, while often returning semi-regularly to work for the Everetts, signed on for periods of from several weeks to six months. Many, though far from all of these men also belonged to the next, highly-fluid category; the shearers, lambers, reapers and haymakers who worked seasonally on the stations. Throughout these decades most of these people were recruited from the families of long-term workers, many of whom later became selectors on Ollera and Tenterden. The gradations within the lowest category of workers contained itinerant European men, Chinese men, European women and children, and Aboriginal men, women and children.

While the various strata within the lowest levels were always fluid and permeable (for example, individual Banbai like Williams and Charley earned the Everetts' respect and genuine affection and in his last years the Chinese shepherd Old Sam joined highly respected workers like George Thorpe and Garrett Farrell as one of Ollera's 'old pensioners') the barriers were none-the-less real. It is clear that as labour shortages eased in the post gold-rush years and the station's routine matured, all but a few of the valley's Banbai people were restricted to the

⁵⁹ Between 1862 and 1886 three men are known to have taught the children of workers at Ollera's head-station. T. West was employed from 1862 to 1865, 'McLean' between 1865 and 1867 and W. Jephson served from 1869 until 1886. After its completion in 1876, his wife played the organ at services held at the station's inter-denominational church of St. Bartholomew. Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁶⁰ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1862-3, *UNERA*, A103: V3053/40.

⁶¹ While the girls were educated entirely on the station, when considered old enough the boys were sent to boarding schools, the eldest to The King's School at Parramatta.

most casual and intermittent day-labour, grinding grain, gathering bark, or performing menial work in and around the shearing shed and the washpool. It must also be emphasized that while each of the stations operated independently within the 'GJE' enterprise, its employees served the whole, individual shepherds and labourers working when necessary on either or both stations. In doing so they moved on or off each station's ration books, which also occurred when men were working near either head-station and could buy their needs at its store. Both circumstances may explain the otherwise puzzling appearance in and/or disappearance from several of the surviving records. Daniel Reeves and his sons, William Cannings and Daniel Hutton are notable examples of such men.

The organizational hierarchy was also reflected spatially in each station's ground plan, with the workshops for the more highly skilled employees and other infrastructure (such as the shearing shed, washpool and, later, the dip and the necessary fenced yards which adjoined these facilities) being built at or near the head-station. Though the nature of their work excluded the shepherds, watchmen and long-distance teamsters, most workers' status decreased as their distance from the head-station increased. Like its counterparts throughout colonial Australia, Ollera's homestead and its outbuildings formed a large square and by the 'sixties and 'seventies the complex was even more reminiscent of a busy English village than it had been in 1848.⁶² Flanked by the detached kitchen, the store, the stables and workshops and faced by huts for the workers and miscellaneous other buildings, the homestead headed the square.⁶³ As the photograph taken of the station buildings in the 1860s makes clear, the ground-plan of the Ollera head-station fits Collier's description very closely.⁶⁴

...the various buildings are enclosed in a paddock, [and though they] appear ragged, patched-up and rather tumble down, yet they have on the whole a comfortable appearance. Trees are retained [giving] a park-like look to the scene. The buildings are arranged in a quadrangle or square court – often with a large tree in the centre. The homestead lies in front, a large low-verandahed cottage adorned with roses. The sides are formed by the store, with the offices on one side and kitchen buildings on the other. The fourth side was occupied by the bachelors' hall. The stable, cow-shed and dry-store were in a line with the bachelors' quarters while further away were a hut for the men and a substantially built stockyard. As these structures were built as needed the straggling quadrangle often degenerated into a maze.

⁶² L.A. Gilbert, 'St. Bartholomew's Church, Ollera', *Journal Armidale District Historical Society*, No. 28, Jan., 1978, pp. 96-100. [Hereafter JADHS]; 'A Clergyman' (J.Morison) [Melbourne, 1867}, *Australia As It Is*, Vermont and Tokyo, 1967, p.45.

⁶³ Personal visit made to Ollera by the author in November, 2005. Remnants of the square can still be seen. Some important buildings including the store, the coach-house, and a large workshop have been extensively restored and a couple of century-old workmen's cottages remain in place. M. Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday; A social history of the Western District of Victoria 1834-1890*, Carlton 1967, p. 283; J. Walker, *Jondaryan Station: The relationship between pastoral capital and pastoral labour, 1840-1890*, St. Lucia, 1988., pp. 2-3.

⁶⁴ Collier, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

While the spatial arrangement of the homestead complex at Ollera was typical of head-stations throughout the interior of the eastern Australian colonies and remained substantially unchanged throughout the century, by the end of the 1870s significant improvements had been made to the fabric and appearance of the buildings which surrounded the station's square.⁶⁵ In response to almost a decade of increasing and very real prosperity and to a policy of strategic land acquisition, during 1876 and 1877 the Everett brothers engaged a man named McKay to undertake a large-scale program of renovation and rebuilding.⁶⁶ To meet the needs of Mackenzie's large family, the homestead was again enlarged and its hardwood chimneys were rebuilt in brick. Made by a man named Vickery and fired in the station's purpose-built kiln, these bricks were produced at a cost of £1.5s.0d per thousand. Many thousands must have been needed, for the rebuilt huts which housed the station's workers were also provided with brick chimneys.⁶⁷ Though still slab-sided and poorly-constructed, the newly-built huts, which boasted wooden windows and either shingle, galvanized-iron or -zinc roofs, were constructed using mass-produced nails, which by then were both cheap and readily available. Containing two rooms and a skillion and, in some cases timber floors, the new huts must have been a welcome improvement upon their stringy-bark-and-greenhide predecessors. Most of the head-station's original outbuildings were also replaced at this time. The existing woolshed, granaries, stables, barns and outhouses were demolished and rebuilt as were the workshops and dwellings for which the blacksmith, saddler/shoemaker and carpenter paid rent to their employers. A new stone store and Ollera's gem, the lovely little red-brick church which graces the homestead's beautiful garden, were also constructed at this time. Designed by the noted colonial architect, Horbury Hunt, Saint Bartholomew's Church was dedicated to both the Anglican and Presbyterian faiths. It was built using funds raised by the station workers to which both Edwin Everett and James Mackenzie made generous contributions.⁶⁸

However all these activities lay a decade ahead in the mid-1860s, when the head-stations at Ollera and Tenterden controlled 151,671 acres (over 234 sq. m or just over 68, 941 ha) of the high plateau. Ollera contained 75,671 acres (34,395 ha) of this land and the remaining 76,000 (34,545 ha) 'belonged' to Tenterden. As superintendent of Ollera and with 'hands-on'

⁶⁵ Kiddle, *op. cit.*, p.283; Morison, *op. cit.* pp. 44-45.

⁶⁶ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1876-77, *UNERA*, A103:3053/48; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁶⁷ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1876-77, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/48. Note: As no information survives of a similar program at Tenterden, references in this paragraph apply only to Ollera.

⁶⁸ L.A. Gilbert, 'St Bartholomew's Church, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-100; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

responsibility for the daily management of both stations, James Mackenzie's position was challenging. It was filled with almost incessant movement. Though terse, his diaries are nonetheless evocative. They contain important details of life in a remote and sparsely-settled district in the colonial hinterland. Though leavened by a constant and diverse stream of visitors and by infrequent visits to Armidale for business and social reasons, the settlers' way of life remained harsh and frequently unforgiving. The entries made between 13th July, 1862 and 31st July 1863, the earliest year for which such records survive, present a typical account of Mackenzie's experiences.⁶⁹

Mackenzie's daily activities during these twelve months reveal not only the extent, diversity and complexity of his work-load but also offer a glimpse of everyday life and work on the greatly enlarged run. Ollera, though still quite isolated, was by then far from the leading edge of the pastoral frontier. Although distances remained daunting, communication with the outside world improved markedly after the arrival of the telegraph in Armidale in 1862 and even more so as the railway crept northwards from the head of the Hunter Valley.⁷⁰ While medical help, social and spiritual consolation and the nearest outpost of government were based a difficult six-hour ride away in Armidale, various representatives of each of these aspects of civilization visited the valley at semi-regular though widely-spaced intervals during the year. In 1862-63 William Tyrrell the Anglican Bishop of Newcastle, who had recently created the Bishopric of Grafton and Armidale, was a guest at Ollera's homestead.⁷¹ Two of the town's clergymen, the Anglican Rev. Septimus Hungerford and his Presbyterian counterpart Rev. Dr. Thomas Johnstone preached regularly, though infrequently, at the station. Father George Dillon, one of the town's Roman Catholic priests, also administered the last rites to a workman's newborn baby. Three of the Armidale district's doctors, West, Brien and Spencer, made several professional calls, while a fourth, Dr Thomas Markham, was entertained socially. However, except in cases of extreme need, most of the Everetts' employees would not have been able to afford the professional services of these men. At £8 a visit, the cost of their services represented one-fifth of most men's basic earnings for the year.⁷² Government officials were also increasingly making their presence felt. A monthly postal service had been established, a policeman collected the annual livestock returns and, manhood suffrage having

⁶⁹ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1863, *UNERA*, A103: V3053/40.

⁷⁰ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1863, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/40; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁷¹ Jean Newell, 'The Anglican Episcopacy, Diocese of Armidale, New South Wales', *JADHS*, No.21, Jan, 1978, p. 145.

⁷² Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 109

been introduced in 1858, yet another official recorded the names of the men who were eligible to elect New England's member of the colony's less than ten-year-old parliament.⁷³ By 1862-3 Ollera's superintendent had also become responsible for the registration of births and deaths on the station

The open hospitality which, from the earliest days, was a hallmark of life in the Australian bush was extended to a steadily increasing stream of passing or visiting squatters, doctors, clergymen, itinerant skilled bushmen, shearers, hawkers and 'hands'. Those who were considered socially acceptable were entertained in the homestead, while their 'inferiors' were directed to a separate outbuilding 'across the square'. One is left to wonder where the itinerant photographer who called in February 1863 and the man with the 'Magic Lantern show' were housed and thus 'placed'.⁷⁴ However evidence of the 'likeness man's' visit exists in the photographs of the construction and arrangement of the station's outbuildings and of a shepherd's cottage which survive from that time.⁷⁵ The neighbouring squatters, Bagot (Ben Lomond), Graham (New Valley), John Goldfinch (Tiengah), Sydney Darby (Copes Creek), Henry Dangar (Paradise Creek) and Mrs Mackenzie's parents, the Clerks of Clerkness, were also among frequent guests at Ollera and/or Tenterden.

However the twin-stations' self-sufficiency was nowhere more apparent than in the extent to which it prepared for emergencies. Handcuffs and an improvised 'lock-up' were at the ready, both of which were needed when Mackenzie intervened to restrain a knife-wielding Chinese workman during a fight which broke out in Ollera's kitchen.⁷⁶ The matter-of-fact way in which Mackenzie recorded the incident highlights both his ability in a crisis and the potential seriousness of the incident, for which the offender was later charged and sentenced.

May, 31st: Great row at night with the Chinaman who came on Saturday. He stabbed Kane and hurt another Chinaman who was in the kitchen, after a bit we got the handcuffs on him and locked him in the saddle room.⁷⁷

A horse was also always kept saddled overnight when one of the homestead's occupants was ill.⁷⁸ Eighty years later Cane heard the story of John Farrell's three-and-a-half

⁷³ New South Wales was granted representative government in 1856, a year in which no less than three ministries took office. King, *op. cit.*, pp.70-76 ; *Everett Records, Guyra*, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1862-63, entry for 24th April, 1863, 'Sent Register of Brummy's and Kelly's child's death' (sic).

⁷⁴ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1864, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, entries for 15th February, 1863 and for 18th March, 1864 when. 'Man with Magic Lantern came and we gave him a bed'.

⁷⁵ Ollera Station Records, Photograph of Shepherd's Cottage on Ollera, c. 1860. *UNERA*, A103:VP2105.

⁷⁶ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, entry for 31st May, 1863, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/40-41.

⁷⁷ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/40-41. Entry for 31st May, 1863.

⁷⁸ Cane, *op. cit.* p. 109. Interviews with Mr Tom Everett of Ollera in 1948-9.

hour night-time dash to Armidale on 'Wild Irishman'. On another occasion during 1863 two-year-old Jim Mackenzie was taken to Armidale, where he spent several days being treated for severe croup. However, no external help was deemed necessary where childbirth was concerned. When, like all Anna Maria Clerk Mackenzie's ten children, little (Charlotte) Ethel Mackenzie was born at Ollera in mid-October 1862, her birth interrupted neither her father's routine nor that of the twin stations.⁷⁹ Although their names appear frequently among guests entertained during the year, none of Mrs Mackenzie's married female relatives appears to have been present at the birth, neither is there any mention of the midwife, who was probably Mrs Farrell. The entry for that busy day mentions only the baby's birth in mid-morning and her black hair, then records, with unintentional irony, the unsatisfactory lambing rates produced by one of the shepherds ('73% lambs at Ramage's flock'). The presence at lunch of the squatter Henry Dangar who was on his way to or from Paradise Creek, the despatch of a load of potatoes to Bundarra, the township forming on Clerk's station Clerkness, and Mackenzie's involvement in a two day search for a lost and seemingly inexperienced shepherd, Townley, were then recorded.⁸⁰

Mackenzie's diary also provides insights into the management hierarchy of the twin stations in the early years of his superintendence and the extent to which Edwin Everett took part in the work of the enlarged run. Although during his first few years at Tenterden the resident partner continued to keep the separate Account Book for the newly acquired run, the extent and nature of the work he performed seem to have been carefully chosen. While, either alone or with Mackenzie, he made several trips to neighbouring stations to choose and buy rams and to negotiate the sale of ewes and wethers, participated in several searches for lost sheep and in the long search for their shepherd, whenever possible he continued to avoid sheep-work. However his 'refus[al] to have any involvement with the sheep', for which he had been criticized by his elder brother John a decade earlier, may have been soundly based, for Edwin appears always to have been a lifelong sufferer from asthma and other allergic symptoms, whose severity worsened as he aged.⁸¹ Instead, in the twelve months under

⁷⁹ However, she too once made a six-hour dash to the doctor at Bundarra with an unnamed, sick newborn in arms, Cane, *op. cit.*, 109.

⁸⁰ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, Entry for 18th October, 1862, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40. When, after a search lasting two days the man was found, he had been lost for three days.

⁸¹ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA* Letters of John Everett, John to William, 4th December, 1856, A103:V3052/4; Letters of Edwin Everett, 1854-55, A103: V3052/7; *Everett Records Guyra*, Various letters of Edwin Everett, especially Edwin to John, 27th August, 1888, mention of Sydney visit over land laws and of skin complaints. These letters, which contain many descriptions of his symptoms,

discussion he several times took part in cattle and horse musters and in searches for lost livestock, made several trips to Armidale on station business, visited two separate and very isolated outstations and, with Mackenzie, twice monitored the progress of fencing being constructed on the Limestone Reserve. Though few of the letters exchanged by the brothers in these vital decades have survived, the tone of those that remain suggest that Everett also reported annually to his sibling partners, albeit less often and less satisfactorily than they thought necessary.⁸²

Despite the importance of sheep and wool to the partnership's prosperity Edwin's focus was always and primarily upon the cattle and, to a lesser and decreasing extent as the century wore on, on the breeding of quality horses. His kindness to animals and especially to horses was described in a letter written after Everett's death by Edward Arnold Hill, who was employed for over forty years at Tenterden.⁸³

...Nothing angered the ole (sic) man as to have the horses ill-treated ... in any way or fashion they were not supposed to [be] – and although I admire his own style of horses I am bound to say our horses were fatter and better cared for – and a stockwhip was never used inside a yard and not much outside and only used just to start the horses together for home when mustering them up...

The resident partner's preference for cattle and for Devons in particular provided further potential for disagreement with his distant elder brothers, who as founders of the enterprise clearly retained a strong proprietorial interest in its management and stocking. While Tenterden concentrated solely upon Devons, Ollera favoured Herefords. But as we shall see, it was over sheep that the endemic, smouldering tensions between the by then aged brothers threatened the stability of both stations and partnership in the last decade of the century. Like his mentor, predecessor and father-in-law James Mackenzie, it was only with the greatest tact and patience that the then current manager Arthur Everett balanced the conflicting preferences and opinions of his eccentric and all-too-close uncle and his far-off father.

The locations of some of the outstations and the identity of several of their occupants can be determined by combining interviews with long-term residents of the valley and comments made by the late Mr Tom Everett on his handwritten extracts from the Diaries with

were discussed with an experienced General Practitioner, who suggested this probable, though of course hypothetical, diagnosis.

⁸² *Everett Records Guyra*, Letters, Edwin to John, 7th May, 1862 and 11th May, 1863; John to Edwin, 25th August, 1862; Ollera Station Records, Letter, John to Edwin, 25th April, 1867, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/4.

⁸³ Ollera Station Records, undated letter, E.A. Hill to 'My Dear Count', interleaved in the end pages of 'Original Diary of Edward Arnold Hill's Voyage to Australia, 22nd June to 7th August, 1880', *UNERA*, A103:V3053/22.

place-names which can still be found on modern large-scale maps of the district.⁸⁴ It is thus possible to estimate the distances covered by James Mackenzie as he made his regular rounds of each station's shepherding outposts, shearing shed, washpool and dip, horse and cattle yards and construction sites. 'Old Clark's' out-station, which Mr Tom Everett noted lay 'near the Ollera dip', was closest and within walking distance of the homestead, while the Lambamata and Big Plains lay only a few miles (c.5 kms) away across George's Creek.⁸⁵ Brummy, whose death Mackenzie recorded in 1863, was the shepherd on the Big Plain, which later comprised much of the best land on Mackenzie's Stratton.⁸⁶ Tenterden, once the Halheds' Alluran, still lies four and a half miles (c.8kms) further west along the same Creek. Tangley, the farm where James Reeves, his family and a workman named [Gus?] Darby were living in 1862-3, lay closer, being situated two and a quarter miles (c. 3.5 kms) south east of Ollera head-station on Sandy Creek.⁸⁷ The shepherding station on Sandy Creek lay further east of Tangley at a distance of almost nine and a half miles (c.15.2 kms) from the homestead. Whisky Gully, which was near or synonymous with the Winter Station, lay due south of Tenterden on the Boorolong border at a distance of seven and a half miles (12 kms) from Ollera. Limestone Reserve, the site of the future village of Wandsworth, lay four miles (6.5 kms) due north of Ollera's head-station on the run's border with Moredun, while Happy Valley, whose rough, foothill country was more suited to cattle and horses, lay some six miles (c.9.6 kms) away in the north-east 'corner', near Llangothlin on the crest of the Dividing Range.

Study of Mackenzie's daily itineraries makes it possible to estimate the location and distances between the shepherding stations. Those which lay to the west of Tenterden homestead entailed the longest journeys. Of the two which lay within the western boundary of the run, the eponymous 'Five Mile' was closer. At that distance from Tenterden it would have been nine or ten miles (15 kms) from Ollera, while The Falls Station, where 'Old Simpson' was the shepherd, was eleven miles (c. 17.6 km) away on the valley's and the plateau's western

⁸⁴ Those interviewed included: Mr Bill and Mrs Linda Skipper (Ollera), Mr Ross Fraser (late of Tangley Station), Mrs Elizabeth Pearson Bresnahan (of Moray Station) and Mrs Deirdre Tarrant of Llangothlin. *Everett Records Guyra*, annotated extracts from James Mackenzie's Diaries; *Topographic Maps, 1:25,000*, second edition, Central Mapping Authority of New South Wales, 1998, Maps of Guyra, 9237-4 S, Ben Lomond, 9237-4 N, Tenterden, 9137-1 S, New Valley, 9137- 1 N.

⁸⁵ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1862, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, entry: 2nd September, 1862: 'Walked down to Old Clark's place with Anna', beside which Mr Tom Everett commented 'lived near Ollera dip'.

⁸⁶ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1862, *UNERA*: A103:V3052/40, entries for 21st and 22nd April, 1863.

⁸⁷ As both James and John Reeves, each of whom was an assisted immigrant from Wiltshire, were long term employees at Ollera it is impossible to identify the family exactly. 'Darby' also presents a problem for both a station employee and a squatter at Tiengah shared a surname. As the squatter and his family were life-long friends of the Everett brothers, it is possible that one of their relatives was 'learning the ropes' on Ollera.

rim. However the two outlying shepherding stations which lay beyond Tenterden's north-western boundary in the Tingha district were even further away. New Valley, the further north of the two, lay closer, being twelve miles (19.2 kms) from Ollera, while Copes Creek lay further west at a distance of fifteen miles (24 kms) from Mackenzie's base.

Neither 'the Red Farm' nor 'the Ten Mile', whose long-term resident shepherd Austin was visited regularly, can now be located. Like Wandsworth, Tangley, and (later) Stockbridge and Danebury whose locations have survived, and Dinton Vale and Weyhill, the outstations which did not, the Red Farm's name would have evoked memories of Wiltshire and 'home', for it was named after a farm on the Biddesden estate. While it may have been Tenterden's home farm, the frequency with which separate references to both these places appear in the diaries throughout the 'sixties and 'seventies suggests otherwise. However, from the summer of 1862-63 wheat was grown at the Red Farm and a 'model farm' had been created on the Tenterden's home farm by the late 1860s.⁸⁸ The distance from Ollera and entries in the diaries kept by both Mackenzie and Edgar Huntley suggests that James Austin's lost 'Ten Mile' lay within the boundaries of Tenterden. Huntley, who was stationed in a position of minor responsibility at Stockbridge from the late 1870s until 1883, reported that in mid-January 1878 his 'round' of the shepherding stations included visits to those occupied by 'Paddy, Austin and Jones'.⁸⁹ Like Paddy Heffernan, Jones was originally a Tenterden man and both men seem to have continued to shepherd within that station's boundaries. The presence on modern maps of 'Everett's Flat', which adjoins the western outskirts of the present township of Guyra, may also mark the location of another, long-forgotten shepherding station.⁹⁰

Mackenzie's diary also tells us much about the way in which the runs' vast acreage was used during these years. Though by the early- to mid-1860s the friability of the soil, the character of the watercourses and the nature of the more accessible pastures had been drastically changed by clearing, drainage and the impact of thousands of hard-hoofed animals, within each station's boundaries much 'new country' remained to be exploited. This was a necessity of the shepherding system as, inevitably, established outstations had to be relocated after several years, as sheep folds fouled their environs and their flocks overgrazed the better and more-accessible pastures. New outstations were also constantly needed to isolate scabby sheep and to accommodate the steadily increasing flocks, whose numbers on Ollera-Tenterden more than matched the rapid rise which characterized the industry in New South Wales during

⁸⁸ Cane, *op. cit.*, pp.100-101

⁸⁹ Ollera Station Records, Diary of Edgar Huntley of 'Stockbridge', Ollera, *UNERA*, A103b:V1199/27, entry 15th January, 1878.

⁹⁰ Topographic Maps, 1:25,000, *ops. cit.*

the decade.⁹¹ As a result, until the expansionary phase ended in the late 1870s, hitherto undisturbed tracts on each run were consistently being investigated and opened up.⁹² In the twelve months under discussion, Mackenzie first oversaw the construction of a new hut for an unnamed Chinese shepherd 'below the Five Mile' and later blazed a tree-line through the bush to suitable country 'behind' that outstation, possibly preparatory to the establishment of a new shepherding station. Yet another new hut was built on land 'down the Creek' and, having instructed the Banbai man Jacky Jacky in the art of bush-fencing, Mackenzie then oversaw the construction of a bough yard at Whisky Gully where, by March 1864, another Chinese shepherd was living.⁹³ His outstation was not far from the Winter Station which was sheltered by the range which formed Ollera-Tenterden's boundary with Boorolong, its southern neighbour. Meanwhile, Thomas Beasley the stations' carpenter-fencer and sometime shepherd was also constructing a 'new station' on land Edwin had chosen at Copes Creek.⁹⁴ The new outstation was located well beyond Tenterden's north-western boundary in the vicinity of Sidney Darby's identically named station.⁹⁵

Agriculture played a small but nonetheless important part in the stations' development and diversification. In the spring of 1862 several farming activities were underway. Hay, wheat and oats were growing well that September, a crop of peas was being planted and the pastures of the Little Paddock were improved with Prairie Grass (*Bromus unioloides*). Pastures were again improved in the mid-1870s, when both lucerne (*Papilionaceae Medicago sativa*) and sheep's burnet (genus *Sanguisorba*) were sown.⁹⁶ However, though both cereal crops were regularly harvested manually on the properties, labour constraints meant that the twin-stations were never self-sufficient in wheat. With bran and pollard, flour had to be purchased regularly in Armidale, being bought first from Allingham's Mill and later from J. Moore and

⁹¹ T.H. Irving, '1850-70', in F.K. Crowley, *A New History of Australia*, Vol II, Melbourne, 1977. p. 154. Irving states that, whereas in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia flock-sizes more than doubled in the 1860s, those in Queensland increased threefold.

⁹² Ollera Station Records, Diaries of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/41-42. The entry made early in March 1865 stating 'Road marked to new sheep station', is typical of many which appear in these years.

⁹³ *Ibid*, entry for 15th March, 1864.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, After fire destroyed the hut on 23rd March 1864 the hut was rebuilt.

⁹⁵ *Everett Records Guyra*, Undated annotated extract made by Mr. Tom Everett in mid-twentieth century.

⁹⁶ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Diaries of James Mackenzie, A103:V3054/ 5; Yearly Balance Book, A103:V2258.

Company. Expenditure on flour increased steadily until, between 1873 and 1879, Mackenzie issued an average of 62,930 lbs of the dietary staple per year, most of which was purchased.⁹⁷

Though the records do not permit an exact calculation of the annual cost of flour to the station, entries made in 1872 and 1879 allow 'rough' estimates to be made for each of these years. For example, in 1872 Mackenzie issued a total of 59,428 lbs of flour, 45,519 lbs of which went out as rations while 13,909 lbs were sold at around 3d a pound.⁹⁸ If, as was the practice in earlier years, goods at Ollera's store were sold at twice their cost price, that year's flour sales would have returned £173.17s.3d of the total annual outlay of £371.8s.6d. In 1879, when a total of 69,539 lbs of flour was issued by the station, 49,537 lbs were used for rations and 20,002 lbs were sold at 2d per lb. In 1879 flour sales would therefore have returned £166.13s.10d of the estimated £206.8s.0d spent on the commodity. Though 'rule-of-thumb', these estimates are supported by entries in the annual Station Accounts compiled for the years 1870 and 1872. The entries recorded in 1870 show that a purchase of 'Flour: £139.15s.0d' was followed by one to 'J. Moore: Flour etc. £488'.⁹⁹ Two further entries worth a total of £576.14s.3d were made in 1872. The first was for 'Wheat, Flour and Corn [worth] £154.16s.3d' while the second once again records the payment of £421.18s.0d to 'J. Moore, [for] Flour etc'.¹⁰⁰

While the home farm at each component station satisfied most of its needs for butter, cheese, milk, cream and honey, any extra produce required was bought from the station's families. Both sources also kept the stations well-supplied with potatoes, for which there was a consistent demand. Not only did Mackenzie supervise the planting of two crops, three weeks apart, in October and November 1862, but in the former month Darby took 'a load' to Bundarra and another unspecified quantity was purchased by a visitor.¹⁰¹ A few months later Mackenzie bought corn and potatoes from two station workmen, buying a quantity of the grain

⁹⁷ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Diaries of James Mackenzie, 103:V3054/5, The following entries are typical of many which recur throughout the decades covered by the diaries; 24th September, 1863: 'Canning brought in a ton flour'; 18th October, 1862: '[Paid] £1.2s.6d freight on wheat'.; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁹⁸ As the retail price of flour in 1872 is unrecorded, its price has been calculated at 3d per pound weight, which is the median of the 4d lb charged in 1863 and its cost of 2d lb in 1879.

⁹⁹ J. Ferry, *Colonial Armidale*, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1999. p.59. John Moore was a prominent Armidale businessman. With his fellow storekeepers Edward Allingham and James McLean he owned and operated the town's large steam-powered flour mill.

¹⁰⁰ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Account Book, 1841-72, A103:V2259; Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, A103:V2258; Cane, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 108.

¹⁰¹ As previously mentioned (see n. 100, above), this man's identity presents a problem, for the surname 'Darby' was common to both an Everett employee [Gus] and to the squatter [Sidney] who held Tiengha (now Tingha). Although the potatoes' destination (Bundarra near Tiengha) adds to the mystery, the wording of the entry suggests that the man referred to was Gus Darby, the workman who was living at Sandy Creek at that time.

from the shepherd Matley and paying Mackintosh 6s.6d for corn and a further 9s.0d for potatoes. In 1864 the station bought oats and potatoes worth £31.0s.0d from several resident families.¹⁰² An entry dated February 1863 which states ‘Wilson from Ben Lomond here for fruit’ suggests that the orchard begun by John Everett in the early 1840s was flourishing, and in two successive years in the late-1860s Ollera’s home-farms returned a small, but nonetheless welcome, profit. Whereas farming at Ollera, brought in £38.12s.0d in 1866, in the following year £98.8s.9d was earned from the sale of ‘produce of Tanglely farm’.¹⁰³ In the early 1870s the farm at Sandy Creek continued to meet production costs or to run at a small profit. In 1870 its produce was valued at £92 and in the following year its ‘Flour and Oats [were] valued at £184.10s.0d’. In 1872 £67.6s.4d was outlaid on the farm, which yielded ‘265 bushels of wheat valued at £66.5s.0d and oats [worth] £27.9s.0d’.¹⁰⁴ Home-grown wine was also bottled regularly and in 1866 Joseph Scholes, the prosperous Armidale inn-keeper who had almost certainly been among the Everetts’ earliest employees, bought a number of beehives from Ollera.¹⁰⁵

The sale of cattle and horses also provided a steady supplementary income. In 1862 Andrew Wauchope of Moredun paid £227.10s.0d for a herd of eighty-two cattle.¹⁰⁶ Although only a few beasts worth £23 were sold in 1863, cattle sales realized £217 in each of the next two years. Cattle were also bred for draught purposes and for their meat, with 24,244 lbs (11,020 kg) of beef being issued for rations in 1863.¹⁰⁷ Bullocks and ‘milkers’ from Ollera’s dairy herd were also regularly sold to the station families. Several such purchases were made by station workers during these decades. In 1862 Mrs [Donald] Campbell paid £10 for two bulls and ‘Perfrement’ bought fat cattle worth £7. Similar sales which were made in 1867 were typical of the many recorded during these years. While J. Jackson paid £3 for a ‘red cow’, Patrick Heffernan and Henry Gray each paid £8 for two cows, and David Judge bought ‘milkers’ worth £5, while Donald Stewart and Hugh Cameron each bought two bullocks, for

¹⁰² Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, see relevant entries for 8th, 18th and 24th October, and 17th November, 1862; 5th January, and 3rd April, 1863; 9th February, 1863, undated entry from 1864, *UNERA*, 103:V3052/40-41

¹⁰³ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

¹⁰⁴ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

¹⁰⁵ Ollera Station Records, entries for 7th April, 1970 and 20th February, 1866, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/47, 43.

¹⁰⁶ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259, entry for 12th March 1862.

¹⁰⁷ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, A103:V2259; Balance Book, 1865-92, A103: 2258; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

which Stewart paid £8 and Cameron £7.10s.0d.¹⁰⁸ In May of the same year an unnamed buyer also paid £38.10s.0d for a small herd of ten milking cows.¹⁰⁹

1869 is the first year in that decade for which the numbers of cattle grazed on the stations' rougher terrain are available. In that year 3,273 cattle were held on the property, and sales returned £429. By the next year their numbers had risen to 3,952 and remained steady throughout the 1870s, when the stations grazed an average of 3,592 cattle in each year. While an average of 179 beasts were slaughtered for rations annually, cattle sales averaged 288 per year during the decade, returning £761, or an average of £2.13s.0d a head, to the stations. However the largest sales occurred in 1875, 1878 and 1879 when sales worth, £1,220, £1,305 and £1235 respectively were recorded.¹¹⁰ (See Appendix M, below)

Though the 1863 diary mentions only the two horses sold in March to Mr Ross, a visiting squatter from Inverell, the Account Book records the sale of horses to the value of £418 in that year¹¹¹ However returns had been better at the start of the decade, for in March 1860 a total of £1,009.16s.4d resulted from two large sales of horses. In one, animals worth £577.7s.0d were sold to Queensland buyers while the other returned £432.9s.4d.¹¹² Another seventy-one horses were sold to a Queensland buyer in May 1867, though these animals appear to have been less valuable, for they realized only £86.4s.10d, or around 25s.0d.a head.¹¹³ Though the surviving records for the 1870s contain much less information about the horses, some assessment of their average numbers and profitability during the decade can nevertheless be attempted. During the seven years for which such information is available, the Everetts' runs held a total of 1,215 horses, or an average of 174 animals per year Although £3,048 was earned from horse sales during these years, in two of which (1874 and 1878) £2,127 was realized, the sales of only 111 of these animals appear in the records.¹¹⁴

However despite the significant contribution these supplementary sources of income made to the running costs of their stations, the Everett brothers' prosperity depended mainly upon their wool-clip, and to a lesser though still important extent, upon the sale of sheep and their various by-products. The annual Return of Sheep for 1862 reported that whereas in

¹⁰⁸ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/42,43, entries for 10th Oct, 11th Nov, 12th and 23rd Dec, 1867

¹⁰⁹ *Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, UNERA, A103:V3052/ 43, entry for 9th May, 1867.*

¹¹⁰ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book 1865-1892, *UNERA*, A103:V2258; Cane, *op.cit.*, p. 96

¹¹¹ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, A103:V2258.; Cane, *op. cit.*, p.96.

¹¹² Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

¹¹³ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

¹¹⁴ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, Annual Returns of Livestock, 1862-83, *UNERA*, A103:V2260; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

September the Everetts owned 26,798 sheep, 27,150 animals were shorn by fifteen men in November and early December.¹¹⁵ They produced 57,403 lbs (26,092 kg) of wool which was packed into 154 bales, each weighing about 375 lbs (c.170.5 kg).¹¹⁶ The diary records that the 1862 season's wool-clip left Ollera in four separate consignments. Three departed in January 1863 and the last in late February. Garrett Farrell made two trips, the first of which began on 11th January 1863, when he took ten bales to Grafton. A fortnight later he left Ollera again, hauling '40cwt, 3qrs, 4lbs' or about twelve bales (4,568 lbs or 2,076 kg) to Morpeth at the head of navigation on the Hunter River. Exactly a week later two drays loaded with the largest consignment followed Farrell down the long track to Morpeth. Twelve bales weighing 'about 40cwt, 3qrs' were loaded onto one dray, while the other, whose bullocks were driven by 'Sharp', carried twenty-four bales.¹¹⁷ The fourth consignment, whose quantity was not given, set off at the end of February when 'McLennan and Austin left with the last of the wool'.¹¹⁸ At £15 each, the advance John Everett instructed Mackenzie to accept, even before being despatched to London these fifty-eight bales would therefore have been worth £870.¹¹⁹

At £15 a bale, the total payment advanced by the Everetts' Sydney agents, G. Leathes and Company, against Ollera-Tenterden's 1862 wool-clip would have been £2,310.¹²⁰ However an entry in the Account Book which gives the details of the wool's shipment to London indicates that 184½ bales, on which a total of £2,570 was advanced, were despatched between January and June of 1863. The amount advanced was apparently dependent upon the quality of each bale's contents. Of the 184½ bales sent, forty-four were valued at £10 each, 135½ at around £15 each and five, which must have been of superior quality, fetched a premium of £20.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/22.; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 101. See below, p. 237 for a suggested reason, natural increase excepted.

¹¹⁶ Ollera Station Records, Sheep Returns, 1857-62, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/22: 1862-83, A103: V2255; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹¹⁷ Although this estimate must remain approximate as standardized Imperial or Avoirdupois weights may not have been in general use in the Armidale district in the early 1860s, the system has been used for these calculations. The modern table reads thus::1 cwt or 'hundred-weight' = 112lbs; 1 qr or 'quarter' = 28lbs; 16 ozs or 'ounces' = 1lb or 'pound weight'. Given the fact that the number and weight of bales on the smaller of the two drays which left for Morpeth on 31st January is recorded, an average bale weight of c.375 lbs can be calculated.

¹¹⁸ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40-41, entry for 25th February, 1863.

¹¹⁹ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40-41, entry dated 29th January, 1863.

¹²⁰ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/23-24.

¹²¹ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259 entry for 29th January, 1863

Date	No. of Bales	Vessel	Amount Advanced.
Jan 10 th	26	<i>A. Archbell</i>	£260
21 st	9	<i>Saxon</i>	£ 90
Feb 10 th	9	do.	£ 90
Mar 10 th	24	<i>Tiptree</i>	£360
26 th	36	do.	£540
Apr 8 th	17	<i>Kosciusko</i>	£260
22 nd	39½	do.	£585
May 15 th	19	do.	£285
Jun 16 th	<u>5</u>	<i>Rifleman</i>	<u>£100</u>
	<u>184½</u>		<u>£2,570</u>

The Everetts' prosperity grew with their flocks, whose numbers increased steadily throughout the 1860s, reaching 29,751 in 1868, when 10,063 lambs were born, and 35,559 in 1869 (9, 409 lambs).¹²² By 1870 the number of sheep on the two runs had reached 37,200, for which twenty-nine shepherds were responsible. The 37,000 fleeces baled that year weighed 108, 257 lbs (49,207.73 kg) which, after sale in London at an average price of 1s.3d lb, realized £6,767 (gross). In 1872, when 37, 347 of the stations' 39,193 sheep were shorn, the improved prices offered in London (1s.10dlb), which offset the reduction in the year's wool-clip, returned £8,845 before costs. This proved to be Ollera-Tenterden's most profitable shearing season, for although sheep numbers peaked at 45,599 in April, 1877, when thirty-eight shepherds were needed and about 38,120 animals were shorn at the end of that year, at 1s.6d lb in London, the gross value of their wool was £7316. However, despite annual variations in the numbers of sheep depastured on the properties and fluctuations in the prices on offer in London or in Sydney, where the unwashed and inferior locks, pieces and belly-wool were sold, the Everetts' returns on wool remained valuable. During each of the seven years from 1873 to 1879, an average of thirty-one shepherds tended 34,669 sheep which produced 76,659 lbs of wool with a gross value of £6,778 per annum.¹²³ These were the years in which the Everetts' wool reached and exceeded the benchmark of £7,000 which the brothers had set in their agreement of January, 1853 and which they renewed for a further two years on New Year's Day, 1873. Under its terms, each of the brothers would receive one-third of the amount by which the sale of the wool-clip exceeded £7,000, an event which occurred in three of the six seasons, 1870 to 1875. Below that benchmark, George and John would each be paid one-sixth of the wool's value while the remaining two-thirds would be paid to Edwin. During these years the brothers would therefore have derived the following profits from Ollera-Tenterden's wool:

¹²² Ollera Station Records, Returns of Sheep, 1862-83, *UNERA*, A103: V2255; Cane, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-3. The figures quoted represent an average of the counts made in January and September of each year.

¹²³ Note: As the fleece weight for 1874 is not given in the records, the average of the six years for which there is evidence has been used.

Everett Brothers' Share of Returns from Sale of Wool under 1853 Agreement, 1870-75

Year	Total Amount	Amount Received by Each Brother	
		John and George (each) *	Edwin **
1870	£6,767	£1,127	£4,511
1871	£9,145	£1,166 + £715 = £1,881	£4,667 + £ 715 = £5,382
1872	£8,845	£1,166 + £615 = £1,781	£4,667 + £ 615 = £5,282
1873	£7,261	£1,166 + £ 87 = £1,253	£4,667 + £ 87 = £4,754
1874	£5,798	£ 964	£3,865
1875	£6,576	£1,096	£4,384
	Sub-totals:	£5,685 + £1,417 = £7,102	£26,781 + £1,417 = £28,198
Total = £44,392			

Note: * Amounts in first column represent one-sixth of amount up to £7,000. Those in second, one-third of profits in excess of £7,000.

** Amounts in first column represent two-thirds of sums up to £7,000. Those in second, one-third of profits in excess of £7,000.

Although these figures are more likely to be gross rather than nett, their contribution to the success of the Everetts' Australian venture is confirmed when the overall profitability of the stations during these years is considered. Ollera-Tenterden's profitability increased steadily throughout the decade. From £9,451 in mid-1869, it rose to £9,987 in 1871 and £12,919 in 1872, reaching peak-profitability in June 1878, when £16,000 was earned.

Sales of sheep also made a consistent and important contribution. In March 1861 a single sale of 800 ewes and 200 wethers returned £425, or an average price of 8s.6d a head, to the station.¹²⁴ Twelve months later J. Mitchell made two purchases of sheep, paying £424.10s.0d for the first lot and £270.10s.0d for the second, while Cooper, a local squatter, bought 1,100 ewes at £440, or at 8s.0d per head.¹²⁵ In February and March of 1863 an unknown number of ewes was sold to Bagot of Ben Lomond, 1,122 ewes were sent to Bundarra and 'Mr Hinton' bought 1,804 wethers. A further 100 wethers were sold to Nowland, an Armidale butcher, in June. Such sales recurred annually throughout the decade, with the sale of twenty rams and 2,060 wethers to Bell in March 1864 being a typical example.¹²⁶ In calculating the stations' earnings for the twelve months to 30th June 1867, Mackenzie noted that while £2,389 had been advanced on the current wool-clip, sheep sales had earned £1,005.1s.0d.¹²⁷ Nothing was wasted. While, by law, scabbed sheep were burned and never sold, old and otherwise unproductive animals were walked down the range to the coastal town of Kempsey where they were boiled-down. The wool from dead sheep was collected for sale and skins and hides were sold to the dealers G.E. Jacques and Balls in Maitland.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259, entry for 26th March, 1861.

¹²⁵ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, entries for 17th and 19th March, 1862.

¹²⁶ Ollera Station Records Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, entry for 20th March, 1864.

¹²⁷ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, entry for 30th June, 1867.

¹²⁸ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, entries: 25th November, 1862, 24th June, 1863.

One entry from the early 1860s, 'sent 100 sheep to Fenwick', is of particular interest, for it suggests the part of the run on which, with the consent of his employers, Mackenzie was already grazing a considerable number of his own sheep.¹²⁹ Fenwick, the 'unsuccessful' Ollera selector whose 200-acre pre-lease at 'Stratton' was bought by Mackenzie in April 1875, provides the probable clue.¹³⁰ In March 1861 the superintendent spent £325, or a little more than his year's salary of £300 on the purchase, at 13s.0d a head, of 500 of his employers' maiden ewes. In the following January the station paid him £175.10s.0d (or 7s.7½d a head) for 460 lambs, which were probably their progeny.¹³¹ In 1863 Mackenzie made two similar purchases of sheep from the station. He paid £150 for one mob of about 350 animals at the end of March, and in mid-April he spent a further £254.18s.0d for about 500 ewes.¹³² In 1865, Mackenzie paid the Everett brothers £46.5s.0d for shearing his sheep and £2.12s.0d in Scab Assessment costs.¹³³ Mackenzie's agreement with the Everetts may have been made under the widely-used 'halves' system, whereby half of all profits returned by the flock (wool produced, sales of live animals and lambs produced) accrued to the station.¹³⁴ Frequent sales of a few sheep were also made to station families throughout the 1860s. For example, in 1867 William Cannings, Samuel McCrossin and 'Parsons' purchased sheep worth £2.0s.0d, £3.10s.0d and £1.10s.0d respectively. While it remains unclear if their owner was an Everett employee or an 'outsider' whose sheep were also being depastured under the 'halves' system, another much larger private flock grazed Everett-held land at this time. In 1864 W.H. Sheppard was charged £15 for the 'keep' of his sheep and a further £2.7s.0d for transporting an almost-full bale of 'his' wool, which the superintendent valued at £28.11s.10d.¹³⁵ Two further entries in the accounts from early 1867 show that £53.17s.6d was paid for Sheppard's wool. If, as seems possible, Sheppard was employed by the Everetts, at £11.4s.0d his profit from his sheep in 1864 alone would have exceeded three months' wages.

Mackenzie's diaries for the period also reveal the stage of technological development reached at Ollera in the 1860s and 1870s. The original lever-powered wool-press, which that

¹²⁹ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

¹³⁰ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1875-6, *UNERA*, A103:V3054/1-12

¹³¹ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72. See entries for 26th March, 1861, 19th March, 1862, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

¹³² Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259. Entries for 22ⁿ, March and 16th April, 1863. In making a rough estimate of the number of sheep in each of these flocks I have extrapolated from the costs per head of animals in flocks whose size is given. The 'sheep' in the first flock were valued at 8s.6d per head, while the 'ewes' were valued at 10s.0d each.

¹³³ Ollera Station Records Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

¹³⁴ Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

¹³⁵ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

year ‘almost killed’ its operator Gus Darby, remained in use in 1862.¹³⁶ So, for a few years, was the first washpool, where after several attempts, Marsh assembled and installed a pump in October of the same year. However, within eighteen months the device was moved to a new spot on George’s Creek, where a new dam and more elaborate, spouted washpool was built at the considerable cost of £70.¹³⁷ For almost a decade after most New South Wales’ squatters abandoned the practice in the late 1870s, Ollera’s sheep continued to be washed before being shorn.¹³⁸ Though reaping was still done manually at a cost of between £1 and £1.10s.0d an acre, a foot-operated threshing machine had been in use on Ollera since the mid-1850s. In 1863 a wheat-cleaning machine was also in operation on the stations.¹³⁹ Both the threshing machine and the station’s plough-team(s) were rented to the station families. In 1860 J. Ryder paid £7.10s.0d for the use of the plough and in January 1867 £9.5s.6d was earned from the hire of the threshing machine.¹⁴⁰ Ten years later two further purchases of agriculture machinery were made, when both a (stationary?) steam engine and a one-horse-power chaff-cutter were bought.¹⁴¹

‘Scientific farming’ methods, which had been practised in England’s rural south since the late eighteenth century and with which the Everetts and Mackenzie would have been familiar, played an increasingly important role in the care and management of the sheep in these decades.¹⁴² Though the focus remained upon natural increase rather than selective breeding as a means of increasing the value of the flock, in 1866 £17.15.0d was spent on treating the animals with sulphate of iron.¹⁴³ Although the adult sheep were not ‘dosed’ until the second half of the 1880s, the practice of ‘drenching’ the lambs began in 1874.¹⁴⁴ In the next year the problem of ticks, which debilitated the sheep and whose eggs decreased the value of the wool, was addressed.¹⁴⁵ Yards were built around several large iron tanks which were filled with a recyclable solution of hot water and nicotine. This crude but satisfactory dip was operated by two men. Having been thrown into and then completely immersed in the solution

¹³⁶ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 2nd Dec 1862, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/40.

¹³⁷ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, In 1861 these bells cost 2/9d each.

¹³⁸ S.H. Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia*, Melbourne, 1964, p. 357.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*; Ollera Station Records, Letters, Edwin to John, 31st January, 1855, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/7.

¹⁴⁰ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2250; Cane, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 127.

¹⁴¹ Ollera Station Records, Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹⁴² W.A. Armstrong, ‘Labour 1: Rural Population, Employment and Income, in G.E. Mingay (ed), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume Six 1750-1850*, Cambridge, 1989. p. 709.

¹⁴³ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie 1865, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/66.

¹⁴⁴ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/66.

¹⁴⁵ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258.

each newly-shorn sheep was ‘thoroughly crutched’ before being lifted from the tank to drain.¹⁴⁶

Although a fence was being built by Ryder at his inn on the Limestone Reserve, which probably stood on the land the brothers had bought from Mitchell, the wider runs remained largely unfenced until the late 1860s when a few areas were fenced-off for sheep. Even had a favourable resolution of their tenure problems been reached most squatters in the district considered that, at over £100 per mile, the construction of long runs of sheep-proof, morticed post-and-rail fencing was ‘out of the question being too costly’.¹⁴⁷ However the arrival of three more free selectors on Ollera in early 1870 probably changed the Everett brothers’ minds. While James Edgar and Thomas Cotterell were long-term employees, Wordsworth Clemesha was a more recent arrival. Their selections coincided with, and probably prompted, the erection of five miles of fencing on Ollera. An employee named Jackson was paid £450 to erect sheep-proof fences ‘consist[ing] of two rails and two holes for wire at £50 per mile’.¹⁴⁸ A year later an apparently experimental ‘new paddock’ was created on the Big Plain. Holding 4,872 sheep, it was fenced with wire costing £19.8s.10d. A small amount of wire was also bought in 1874 when such fences cost about £15 per mile to install. However no further purchases of wire were made until 1879 when regular annual purchases began with the order of half a ton of the material.¹⁴⁹ By 1884 the use of all-wire fences with log posts had reduced fencing costs to £11.10s.0d per mile.¹⁵⁰

While the essential warning bells worn by their bell-wethers were *sold* to the shepherds, at the start of each shearing season the station supplied each shearer with two pairs of hand shears.¹⁵¹ In 1862 the practice caused real problems for Mackenzie, when the customary issue was deemed insufficient by that year’s shearers. The dispute which resulted delayed the start of the season by two days and erupted again a fortnight later when Mackenzie reported ‘a great row with two shearers’.¹⁵² These were not the only labour problems he faced during the twelve month period. Though not as serious as either the stabbing in Ollera’s kitchen or the long search for the lost ‘Towney’, both Mackenzie and Garrett Farrell argued heatedly with Tyrell,

¹⁴⁶ Cane, *op. cit.*, pp. 95; 97 (f.n.). The process was described to Cane by a grandson of James Mackenzie.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁴⁸ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:VV3053/22-24; V3052/40-48. See entries for 16th May and 14th July, 1870: Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

¹⁴⁹ Ollera Station Records, Balance Book 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258: Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

¹⁵⁰ Ollera Station Records, Station Ledger, 1873-90, *UNERA*, A103:V2263.

¹⁵¹ Ollera Station Records, Station Ledger, 1873-90, *UNERA*, A103:V2263. In 1861 the bells cost 2/9d each.

¹⁵² Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1862-63, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, entries for 3rd, 4th and 17th November, 1862.

who, as a consequence, gave up responsibility for Ollera's store. Alcohol also continued to cause periodic problems. Like many bush workers, some of Ollera's people embarked from time to time upon 'benders' and 'sprees', which is perhaps understandable when their isolated and spartan living conditions are considered. The shepherd Brooks and his wife Judy provide a typical example. After bringing in their sheep for salt on 21st January, 1863 they left the head-station next day, 'both [still] very drunk'. A similar and possibly related incident occurred on the night before the Brooks couple's misdemeanour. Involving Ollera's blacksmith, it shows that although New England's labour situation had eased as the district's easily-accessible gold was worked-out, reliable key workmen remained as hard to find as they were to retain. After having worked on the station for only three weeks the new blacksmith also 'got very drunk' and, as a consequence, was fired. It took Mackenzie four weeks to fill this indispensable artisan's position.¹⁵³

The stations' employees were involved in more serious incidents which occurred towards the end of the decade. At some time during 1867, Mackenzie dismissed one of two brothers named Simmons who had been employed on the station for several years. Probably acting on 'inside information' that the stations' annual supplies had just been delivered and unpacked, on Christmas Eve, while a party was in progress in the nearby homestead, the resentful Simmons joined Thunderbolt, the district's infamous bushranger, in a successful raid on Ollera's Store. Although this raid seems likely to have been an act of petty revenge, as most of the stolen goods were found scattered throughout the nearby bush, a potentially more serious one followed almost two weeks later. On 5th January, 1868 the house at Tangley on Sandy Creek where Mackenzie's brother Robert was living with his young family was held-up and robbed by 'two armed men', one of whom was 'known' to be Simmons. The police were called and anxiety was running high when two days later Mackenzie 'went to see some men at Limestone who looked like suspicious characters'. When captured, Simmons and a suspected accomplice, a fellow Ollera workmate identified as 'J'.(Jossy?) Ramage, appeared in court a month later. While Ramage's fate is unrecorded, Simmons received a ten-year sentence for his involvement in both offences.¹⁵⁴ All in all it was a bad year for Robert Mackenzie and his wife, for in October they buried their three-months-old baby daughter.¹⁵⁵ Two years later things were even worse for Mrs Marsh, who with her husband Alfred and their child, had lived

¹⁵³ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, entries for 31st December, 1862, 20th and 21st January, 21st February, 1863.

¹⁵⁴ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, 1866-68, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/44-46, entries for 19th Feb, 1866, 23rd and 25th Dec, 1867, 5th, 7th and 24th Jan, 1868, 4th Feb and 25th March, 1868.

¹⁵⁵ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/43, entries for 6th August and 26th October, 1868.

for many years at Tenterden. When the death of her husband on 23rd December was followed within hours by that of her child, she was arrested and charged with infanticide.¹⁵⁶

However the sheep caused Mackenzie's most persistent problems, as almost every month brought its own particular set of worries. Snowfalls in August 1862 worsened the problems of a month always notorious as 'starvation month'.¹⁵⁷ October brought the worrying news that both sheep and cattle were dying at Bundarra, where Cooper had lost 500 lambs, and at Tiengha where Morse had lost 700, while at Copes Creek Darby had lost 'lots of cattle'. Cold and frost continued well into the month in which lambing was underway. The bad weather may have caused the unsatisfactory (73 per cent) survival rate of new-born lambs in Ramage's flock. When the shearing season arrived in early November, the two days lost in shearing the newly-washed sheep added to the anxieties of a season which was always the busiest and most potentially trouble-prone in the year. January and February were almost as busy, for in these months the wheat was harvested, the drays were loaded with wool and despatched, the rounds of the outstations were made, several shepherds' flocks were counted and successive flocks were brought in to be dosed with salt. Ewes were sold in both February and March when, after heavy falls of rain, lame sheep had to be identified and removed and lost sheep had to be recovered. In April 'grubs ... made their appearance on the Big Plain', where Brummy was the shepherd, and Ramage struck trouble again when thirty of his sheep were killed by 'dogs'. In July, at the end of that twelve month period, both rain and snowfalls caused sheep to be lost by both Matley and the Chinese shepherd, Tantiok. Having found them, an anxious Mackenzie set off for Armidale in the hope that long-awaited news of the wool-clip's sale had arrived from England.

Mackenzie's responsibilities did not end there, for in addition to his work diary and the Station's Account and Balance Books, he kept a wide range of business and official records concerning the stations' various activities. He also supervised the operation of both stations' stores and was responsible for monitoring and ordering their stock. As his diary for 1862-63 shows, Mackenzie reported regularly to John Everett who, throughout his life, kept a close eye on the management of 'his' station. Though much of this clerical work was done either at night or on days when outside work was impossible, an entry made on New Year's Day 1863 shows

¹⁵⁶ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/24, entry for 23rd December, 1869.

¹⁵⁷ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, John to Arthur, 2nd December, 1890.

that, when necessary, the work alternated with outdoor tasks. 'At accounts all morning. Carting hay after noon, wrote to Post Master General again'.¹⁵⁸

However, despite his busy schedule the superintendent still found time for recreational pursuits. Though some pastimes involved the station as a community, Mackenzie's pleasure was often combined with his work. Like his workmen, who in their spare time fished the creeks or shot the still abundant wildfowl 'for the pot', Mackenzie frequently bagged snipe and ducks while on his rounds of the shepherding stations.¹⁵⁹ An amusing but no doubt embarrassed vignette from early 1863 reads: 'Drove Anna down to Tenterden, shot the cleaning rod out of my gun by mistake at some ducks on our way down'.¹⁶⁰ During overnight stays at Tenterden or in Armidale the evenings were filled with music, reading, chess and whist; other pastimes could be as simple as this brief but telling entry: 'Drove Annie down to see the pump'. Like the Everett brothers, Mackenzie was both devout and highly conscious of his religious responsibilities towards his dependent workforce. On visits to Armidale he called on the Anglican Bishop, his clerics and leading laymen and on their Presbyterian peers and also attended meetings of the (Masonic) 'Lodge'.¹⁶¹ Regular visits were exchanged with his wife's family and friends in Armidale or at her father's station, Clerkness near Bundarra, which lay a difficult six-to-nine-hour ride to the west. Anna-Maria (Clerk) Mackenzie and her children sometimes went there without or ahead of her husband, who escorted her as far as the Gap, where her father would meet them.¹⁶² Whilst at Clerkness in early December 1862, the superintendent rode with his father-in-law and another local squatter (Sidney Darby of Cope's Creek) to Bundarra where they 'had a look at the clergyman's new cottage'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Ollera Station Records, James Mackenzie's Diary, 1862-63, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, various entries made throughout the year, and entry for 1st January, 1863. *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, John Everett to Mackenzie, 1st January, 1863, written in reply to latter's letter dated October, 1860.

¹⁵⁹ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, entries for 29th September, 1862, 17th January, 1863. Each records the receipt of unneeded products of two employees' efforts, fish caught by Watts and two of the four {bush} turkeys shot by G. Hart.

¹⁶⁰ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40/44/45, entry for 9th January, 1863, See also the many entries made between 1864 and 1867.

¹⁶¹ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, entries for 19th December, 1862, 4th March, 1863, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40

¹⁶² Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, entries, 24th December, 1862, 29th March, 1863. The time needed for the trip seems to have differed according to the route taken. As Clerkness was roughly the same distance from Ollera as Armidale, the route via 'the Gap' was probably shorter and took about the same length of time, six hours. Of the nine-hour trip, Mackenzie wrote, 'Left [Ollera] at 5.a.m. for Clerkness and got there via the Grove at 2 o'clock'. It was Christmas Eve and his baby daughter, Charlotte) Ethel, was to be christened in the Clerkness church on the following day.

¹⁶³ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, entry, 6th December, 1862.

Though weddings and race-meetings, such as those held at Limestone and Armidale in 1866 and later in the decade at Bundarra and Glen Innes, brought the station's people together, cricket provided the strongest unifying agent within the Ollera-Tenterden community. Mackenzie's passion for the game was inherited by his successors, and for decades Ollera was the venue for games between teams from within and beyond the district. Mackenzie's diary for 1863 records that in late March he arranged with W. Allingham for Armidale to celebrate the Queen's Birthday with a match which was played on 6th May.¹⁶⁴ No other activity crossed class boundaries and fostered social harmony at Ollera-Tenterden as successfully as the annual inter-station cricket match, an event which served several important functions. In promoting healthy rivalry between the men, it boosted morale and provided a welcome holiday, with dancing and singing into the night.¹⁶⁵ The tradition lasted into the lifetime of Mackenzie's grandson, Tom Everett, who remembered that '[in the old days] a good cricketer could always get a job at Ollera'.¹⁶⁶ Mackenzie's pride and enthusiasm were evident when, early in 1862 in the first of the many similar entries he made during his thirty years at Ollera, he wrote:

Ollera v Tenterden cricket match, beautiful day. Ollera won. A. Darby, Goldfinch and H. Darby here, dancing and singing at night. I made 15 and 44.¹⁶⁷

Before considering the composition and extent of the workforce for which James Mackenzie was responsible during his years at Ollera, several important elements which make it impossible to determine the exact number of people he employed must be considered. The multi-faceted problem is caused by the nature of the surviving records which name only those who, for varying lengths of time, received rations from Ollera Station. (See Appendices Q and R, below) By definition, therefore, the presence on the twin-stations of employees, who for one of several reasons did not qualify for rations, went unrecorded. Some, like the long-serving shepherd William Crew, who like George Thorpe had fought at Waterloo, were based for long periods close enough to the head-station to allow them to buy their basic provisions from the store. As a result the 'Old Corporal's' name does not enter the record until 1864, appearing first among those who received rations for three full years (1864-66) and in the following year among those who qualified for less than six months.¹⁶⁸ Crew's example highlights an

¹⁶⁴ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40-41, entries, 26th March and 1st May, 1863.

¹⁶⁵ Ollera Station Records, Diary of Edgar Huntley of Stockbridge, Ollera, 1878, *UNERA*, A103b:V1199/26, entries for 26th January, 1878 and 2nd March, 1878

¹⁶⁶ Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹⁶⁷ Ollera Station Records, James Mackenzie's Diary, 1862-63, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40, entry, 4th February, 1863.

¹⁶⁸ Ollera Station Records, Ration Issue Book, July, 1862-January, 1869, *UNERA*, A103:V2276.

associated problem which is apparent in the record, double-counting. Like a considerable number of his workmates, and apparently according to his employers' needs, the shepherd moved between different entitlement-categories during these years.¹⁶⁹ Such men included Ed. Mitchell and R. Clough from Ollera and the Tenterden men Hugh Cameron and Patrick Heffernan. Other workers were excluded either by their occupation or by hiring contracts which did not include an entitlement to rations.¹⁷⁰ Still other families, among whom were some of Ollera's earliest immigrant core-workers, the Huttons, the Cannings, Cotterells and (Daniel) Reeves, seem to have been almost entirely self-sufficient. As a result, as shearers, washers and/or lambers working outside their contracted employment, their names appear amongst those who received rations for the shortest periods.

However, despite these flaws, the surviving records reveal much about the size, the composition and living standards of Ollera-Tenterden's workforce during these decades. In the eight-year period between January 1860 and January 1868 the names of 234 people were entered in the Ration Book for the two stations.¹⁷¹ Although, to satisfy individual preferences, some slight variations were permitted and the quantities varied according to the number of dependents for whom each recipient was responsible, despite its monotony, the standard ration of beef, flour, tea and sugar in the early 1860s was generous. Men such as Thomas Dawson and John Matley, both of whom had large families, received a weekly ration of 30lbs beef, 30lbs flour, 12lbs sugar and 6lbs tea. Those who, like Edward Lansley and Sam Dudman had fewer dependents, received 20lbs beef, 15-20lbs flour, 6lbs sugar, and 3lbs tea, while the quantities issued to such single men as Thomas Pitkin and Stephen Cox were 10lbs, 10lbs, 4lbs, and 2lbs respectively.¹⁷² However extra rations were issued to men whose wives and older children contributed to the family economy during the hectic weeks between late August and mid-December when first lambing, then sheep washing and shearing created the greatest demand for labour. For instance, in October 1860 Thomas Dawson, his wife and seven children were issued with a weekly ration of 50lbs beef, 50lbs flour, 20lbs tea and 10lbs tea while his fellow shepherd John Matley, who apparently had fewer children old enough to work, received 30lbs, 30lbs, 12lbs and 6lbs respectively. The assistance of his pre-pubescent

¹⁶⁹ Ollera Station Records, Ration Issue Book, July-1862-January, 1869, *UNERA*, A103:V2276.

¹⁷⁰ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258, Table of Wages paid at Ollera, 1862-1900; Cane, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 107.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² Ollera Station Records, Weekly Ration Issue Book, January to December, 1860, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/28.

'boy' entitled Edward Lansley to an extra 15 lbs of beef during the busy lambing weeks.¹⁷³ The list of shearers for the 1860 season contains the name of twelve European men, all but one of whom (Richard Dolin) were regularly employed on the stations. Two Banbai men also worked as washers or shed-hands during that shearing season. In each of the four weeks between 27th October, and 17th November 1860 these shearers and shed-hands received the following quantities of beef and flour. The table shows the amounts by which their regular ration of 14-15lbs beef, 10lbs flour, 4lbs sugar and 2lbs tea was increased.

Shearers Employed on Ollera-Tenterden: 27th October to 17th November, 1860¹⁷⁴

Name:	Ration Issued		
	Beef	Flour	
James Reeves	21 lbs	10 lbs	
Evan Reeves	21 lbs	10 lbs	
George Munday	21 lbs	10 lbs	
Michael Quinnell	36 lbs	10 lbs	
Stephen Cox	25 lbs	10 lbs	
Thomas Dawson	25lbs	10 lbs	
Reuben Dawson	25lbs	10lbs	
Ben Dawson	25 lbs	10lbs	
Jacob Hunt	25 lbs	10lbs	
Richard Dolin	20lbs	10lbs	
George Ryder	20lbs	10lbs	
James Jackson	15lbs	10 lbs	
Banbai: Johnny		5lbs	2lbs sugar 1lb tea
Jacky Jacky		5lbs	2lbs sugar 1lb tea

Of the 218 people who were issued with rations during the eight-year period, 213 were male and five were female. All these women and 180 of the men were of European extraction. Twenty of the thirty-eight remaining men were Chinese and eleven were Banbai. Forty-nine people received rations for periods ranging from six months in a given year to the full eight years. Forty-eight of these individuals were male, the exception being Mrs Jane Farrell who, as the stations' midwife, received rations throughout 1866 and 1867. Forty-one of the men were European, five were Chinese and two were Banbai. Twenty-six European men and Ollera's long-term Chinese employee 'Old Sam' received rations for from two to the full eight years. Three were recipients for the whole eight-year period, and one for seven years and none for six. Eight men were issued with rations for five years, three for four years, four for three years and six for two of these years. The remaining twenty-three men, who were on the books for

¹⁷³ Ollera Station Records, Weekly Ration Issue Book, January to December, 1860, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/28.

¹⁷⁴ Ollera Station Records, Weekly Ration Issue Book, January to December, 1860, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/28.

from six to eleven months, comprised seventeen Europeans, four Chinese and an unknown number of Banbai men who were employed consistently as bark-cutters.¹⁷⁵ (See Appendices, N:ii and N:iv, below)

Approximately three out of four of those whose names are listed in Ollera's Ration Issue Book during these years qualified for rations for less than six months in any year. Most of these people would have been employed during the lambing weeks in early Spring, at shearing and washing in early Summer or during the harvest which began in January. Of the 169 individuals mentioned, 165 were male and four were European females. The group comprised 139 European males, fifteen Chinese and about eleven Banbai. Thirty-nine of these men qualified for rations for periods of less than six-months in from two to five of the years under discussion. John Wicks, who was the longest serving part-time recipient, was issued with rations during five years, eight others, including one Chinese and a Banbai, qualified during four years, and fourteen, of whom two were Chinese, were on the books during three years. Of the seventeen men issued with rations during two years, one was Chinese and three were Banbai. The remaining 133 men qualified for rations for periods of less than six months in a single year. This sub-group contained 115 European, ten Chinese and eight Banbai workmen. When the names of the seventeen men whose names are entered as both full-time and part-time recipients have been deleted from the complete list of those who qualified for rations during any year of the chosen period, the following table can be produced.

Analysis of Total Workforce, 1862-1868, by Race, Gender and Length of Employment¹⁷⁶

Full-Time Workers		Part-Time Workers		Totals
European Men	= 41	European Men	= 139	180
Chinese Men	= 5	Chinese Men	= 15	20
Banbai Men	= 2	Banbai Men	= 11	13
European Women	= <u>1</u>	European Women	= <u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Sub-Total	= 49	Sub-Total	= 169	218

Although his name is not on this list, yet another man who features prominently in the stations' story, arrived at the beginning of 1863. He was Edward Arnold Hill, who had arrived in Australia in December 1861. A nephew of the poet Robert Southey, Hill emigrated 'against the wishes of his family to be with Friends and Connections'. After time spent 'pioneering in Queensland', he served with the irregular 'Old Forest Rangers' in the Waikato Campaign and at the surprise capture 'of a strategic Pah' during the Maori War of 1860-61. An entry in Mackenzie's Diary records that Hill, who was remembered as a boyhood friend of Edwin

¹⁷⁵ Here again there is a problem with the information contained in the records, which mentions only 'Blacks, barkcutting'. In this, and in another similar reference which occurs in the list of part-time recipients, I have interpreted the plural entry as two.

¹⁷⁶ Ollera Station Records, Ration Issue Book, July 1862-January, 1869, *UNERA*, A103:V2276.

Everett, arrived at Ollera on 31st December, 1862.¹⁷⁷ After working there for a few years he moved to Tenterden, where he replaced George Hart as overseer of the station's sheep, earning £60 p.a. in 1867.¹⁷⁸ The self-styled soldier and adventure-seeker, who was described by Mr Tom Everett in the late 1940s as his great-uncle Edwin's 'valet-companion', spent the rest of his life at the Tenterden homestead and is buried in Ollera's graveyard. The perfect 'copperplate' and tiny but exquisite water-colour illustrations in Hill's account of his first voyage to Australia aboard the *Commodore Perry* between late August and early December, 1861 testify to a high degree of 'gentlemanly' skill and education. However the rather self-aggrandizing tone of an undated and apparently unfinished letter to an otherwise unidentified 'My dear Count' throws a less favourable light on his character. Though very valuable for its vivid first-hand account of aspects of life on the station in the second half of the nineteenth century, Hill's letter presents an unfavourable account of his long-term employer and supposed friend. Its tone and content suggest that it was written during the four years in which Hill out-lived Edwin Everett, whom he dismissed as 'honest and kind-[hearted] ... [but] intensely stupid in many ways and very difficult to get along with'.¹⁷⁹

Neither the stations' payment system nor the scale of the wages earned by the many men and few women in Ollera-Tenterden's paid workforce in the 1860s and 1870s had changed significantly since the early 1840s. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century the same six broad categories of employment (management, artisans, shepherds and watchmen, general labourers, farm servants and domestic servants) each of which contained many specific occupations and levels of authority, remained available on the station. Although the list is incomplete, the records for 1863 and 1879 identify the wages paid for twenty separate occupations, three of which contain internal variations.¹⁸⁰ On paper, established payment practices continued to be followed, with 'settlements' occurring at half-yearly intervals for wages which, as the following list shows, were calculated according to combinations of time, task or 'piece' rates.

¹⁷⁷ Ollera Station Records, Original Diary of E. A. Hill, 1880, Letter, Hill to 'My dear Count', undated hand-written letter between the endpapers of *UNERA*, A103:V3053/22.

¹⁷⁸ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259, entry 23rd December, 1867

¹⁷⁹ Ollera Station Records, Hill's Letter, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/22..

¹⁸⁰ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258, Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 105. The wages paid to Ollera's governess, to George Thorpe and to such essential artisans as the blacksmith(s) and the saddler/shoe-maker are the most obvious omissions from the list.

Manner of Wages Paid at Ollera-Tenterden, 1863-69, by Occupation¹⁸¹

	Time		Task (and/or) Piece	
Annual	Weekly	Daily		
Superintendent	Sheep Drivers	Washers (in water)	Mowers	Reapers (rationed)
Overseers	Lambers	“ (out of water)	Wool Pressers	“ (unrationed)
Storekeepers	Pickers & Tarrers	Haymakers	Bullock Breakers	Fencers
Shepherds	Ploughmen (rationed)			
Housemaid	“ (unrationed)			
	Labourers (rationed)	Labourers (unrationed)		
	Cook			
	Bullock Drivers			

However as in previous decades, though individual workers could take small cash advances against their wages, payment in full of any outstanding money owed to the individual worker was delayed until they left the Everetts' employment. Though beneficial to both parties, the practice was clearly more favourable to the employers. With little need for cash and few opportunities to spend it, even after his store account was settled, the thrifty long-term worker could certainly expect to leave the station with a sizable 'nest-egg'. However the potential benefits to his employers were more immediate and even more valuable. In an industry in which cash payments were intermittent and often delayed, unpaid wages provided a welcome addition to available capital. Several entries in the stations' Debit Accounts in the mid-1860s show just how much both parties stood to gain from the system. In July 1862 Mackenzie made this entry against the name of Tenterden's female domestic servant, 'Dr to Mrs Read: 1 year, £120' a debt which, within a few months, was transferred to Edwin Everett. Earlier that year the superintendent had made two similar debit entries in favour of John Clark, who with his son Johnny had been shepherding full-time at Ollera since the early 1850s. The initial entry, 'J. Clark, Interest, £20', was followed within months by a second; 'Old Clark: £350 for five years at 20 per cent'.¹⁸² Two further entries suggest that the shepherd was apparently happy to let his 'cash-in-hand' accumulate to his employers' benefit.¹⁸³ In December 1864 Mackenzie made the following note in the Accounts Book, 'Debts Outstanding: John Clark in 3 years time', which was duly followed, in May 1868, by 'John Clark Interest, £27'.¹⁸⁴

The increased availability of labour which followed the decline, by 1859, of the Rocky River diggings meant that the wages paid at Ollera-Tenterden, though still generous in New England terms, settled back to the levels they had reached in the early 1850s. In general between 1863 and 1879 wages either remained stable or rose as the stations' prosperity increased during the 1870s. Those whose wages rose during the period included annually-

¹⁸¹ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258..

¹⁸² Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

¹⁸³ The term 'cash-in-hand' refers to the amount of money earned after the deduction of Clark's debt to the Store.

¹⁸⁴ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

reimbursed employees such as the superintendent, the storekeepers and the housemaid; those paid by the week, including the general labourers, shearers' off-siders (the pickers and tarrers), the consistently higher-paid sheep washers who worked in water and the haymakers, who were paid by the day. Most of those whose wages remained stable throughout the period (the bullock-drivers, the lambers and the head-stations' cooks) were paid by the week, although the annually-paid storemen and the ploughmen who were paid 'by the piece' were also among these workers. Except for the mowers, who worked on a daily rate, all those whose wages fell after 1863 (the bullock breakers, wool-pressers and fencers) were piece-workers. However the wages of the crucially-important shearers and those washers who worked 'dry' fluctuated during these decades. Possibly in response to improved working conditions after the completion of the new washpool, the *per diem* rate for these washers fell from 4s.0d in 1863 to 3s.6d between 1865 and 1873 and peaked at 4s.3d in 1874, before declining to 4s.0d in 1876 and 3s.6d in 1879. These fluctuations and especially those in the shearers' wages are even more surprising when the remarkable and consistent rise in the number of sheep which were shorn during the lowest-paid years is considered. From 3s.6d a score (i.e. twenty animals) by 1865 shearers' piece-rates had fallen to 3s.0d score, where they remained until 1871, when they bottomed-out at 2s.6d, the equivalent of 1½d per head. By 1874 the rate had risen to 2s.9d.a score and by 1876 had reached 3s.0d where it remained for the rest of the decade.¹⁸⁵

Though few direct comparisons can be made between the wages earned by Ollera's work-people in the 1850s and those which applied in the 1860s and '70s, the downward trend remains apparent. While only the shepherds' wages rose in the early 1860s and the overseers' pay remained stable, the wages paid to housemaids, shearers, the best-paid washers and to the general labourers, whose earnings fell furthest, were significantly lower than the wages offered between 1853-4 and 1859.¹⁸⁶ Though, as experienced men, relatively few of the stations' shepherds were affected, an important change was made to the rate at which their wages were paid after 1870. Aimed principally at the sons of shepherding families who for the first time were assuming full responsibility for a flock, payment was determined at £35 per 500 sheep, a number which fell well below the stations' average flock-size of c.1,100 to 1,200 animals.. As most of Ollera-Tenterden's shepherds controlled two flocks and three flocks per family were

¹⁸⁵ See Appendix Q: 'Table of Wages...', below.

¹⁸⁶ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258.

far from uncommon, experienced men therefore earned gross wages of at least £70 or £80 per annum.¹⁸⁷

Few changes were made to long-established hiring and payment practices in the two decades after 1860. Hiring was either on a six-monthly or annual basis and extra payments continued to be made for the satisfactory completion of work other than that for which the individual was specifically contracted. For example, in 1861 Patrick Manning received £8 for building a hut, John Darby earned an extra £5 for breaking-in five young bullocks, and William Marsh was paid 10s.0d. for droving sheep. At five shillings a scalp, extra money could always be earned by killing the 'native dogs' which destroyed an average of 115 sheep annually between 1863 and 1880. For example, dingo-control earned John Austin 10s.0d in 1862 and a further 16s.0d in 1863. In 1865 Ollera's cook received £5 for the preparation of a cricketing dinner, while in 1866 Hugh Gray was paid £3 for reaping and George Ryder earned £1 for digging a well. In addition to his wages of £60 p.a., in 1867 Tenterden's sheep overseer, Edward Arnold Hill, was paid an extra £3.10s.0d for washing sheep.¹⁸⁸ Nine years later James Reeves was paid 10s.0d a day for the same work, a bonus which was additional to the £1.5s.0d a week that he earned during the lambing season.¹⁸⁹

These generous bonuses which rewarded good work continued to be matched by stiff fines for sub-standard performance. In the early 1860s the Tenterden shepherd, Patrick Heffernan, attracted both kinds of attention. Fined 10s.0d in 1861 'for losing and boxing* sheep', two years later he earned a total of £7.3s.0d in 'Premiums' for his successes during the lambing season. He first received £3.3s.0d for the above average survival rates of the new-borns and a further £4 when 85 per cent of them were successfully weaned.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Estimates of the average size of the stations' flocks have been made by dividing the averages of the total number of sheep officially reported per annum by the average number of shepherds employed per year.

¹⁸⁸ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Account Book, 1841-72, A103:V2259; Ledger, Wages and Stores Book, (reverse), A103:V2256. * A cardinal sin, for once 'boxed' by allowing separate flocks were mixed, sheep were very difficult to separate.

¹⁸⁹ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258.

¹⁹⁰ Ollera Station Records, (Reverse of) Station Account Book, *UNERA*, A103:V2256

Patrick Heffernan: Hired 24th July, 1861 at £75 per annum

1861:	Balance:	£ 1.16s. 2d	1862:		
7 th Nov, <i>Fine for losing and boxing sheep</i> *		10s. 0d	Self and Boy at Lambing		£ 7. 10s. 0d
14 th Nov, Preparing saddle		15s. 0d	Self		£18. 0s. 0d
	Mares to Entire Horse	£ 4. 0s. 0d	Self, by shepherding crawlers		£ 1. 0s. 0d
16 th Jun, 6½lbs Arrowroot		9s. 6d	Self, by Lambing		£ 1. 0s. 0d
1 st July, Cash paid by James Mackenzie		10s. 0d	Balance:		<u>£ 18. 1s. 5½d</u>
19 th July, To T. West's Account		15s.0d			<u>£110. 19s 5½d</u>
	[To] Boy's Schooling	£ 6. 9s. 0d.			
	Ollera Store Account	£ 8. 4s. 1d.			
	Tenterden Store A/ct (G. Hart)	£20. 1s. 6d			
	“ “ “ “	<u>£53. 0s. 0d</u>			
		<u>£110.1s.5d</u>			
1863:					
24 th July, By shepherding two flocks and looking after them,		£75. 0s. 0d.	24 th July, <i>Lambing Premium</i>		£ 3. 3s. 0d.
By overseeing the Tenterden sheep		£25. 0s. 0d.	By shepherding		£75. 0s. 0d
Self and two boys at the Lambing		£10. 0s. 0d.	J. Mackenzie's Account		£ 3. 0s. 0d
Boy shepherding crawlers 5 m. 2 w.		£10 0s. 0d	9 w. shepherding crawlers		£ 4. 10s. 0d
Boy taking weaners		£ 1. 0s. 0d.	Lame sheep		10s. 0d.
<i>By weaning 85 per cent of lambs</i>		£ 4. 0s. 0d.	24 th Aug, Boys & Heffernan lamb'g		£10. 0s. 0d.
Taking sheep to Armidale and paying expenses		£ 1.10s. 0d	Boys & Heffernan at Simpson's lambing		£ 5. 10s. 0d
Balance:		<u>£15.13s. 0d.</u>	Bringing J. Sheppard's sheep. up and shepherding		£ 2 0s. 0d.
		<u>£142. 3s. 9d.</u>	Patrick Heffernan Bullock Driving & looking for lost sheep		£12. 12s. 0d
			Balance:		£26. 17s. 3d.

Note: * Italics indicate the fines and 'premiums' (i.e. bonuses for good shepherding) paid during these years.

The record of Heffernan's service for the years 1861 to 1863 provides ample evidence of the perpetuation of a system which had functioned at Ollera since the early 1840s. The Irishman's wages and the repeated payments made to his sons show that, with their aid, not only was a double flock being shepherded, but that the 'family economy' was being supplemented in several different ways. While the £25 which Heffernan earned as overseer of Tenterden's sheep in 1863 implies that he occupied the position for over six months, during these years additional payments were made to the family as a whole for lambing, sheep-work and bullock-driving. Heffernan's separate debts to the store on each component station also reflect the internal mobility of the workforce, an attribute, which as John Everett recognized, must have been of considerable benefit in reducing the overall costs of running the stations.

Patrick Heffernan's service record is one of several which show that, despite the adaptations imposed by a colonial workforce which possessed a bargaining power that remained unattainable in England's rural south, the paternalist principles and practices remained as strong in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, as they had been when Ollera was founded. Successive deductions made from Heffernan's wages, 'T. West, 15s.0d' and 'Boy schooling, £6.9s.0d' show that by mid-1861 a teacher-storekeeper was employed (at £40

p.a.) and by 1862 a school had been established on each of the stations. George Ball paid 10s.0d towards the education of his child at Ollera during that year, and in 1866 Garrett Farrell and Donald Judge each paid £4.2s.6d for their children's schooling.¹⁹¹ However Heffernan's son(s?) probably attended Tenterden's school, as these entries and a similar one in the accounts for William Marsh for 1862 ('Schooling, twelve weeks, 18s.0d', or 1s.6d a week) come from the separate records which Edwin Everett kept during his first years there.¹⁹² The distinctive hand in which they were written indicate that Edwin had honoured an obligation which had been undertaken by John Everett in the previous decade.¹⁹³

A school was in operation at Limestone (later Wandsworth) in 1864 and within a few years yet another served the children who lived at or near Sandy Creek.¹⁹⁴ In a letter written in 1946, seventy-three-year-old Mrs Janet Ryder Avery described this school and the nearby 'store ... and a few residences' to which, with her younger brother and sister, she walked three miles from her home on her father, George Ryder's, selection. Housed in 'a large canvas tent' and conducted by 'Miss Gallaher', the school contained all 'the correct ... furniture'. Mrs Avery also remembered that, 'on our way home at three-thirty we would meet our older brothers coming to night school. (Their day was spent Shepherding the Sheep)'. The provision of 'evening' lessons for children and youths who, having reached the age of twelve, were considered old enough for full-time work, a practice which was long-established in England's rural south, had therefore been established at Ollera-Tenterden.¹⁹⁵ Yet another of the conscientious paternalist Englishman's duties was being done in the remote Australian bush.

Having provided schools for the ninety-seven children on his stations whom the 1871 census found to be less than twelve years of age, Edwin Everett continued to contribute generously to educational matters.¹⁹⁶ At Christmas in 1872 Everett rewarded one teacher with a gift of £5 and four years later gave £20 in donations to two schools. The larger sum of £15 was given 'to keep the [unnamed] school open' and the remaining £5 went towards 'the upkeep of

¹⁹¹ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, *UNERA*, A103:V2256 (reverse)

¹⁹² Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1941-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2250, Station Account Book (reverse), A103:V2256 Two reasons can be advanced for the large amount (£6.9s.0d) owed by Heffernan for the education of a single 'Boy', despite the 1s.6d. per week charged for 'schooling'. Either two boys had in fact been at school for a full year or the debt for one had been carried over from the previous year.

¹⁹³ Ollera Station Records, Letters, John to Rev. Charles, 4th December, 1853. *UNERA*, A103:V3052/4.

¹⁹⁴ Ollera Station Records, Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, A103:V2258;

¹⁹⁵ *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, Mrs Janet Ryder Avery to Mr Tom Everett, 12th August, 1946.

¹⁹⁶ Ollera Station Records, Diary of James Mackenzie, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/40-48. Entry for 2nd April, 1871 when the stations had a total population of 226, (66 men, 63 women and 97 children under twelve); Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

Limestone School'.¹⁹⁷ As confirmed a paternalist as his partners, Edwin maintained practices which his elder brothers had introduced when they founded Ollera. As these entries from the 1860s show, the station families could still 'work-off' the purchases of livestock ('Mrs Bryant, half price bullock, £1.10s.0d'), and hire the plough ('J. Ryder for plough, £7.10s.0d') or the threshing machine ('thrashing, D. Cameron, £5').¹⁹⁸ The annual subscriptions which continued to be made to a 'box' library meant that a regular supply of reading matter could be borrowed from the head-station.¹⁹⁹ Money continued to be deducted from workers' wages at 'settlement' for several different purposes; to be forwarded to their English relatives, to settle debts owed to fellow workmen and their wives, or to meet the cost of their children's education. In addition to these regular schooling costs, which in 1867 totalled £9.5s.0d, two further 'levies' upon the men's wages raised funds for the schools in the late 1870s.²⁰⁰

However, in keeping with the strength of his family's commitment to the Evangelical ideals which buttressed the paternalist revival, Edwin Everett's major preoccupation was with the religious welfare, not only of those he believed to be his direct responsibility, but also of the inhabitants of the towns which were developing in the surrounding district. As the following list shows, though regular and sizable payments were made to the hospital at Armidale, the largest sums were paid to support the construction of church buildings and to the Anglican Bishopric of Armidale.

Charitable Donations in Ollera-Tenterden Account Book: 1860-1868.²⁰¹

June, 1860:	Subscription to Armidale Church	£ 7.10s.0d
Dec, 1860:	Armidale Church Building	£20. 0s.0d
Sept, 1861	Uralla Church	£ 2. 0s.0d
Apr, 1862	Bundarra Church	£ 8. 0s.0d
Aug, 1862	Bundarra Church	£ 1.10s.0d
	[Bundarra] Parsonage, two years,	£ 6. 0s.0d
Aug, 1863	Hospital	£ 5. 0s.0d
	Bundarra Parsonage	£ 3. 0s.0d
1866:	Hospitals and Church	£15. 0s.0d
	Armidale Bishopric	£50. 0s.0d
Jan, 1868:	Bishop's Fund	£50. 0s.0d
	Hospitals and Churches	£17.0s. 0d

In the 1870s, ever mindful of his paternalist responsibilities, Ollera-Tenterden's resident owner turned his attention to the building of churches, first at Ollera and in the 1890s, at Tenterden. In doing so he was fulfilling one of the diligent nineteenth century paternalist's

¹⁹⁷ Ollera Station Records, Yearly Balance Book, 1865-92, *UNERA*, 103:V2258.

¹⁹⁸ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

¹⁹⁹ Ollera Station Records, 'List of Books Borrowed in 1873', *UNERA*, A103:V3052/22.

²⁰⁰ Ollera Station Records, *UNERA* Account Book, 1841-72, A103:V2259., Balance Book, 1865-92, A103:V2258; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²⁰¹ Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

most important duties. Religious observance, and in particular that which accorded to the rights of the Established Church, was the third leg in the Paternalist Revival's tripod. While, or perhaps *by*, promising a better life in another world the Anglican clergy fostered obedience, grateful deference, humility and acceptance in the present life.²⁰² Late in August 1876, a number of Anglican dignitaries who included His Grace the Rev. William Turner, Bishop of Armidale, Rev. Canon Coles Child from Morpeth, Rev. Charles Greenway from Bundarra and Rev. James Johnson from Glen Innes gathered with their Presbyterian colleague, Rev. Thomas Johnstone, at Ollera. There, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, 1876, the Mackenzies, several distinguished 'civilian' guests, and a congregation of about 250 people watched as Edwin Everett laid the foundation-stone of 'the first church of the kind that had been built in the diocese of Grafton and Armidale'.²⁰³

Designed by the Sydney-based Canadian architect John Horbury Hunt, and built of locally-made brick on stone foundations, when completed almost exactly ten months later, St. Bartholomew's Ollera was to measure forty-four feet in length and 24 feet in width, or 'almost exactly twice the size of the slab hut' in which Ollera's founders spent twenty years in Australia. In keeping with its dual dedication, both an Anglican morning and a Presbyterian evening service was held in this elegant little church, whose steeply-gabled roof, a Hunt characteristic, is supported by 'interesting scissor trusses' hewn from timber felled on the 'run'.²⁰⁴ Built at a cost of £800, with money donated half by the 'masters' and half by their 'men', the beautiful building in which services are still occasionally held, stands as a tribute to the best qualities of Evangelical paternalism.²⁰⁵ In 1977, in his address which celebrated the church's centenary, Lionel Gilbert, the gifted historian of the Armidale district, described the events of 29th June, 1877.

By St. Peter's Day, Friday, 29th June, 1877, the church was ready for opening. [The Anglican] Bishop Turner and [the Presbyterian] Rev. James Johnstone officiated. About 150 people attended the morning service when the Bishop preached on the text 'For we walk by the faith, and not by sight' and there was another well-attended service in the evening when Rev. James Johnson preached. Once again Mr. Jephson of the local school played the harmonium and Mrs Jephson conducted the choir.²⁰⁶

²⁰² Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 47-6; G. Carnall, *Robert Southey and His Age: The Development of a Conservative Mind*, London, 1960. pp. 180-183.

²⁰³ L. Gilbert, 'St. Bartholomew's Church', *op. cit.*, pp.97-98; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 97. Personal inspection of building and interior made during visit to Ollera, November, 2004.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Edwin Everett contributed £300 towards the cost of the church and the Mackenzie family also made a sizeable donation. After his death the brothers installed a paid £30 for the beautiful stained glass window which is dedicated to his memory.

²⁰⁶ Gilbert, 'St. Bartholomew's Church', *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

In his elevation to the bishopric and in his presence at the laying of St. Bartholomew's foundation stone, James Francis Turner, the current Anglican Bishop of Armidale, can be identified as a significant link connecting the closely-related networks which governed the 'English' at home and abroad. Nothing illustrates the connection better than the origins of two of the first three bishops of Armidale. In 1847 William Tyrell, the rector of Beaulieu in Hampshire, was installed as the Anglican Bishop of Newcastle which, until 1862, included Armidale. When the newly created diocese of Armidale and Grafton's first incumbent, Bishop W.C. Sawyer, drowned when his boat overturned in the Clarence River in 1867, he was replaced by Turner, who was then Bishop of North Tidworth in Wiltshire, and who held Armidale until his death in 1895.²⁰⁷ No definitive proof of the Everett brothers' involvement in his appointment can be found. However, too great a stretch of the historical imagination is required to dismiss as purely coincidental the appointment of not one but two members of the southern-counties' 'Establishment' to the colonial diocese in whose 'governance' the Everett brothers continued to exercise considerable power and influence. Especially as Turner, who was leaving a town within three miles from Biddesden, would have been well-known, if not recommended, by the Everett family, three of whom were Anglican clergymen. As Roberts pointed out patronage was the reverse of the paternalist 'coin'.²⁰⁸

However Edwin Everett's concern for the spiritual guidance of his people was not yet satisfied, for in 1898 he laid the foundation stone of St. Thomas' Church at Tenterden.²⁰⁹ Built with money donated by the land-owner and furnished by its parishioners this attractive little red-brick building still stands somewhat forlornly beside the road near the entrance to the station. However it is now no longer used for, with the 'thinning-out' of the modern rural population and the ease of modern transport, it has for years lacked a congregation to support it.²¹⁰

Everett's belief in the mutual recognition of duties by both parties to the paternalist 'bargain' remained strong. Though colonial workers no longer found it necessary to present the overtly subservient demeanour which was still imposed upon their English contemporaries (and relatives), this reciprocity and the strong community ethic which it fostered, was apparent in the many worthy causes to which both 'masters' and 'men' continued to contribute throughout these decades. At each wage 'settlement' many workmen continued to donate from 5s.0d to 10s.0d to support the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, their respective ministers

²⁰⁷ Newell, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-145.

²⁰⁸ Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 3, 30

²⁰⁹ Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 110

²¹⁰ Personal visit made by the writer in November, 2004.

and/or the hospitals at both Armidale and Bundarra. Both 'masters' and 'men' also regularly combined to raise money to help those in particular need. When 'the hat went round' in 1862 £15.15s.0d was raised towards a 'Relief Fund' and when it went round again in 1863, £13.10s.0d was collected as a 'gift to a lame man'. Similar collections were made in 1867 and 1869 when money was raised for 'flood relief' and to help 'a blind man'.²¹¹

This then was what life was like at Ollera-Tenterden in 1879 as the decades of its greatest physical extent and economic success drew to a close. Though different in many ways from the single station whose management John Everett had unwillingly surrendered to the supremely able Mackenzie in 1858, the station's purpose and the principles upon which it was managed remained those which had governed it since its foundation forty years before. 'Fat', contented and successful in its maturity, the Everett brothers' Australian venture faced a decade in which both the anticipated threat posed by the free selectors and the unforeseen difficulties of both climate and economy reduced its prosperity and threatened its founders' tenure of their vast 'run'.

²¹¹ Ollera Station Records, *UVER4*, Accounts Book, 1841-72, A103; V2259; Balance Book, 1865-92, A103; V 2258.

Ollera Station and its Parishes: Detail of Categories of Land-Tenure in 1906

- Everett Records Guyra.
- Blue-Green
- Red-Brown
- Land owned or leased by Everett family:
- Land held by selectors and in Crown Reserves

