

## CHAPTER FOUR

## CONSOLIDATION, GROWTH AND CHANGE: 1848-62

‘Where the owner[s] reside the squatters’ homes look like thriving little villages.’  
 ‘A Clergyman’, (John Morison), 1867.

After ten years in Australia, in 1848 the Everett brothers were again preparing to sail to the other side of the world. However this time each travelled separately as, between 1848 and 1854, first John, then George and lastly Edwin spent successive and at times concurrent periods from a few months to a year or more ‘at home’ in Wiltshire. Long-anticipated and planned as individual ‘leaves of absence’, the timing of each brother’s departure had depended upon improved conditions on the station and in the colony. In the event, however, the number, length and purpose of these recurrent visits were really determined by events at Biddesden. During these six years the failing health and eventual death of their elderly father and subsequent decisions concerning the settlement and distribution of his considerable estate required the presence in England of one or more of the ‘Australian’ Everetts. One crucial outcome of the opportunity for face to face family discussions was the drawing-up of a formal agreement which, though primarily concerned with the distribution of profits from wool sales, indicates that from 1849 Edwin Everett had become a full partner with a dominant share in Ollera.<sup>2</sup> Two clauses on the reverse of the document, which renewed the agreement for two years after 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1873, show that the agreement remained unaltered for more than twenty years.<sup>3</sup>

**Agreement for Wool Dividend: George and John Everett with Edwin Everett, January, 1853.**

If the Nett sum realized in England by the Wool should be £7,000 George and John would receive one-sixth or £1,166 as per agreement of the last four years. But if the Wool realizes net £9,000 George and John would receive one-sixth of £7,000 and the remaining £2,000 would be divided equally, the one half to Edwin and the other half to George and John.

George and John to receive one-sixth of Wethers and Ewes sold as long as the price per head does not exceed 5s. but all profits above 5s. to be divided half to Edwin and the other half the same as the Wool.

**Note:** The dividend from the Wool will be received (as per agreement) viz. one-sixth from the first £7,000 realized less expenses in England and the Bonus on all sums realized above £7,000

<sup>1</sup> ‘A Clergyman’, [John Morison] (Melbourne, 1867) *Australia As It Is*, Vermont and Tokyo, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Ollera Station Records, *University of New England Regional Archives*, [Hereafter UNERA] A103:V3052/4. Letter, John to Rev. Charles, 16<sup>th</sup> August, 1853. Serendipitously, the station’s brand and its business acronym remained unchanged. ‘GJE’ (or more correctly, the archaic ‘GIE’) could stand for the new ‘George. John [&] Edwin’ instead of the original ‘George [&] John Everett’.

<sup>3</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Document dated January, 1853 in ‘Important information’. n.p..

to be taken from the sales, so that there will be no difficulty whatever in apportioning the dividends.  
Copy: Signed: George Everett ; John Everett.

1848 can therefore be seen as a turning-point in the Everett brothers' personal and business lives and the beginning of a new stage in Ollera's development. Having weathered the combined difficulties of drought, economic depression and an unfamiliar environment in its foundation years, the station entered upon a decade and a half which was characterized by consolidation, continued growth and profound, far-reaching change. In 1862, when this developmental phase ended, the station's acreage had doubled, its core-workforce of assisted immigrant families was firmly established and both of its founding-partners had returned permanently to England. As sole resident partner, Edwin Everett had assumed overall responsibility for the day-to-day management of Ollera and its newly-acquired neighbour Tenterden. While his elder brothers, who together retained a half-share in the twin stations, asserted their right to some 'say' in decision-making, distance and months'-long communication delays meant that *de facto* control had passed to Edwin, who often proved deaf to his distant elders' advice and opinions. The pattern for the sister stations' management for the next twenty-five years had therefore been set, and a highly-successful management team had been created. From his base at Tenterden Edwin, as resident partner assumed both direct responsibility for 'his' run and oversight of James Mackenzie, the well-connected Anglo-Scots gentleman who, from 1856 until his death in late 1887, was Ollera's long-term and eminently capable superintendent.<sup>4</sup>

The years 1848 to 1862 were therefore as crucially important in shaping Ollera's future as they were for the colony as a whole. 'Squatterdom's domination' of colonial society seemed complete when, early in 1847, less than a year after Governor Gipps' replacement by the more-sympathetic aristocrat Sir Charles FitzRoy, the revised Squatting Acts passed into law.<sup>5</sup> The amended laws were less stringent than Gipps' 1844 proposals which were successfully watered-down by the combined opposition of the newly-formed Pastoralists' Association, the merchant community and a vociferous colonial press. The new regulations granted security of tenure, pre-emptive rights of purchase and compensation for any

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<sup>4</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Death notice and eulogy for James Mackenzie, 'Armidale Express', December, 1887.

<sup>5</sup> C.M.H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, Volume III: *The Beginnings of an Australian Civilization 1824-51*, Melbourne, 1979. pp. 342-343.

improvements made by the incumbent squatter when licences of Crown lands changed hands.<sup>6</sup> For the Everetts and their fellow squatters in each of the thirteen outlying and newly-declared 'Unsettled Districts' of New South Wales this meant that, after official survey, tenure of their 'run' was guaranteed for up to fourteen years. Until then the existing system of annual licences would continue. For a peppercorn rental of £10 per annum, areas of up to 20,000 acres on which a total of 4,000 sheep (at 1½d per head) or 500 cattle or horses (at 3d and 6d per head respectively) could be grazed. These costs were minimal when compared to the potential benefits on offer, especially as after twelve months' occupation and thereafter at decreed intervals, for £1 per acre, the squatter gained purchase rights over 160-320 acres of (usually his most-productive) land.<sup>7</sup> As we have seen, the Everett brothers were among the earliest applicants for leases under the new regulations. Theirs was the fiftieth licence issued for the New England District, approval for which appeared in the *Government Gazette* of 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1848. As Ollera's acreage was officially estimated at ninety-six square miles (64, 440 ac.) not only had George and John Everett each taken out an individual licence, but they had protected their investment by leasing land equivalent to another 'run'.<sup>8</sup> This need had been recognized in April, 1847, when John Everett expressed his satisfaction with the revised regulations.

The plan will do very well as it is quite as much as we can afford to pay unless labour falls considerably or wool rises. If we wish to hold a piece of land for our increase we are to pay at the same rate, this is fair enough and well worth doing. The great advantage of a country of this sort is that there is plenty of room...<sup>9</sup>

As Everett stated, despite the passage of the regulations which had changed the colonial pastoral gentry from annual tenants into *de facto* 'owners' of their vast runs, the squatters remained far from problem-free. Although with the return of better seasons after 1844-45, sheep and cattle numbers were again rising steadily, in the late 1840s the colony's economic and fiscal recovery was delayed by a slowdown in the British economy. Demographic disaster in Ireland coincided with political revolution in Europe to cause economic uncertainty which coincided with a slump in Britain's textile trade, a principal component of the first stage of her industrialization.<sup>10</sup> Although the government easily overcame the revived Chartist threat in 1848, the year saw wool

<sup>6</sup> B.T. Dowd, (ed). J.F. Campbell, *'Squatting' on Crown Lands in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1968, p. 28-39.

<sup>7</sup> C.J. King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales, Part 1*, Sydney, 1957, pp. 50-56.

<sup>8</sup> Campbell, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter: John to Rev. Charles, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1847. *UNERA*, A103:3052/3.

<sup>10</sup> P. Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge, 1967. pp. 84-89; E.J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783-1870*, London and New York, 1991, pp. 257-263

prices reach a fifteen-year low.<sup>11</sup> Added to this was the colonial landholder's perennial difficulty of first obtaining and then retaining a reliable workforce. John Everett was forced to rely heavily on ex-convicts, which he considered to be the colony's 'greatest drawback'.

Our sheep are now principally in the hands of men who have been prisoners who require a good deal of looking after and who are a race in whom you can place little confidence.<sup>12</sup>

However, the three brothers were not yet ready to join their neighbours who were 'quite mad ... to obtain leave of the Home Government to import Indian coolies'.<sup>13</sup> When, under pressure from the East India Company, the home government again refused their request, the lobbyists turned to China as a source of cheap, indentured labour and in 1847 the first of two trial shipments of these workers were brought from Amoy.<sup>14</sup> Although William Telfer later recalled that Ollera was one of the first of the northern squattages on which Chinese bonded labourers were employed, a thorough search of the documentary evidence has revealed no trace of the Everetts' involvement in this early experimental importation.<sup>15</sup> Instead and perhaps encouraged by the successful 'settling-in' of John Yeats and Joseph Cook, whose only complaint apparently was with 'the queer sort of housin'(sic) they observed in the colony, the Everett brothers again brought assisted-immigrant labourers from the vicinity of their family's estate in Wiltshire.<sup>16</sup> As a result, on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1848, two families who, like their predecessors the Cannings, were to 'make their fortunes in our [the Everetts'] service', reached Sydney aboard the *Walmer Castle*.<sup>17</sup>

One couple, the farm labourer Thomas Cotterell and his wife Martha who were both aged twenty-three and who remained childless, were from 'Tedworth', (now Tidworth), the village closest to Ludgershall.<sup>18</sup> The other family, which was from Andover, was that of the experienced

<sup>11</sup> G.J. Abbott, *The Pastoral Age: A re-examination*, Melbourne, 1971, p. 83

<sup>12</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter: John to Rev. Tom, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1846, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/3.

<sup>13</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter: John to Rev. Tom., 23<sup>rd</sup> February, 1845, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/3.

<sup>14</sup> M.L. Darnell, 'The Chinese Labour Trade to New South Wales 1783-1853: An Exposition of Motives and Outcomes', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of New England, Armidale, 1997, p.77.

<sup>15</sup> W. Telfer, 'Memories of a Station Hand in New England from 1848', *UNERA*, A147:213., n.p. Neither the highly-detailed Account Books, the Letter Book nor the personal letters contain any Chinese-sounding names before 1852, after which the cost of importing these men, their wages, debts owed to the station store and bonuses earned are routinely recorded.

<sup>16</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, George to Rev. Tom, date illegible but written c.1848-9 while John Everett was in England.

<sup>17</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter, John to Ann, 8<sup>th</sup> December, 1843, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/3

<sup>18</sup> Now called North and South Tidworth, the present agglomerated town on the edge of Salisbury Plain serves as a supply and administrative centre for the British Army. As in the nineteenth century the Everett family and the inhabitants of the twin villages apparently called them Tedworth, the appropriate nomenclature will be maintained. Indeed the modern ordinance map of the district refers to the towns as Tidworth and the parish as Tedworth.

shepherd Daniel Reeves, who brought with him a wife and three sons. Twenty-year-old Thomas and twelve-year-old William were also shepherds, while nine-year-old Evan was learning the family 'trade'. His parents, Daniel and Jane Reeves, aged forty and forty-seven respectively, would normally have been considered too old to qualify as assisted immigrants. However the family's blend of youth, skill and much-needed experience almost certainly tipped the scales in their favour. It is also likely that Daniel was related to John Cannings, whose mother's maiden name was Reeves.<sup>19</sup> Nor were these the only 'good men from home' to arrive at this time, for almost exactly a year later the newcomers were joined by two young farm labourers from Faccombe in northern Hampshire. Charles Cummins, twenty-eight, and Alfred Marsh, twenty-four, reached Sydney aboard *Blonde* in late December, 1849.<sup>20</sup> Although the evidence is circumstantial, their links to Biddesden and the Everetts appear strong, as the family not only held the manor of Netherton but also of the parish which included Faccombe. Netherton parish's 'living' was filled at that time by the Reverend Charles Everett, the second of Joseph Haigh Everett's clergyman sons.<sup>21</sup>

The immigrants who came to Ollera at the end of the 1840s reached a head-station which, despite the raw and makeshift outward appearance of its buildings, was well-ordered and increasingly comfortable. Although 'the old bark and slab dwelling that we have occupied for some time past' remained substantially unchanged throughout the Everetts' residence in Australia, successive improvements had been made. In 1841 windows were installed and 'cedar boards ... £1' were purchased, while boxes of books, and a variety of stored possessions were regularly retrieved from storage in Sydney. Among many such examples, in 1846 William Dawes, the Everetts' Sydney agent, was requested to retrieve and forward a 'chest, a canteen and an English clock'.<sup>22</sup> Charles Codrington, the Wyndham relative who soon took over the lease of nearby Llangothlin, recalled that in June, 1849 when he first visited Ollera, 'George and John [...] had things very comfortable'.<sup>23</sup> With its nascent orchard and vineyard, and carefully-

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<sup>19</sup> NSW Shipping Records, List of Immigrants arriving on Ship *Walmer Castle*, 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1848, *State Records of New South Wales*, Reels 2153, 2458; List of Immigrants arriving on Ship *Royal Consort*, November, 1840, Reel, 31, Vol. 35. [Hereafter SRNSW]

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, Reels 2136, 2459.

<sup>21</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Undated 'Genealogy' file compiled by Mrs Alice Ollera (Ollie) Mackenzie Everett.

<sup>22</sup> Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Letter: John to Rev. Tom, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1846, A103:V3052/3; A103;V2259; A103:V231.

<sup>23</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter written from Hornsby, Sydney, marking the death of Edwin Everett in 1907

tended garden containing young but thriving English oaks, elms and an acacia, the homestead and its characteristic adjoining 'square' of outbuildings, whose store and purpose-built woolshed had just been completed, presented a village-like appearance to the homesick observer.<sup>24</sup> In one of his last letters before making his first visit 'home', John Everett gave '... a short account of our present mode of living and occupation.'

We breakfast at half past seven, lunch at one and dine at sunset. Our old servant, formerly a ship's steward is a very fair cook and prepares our food quite as palatable as we desire. Beer either of sugar or malt is our chief beverage, wine is too bulky and expensive an article of carriage to indulge too much in but we generally contrive to have a keg of good Brandy with which we regale our friends. Beef and mutton of the best and the pig, occasionally a fowl, constantly wild ducks and sometimes bustard comprise our food. The house is still the bark hut of the country, warm and comfortable and sufficiently good for Batchelors (sic). Our occupation is riding about looking after the shepherds and sheep and stray cattle and occasionally our ride is enlivened by a hunt after a native dog which I am sorry to say are too numerous for the safety of the sheep.<sup>25</sup>

The Cotterells and the Reeves family joined a workforce which in 1848 comprised about fifty Europeans, at least six of whom were female. Forty-eight of these people, forty-three men and five women were paid for their work and are named in one or both of the station's current financial records, the Account Book, 1841-72 and the Stores Issue Book, 1848-57.<sup>26</sup> The period for which an individual was employed and his wage varied with the job for which he was hired, his skills and/or experience and with the fluctuating demands of the pastoral season. The category in which he was employed also determined the worker's right to receive rations from the station. (See Appendix J, below) If, as often happened, he performed tasks other than those for which he was originally hired, he was paid for his efforts at the annual, piece or daily rate prescribed for that work. The following entries are typical, showing wages due to and debts owed by two 'general' (i.e. farm) labourers. The first, which was settled in April and October 1847, concerns work done by Daniel Hutton. The second entry, which is from the following

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<sup>24</sup> 'A Clergyman', (John Morison) [1867], *Australia As It Is or Facts and Features, Sketches and Incidents of New South Wales 1842-1854*, Vermont and Tokyo, 1967, p.120: Planted by John Everett, two of the elms, one of which has a girth of sixteen-and-a-half feet, the other fourteen-and-a-half, remain a centre-piece of Ollera's beautiful garden. The huge acacia survived until c. 1985, when it was struck by lightning. Sawn-off at ground-level it measures sixteen-and-a-half feet round and houses a mature weeping cherry tree. ; Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Letter; John to Rev. Tom, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1846, A103:V3052/3; Account Book, 1841-72, A102:V2259...for payments for construction of these buildings.

<sup>25</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter, John to Rev. Tom, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1846, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/3.

<sup>26</sup> Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Account Book, 1841-72, A103:V2259; Stores Issue Book, 1848-57, A103:V3054/14

year, details payments made to James Sheriff who, after settling his debt to the store, would have earned two pence less than he owed.

Settled April, 1847:	D. Hutton: Six months wages...	£15. 0s. 0d.	
	Groomage ...	£ 1. 0s. 0d.	
	Extra pay Sheep washing...	10s. 0d	Store: £4.12s. 0d.
Settled Nov, 1847:	D. Hutton: Six months wages...	£17.10s. 0d.	Store: £3. 9s. 8½d.
.....			
1848:	Sheriff: Labouring, 11 wks&3days	£ 4.10s. 4d.	Store: £8. 6s. 2d.
	Do. : Thrashing 102 bushels	£ 2.19s. 8d.	
	: For Lambing	£ 1. 0s. 0d.	
	: For Cleaning wheat	6s. 0d.	

Although the names of almost all of Ollera's employees appear in both of the station's financial records, a few apparently casual and specific transactions, e.g. 'Baker, for Spaying 105 Heifers, £6.11s.3d', appear only in the Account Book. Although both volumes are highly informative, the Stores Issue Book 1848-57, which contains details of the terms, wages and length of employment of thirty-nine people, is of particular value and interest. As the first in a series which continued until the 1880s this volume, which covers the second decade of Ollera's management by George and John Everett, provides evidence of the high quality of that management and of the working lives, emoluments and living standards of their employees. For each of the thirty-eight men and one woman for whom there is an entry in 1848, there is a record of the job for which he was employed, his wage and the term of his employment, any extra work performed and its remuneration, any other payments or debts incurred, his expenditure at the station store and the balance due at six-monthly settlement.<sup>27</sup> Twelve different jobs from five categories of employment were listed, and payments were calculated over five different time-periods. However labour shortages, seasonal or employer demand and personal choice meant that many workers either moved between jobs or performed a variety of tasks extra to those for which they were originally employed. In such cases additional payments due were entered at the prescribed rate for the particular task.

All wages and transactions were calculated twice-yearly. However apart from small cash advances, earnings due and debts to the store at each 'settlement' were carried forward until the worker left the Everetts' employment. While payments varied according to an individual's skill

<sup>27</sup> Ollera Station Records, Stores Issue Book, 1848-57, *UNERA*, A103:V3054/15. As all but one of those named are males and as payments were made to Thomas Gray for work for which he and his wife Mary Gray received joint payment of £40 p.a., the use of the masculine pronouns appears both appropriate and justified.

and possibly the urgency of the need for his services, they also differed with the type of work for which he was employed and with the length of his employment. As the tables below show, each of the twelve occupations belonged to one of five employment groups: sheep work, rural labouring/stock-keeping, service at the head station, artisans and transport. The earnings of the overseer, most full-time sheep-workers, a few rural labourers and those who worked at the head station were stated annually or at that rate for a set number of months, weeks and in one case a few days. Seasonal sheep-workers, most of the rural labourers, the artisans and the carriers were employed either by the piece, the task, or the day. (See Appendix K, below.)

Categories of Employment: Ollera Station, 1848.

Work Group	Occupation	Wage	Term of Employment			Total
			Full Year (Mthly/Annual rate)	Part Year	By Task	
Sheep Workers	Overseer	£40.p.a.	1	....	.....	1
	Shepherds	£26.p.a.	3	5		8
	Shpd/Wmen	£26/£23.p.a.		4		4
	Watchmen	£23 p.a.	2	2		4
Rural Labourers	Labourers	£20.p.a.	2	5		7
Head Stn Workers	Domestic Servants	£30.p.a.	2			
	Groom	£30.p.a.	1	.....		3
Carriers	Carriers	10s-11s p. wk	2	2*		4*
Seasonl Sheep-wkrs	Shearers only	2s.6d a score (20)			2	2
	Shearers & Washers	“ /4s p. day		3	5	8
Artisans:	Builders	varied with piece/task			2	
	Leather worker	varied with piece/task			1	
	Blacksmith	varied with piece/task			1*	4
						<u>45*</u>

The discrepancy in the figures arises from double-counting as at least three men performed tasks from two or more work groups during the year. For instance the blacksmith, Abraham Odell, was also employed part-time as a bullock-driver. The asterisks mark this feature.

Most of the people who worked at Ollera in 1848 were employed for periods varying from six-months or less, or for a given number of weeks or days. Of the twenty men and one woman whose wages were calculated at an annual rate, twelve worked for the whole year and the remaining nine for periods ranging from two, three, six and nine months. Those who worked for the full year were the station overseer, three shepherds, two watchmen, two male domestic servants, a groom, the ‘farm servants’ Thomas and Mary Gray, and the station’s long-distance bullock-driver, John Griffiths, who was paid at the rate of 11s a week. The wages of a further five shepherds, two watchmen, four shepherd/watchmen and five rural labourers, all of whom worked for less than a full year, were calculated pro-rata. The eleven remaining workmen, two carriers, five seasonal sheep-workers (shearers, shearer-washers and a lamber) and four artisans, were paid by the task or piece. (See Appendix L, below.)



Five of the six female members whose presence at Ollera is recorded in that year received payment for their work. While Mary Gray and her husband Thomas jointly earned £40 as a full-time ‘farm servant’, the shearers also paid 15s.6d to Bella Gray who cooked their meals. Three other women were paid for their work. Maria Cannings earned £14.13s.0d in May and a further 10s in November for ‘washing’.<sup>28</sup> The date, context and the amount earned suggest that on the second occasion Mrs Cannings was paid to wash sheep rather than her masters’ clothing; an even heavier and more tiring task for a woman in her late forties. Four of the workmen paid sums totaling £1. 2s. 0d for work done by Mrs Sullivan, the wife of the station’s itinerant carpenter, and a single entry, whose purpose is unstated (‘Mrs Bryant, £4. 8s.11d’) indicates the presence of the wife of one of Ollera’s teamsters.<sup>29</sup> While Sarah Cannings Hutton is not named, she probably sewed the undergarments for Edwin Everett for which two payments were credited to her husband Daniel’s account.<sup>30</sup> However, the absence of a direct reference to Sarah Hutton highlights a problem presented by the records from this period. As all but a few of the letters which survive were written by John Everett who was then in England, the station’s financial transactions provide the only continuous record of those who lived and worked at Ollera between late 1847 and October, 1851.

Business acumen, careful, close supervision and detailed record-keeping were the hallmarks of George and John Everett’s management of Ollera. Though the task was usually undertaken by John, whose beautiful, clear copperplate is as distinctive as it is welcome, by the mid-1840s both elder Everett brothers had become skilled and scrupulous book-keepers.<sup>31</sup> On page after page of their Account Book 1841-72, by means of a two-page, double-entry system, debits match credits (‘Dr’ vs. ‘Cr’), and despite occasional and excusable mathematical errors, balances are tallied to the nearest half-penny and farthing, and the amounts calculated are brought forward. Highly-detailed and meticulously kept throughout Ollera’s founders’ stay in Australia, this volume and its companion, the Stores Issue Book, 1848-57, contain a wealth of

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<sup>28</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book 1841-72, A103:V2259.

<sup>29</sup> These women probably cooked, mended, or laundered for the men involved, several of whom were shearers. Although ‘sub-rosa’ services could have been involved, the fact that payments were recorded, acknowledged and thus sanctioned by the highly-moral Everetts, makes this unlikely.

<sup>30</sup> Ollera Station Records, Stores Issue Book, 1848-57, *UNERA*, A103:V3054/14.

<sup>31</sup> The difference in the brothers’ hand-writing is stark, for George Everett’s writing is at times barely legible. He was clearly an early graduate of the ‘thumbnail dipped in tar’ school of penmanship!

information on money owed to or debts incurred by those who worked for the Everetts.<sup>32</sup> The following examples, which are typical of those in the Stores Issue Book, show the variety of tasks and types of payment involved. Each is for a worker who belonged to one of the major employment groups.

John Yeats			Hired (as Shepherd) 27 <sup>th</sup> April, 1848 at the rate of £26 p.s.	
May 1 <sup>st</sup>	Cash	£ 4. 0s. 0d	Due from last Settlement	£ 9.1s. 3d
“ 13 <sup>th</sup> ,	Cash to Gray	£ 3. 1s. 6d.	From Deadman (Dudman)	£ 3. 0s. 0d
“ 31 <sup>st</sup> ,	Cash to Gray for horse	10s. 0d	Premium for ninety per cent of lambs	£ 1. 0s. 0d.
Aug, 9 <sup>th</sup>	One letter sent to England	1s. 3d.	Yearly wages	<u>£26. 0s. 0d.</u>
“ 13	Sent to England, Cash	£1. 0s. 0d.		£39 1s. 3d
Nov, 20 <sup>th</sup>	Cash	£2. 0s. 0d.		<u>£35. 5s. 4d.</u>
March 11 <sup>th</sup>	Cash to Wherret for dog	7s. 0d	Due at Settlement	<u>£3.15s 11d</u>
	Store	£4. 13s.7d		
	To Joe Cook	13s.0d		
	Passage Money	<u>£5. 0s.0d</u>		
		£21.11s.4d		
	Cash at settlement for self	£3. 14s.0d.		
May 21 <sup>st</sup> , 1849	To Mellis for mare	<u>£10. 0s. 0d.</u>		
		<u>£35. 5s. 4d.</u>		
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Dr. to Thomas and Mary Gray:			Hired (as farm servants) 18 <sup>th</sup> April 1847, at the rate of £40 p.a.	
18 <sup>th</sup> April:	Store Account	£15. 0s. 3d	30 <sup>th</sup> Nov., from shearers to Bella	9s.
13 <sup>th</sup> Feb., '47;	Quinlan's Bill	16s. 0d	1½ days sheep washing beyond yearly wage	3s. 9d
August :	Cash to Mather	£ 6. 0s. 0d	From Shearers to Bella	7s. 0d
	To Armidale Church	10s. 0d		
22 <sup>nd</sup> Nov., '47:	Cash (stinting mare?)	£1. 7s. 0d	From Kearns to Bella	5s. 0d
28 <sup>th</sup> March:	Cash	£ 2. 8s. 0d	From Joe Cook	10s.0d
	Due for mare sold to	<u>£ 1.13. 0d</u>	Yearly Wage	<u>£40. 0. 0d</u>
			Total	£41.14s. 9d.
	Shearers to Bella	£1. 1s. 0d	From M. Rigby	<u>£ 1. 0s. 0d</u>
		<u>15s. 6d</u>		£42.14s. 9d
		<u>£1.16s. 6d.</u>		<u>- £27.14s. 8d.</u>
			April 18th Settled:	<u>£15. 0s. 1d</u>
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Dr. to William Mellis			Hired 20 <sup>th</sup> May, 1848 (as Shepherd/Watchman) for nine months at £26. p.a.	
To Armidale Church	10s. 0d.		From Canot	4s. 0d.
To Richardson Shoemaker	14s. 0d.		Half watchman's wages two wks two d. at £22.p.a.	9s. 7¼d
Store, 20 <sup>th</sup> May to 27 <sup>th</sup> December	£1.19s. 5d		For delivering over his flock in good condition	£1 0s. 0d.
Stinting mare	<u>£2.12s.0d.</u>		Half watchman's wage for two days	<u>1s. 2½d</u>
Dec. 12 <sup>th</sup> : Settled	<u>£5.15s.5d</u>			£11. 5s. 4d
			Store Account	<u>£5.15s.5d</u>
			Settled 27 <sup>th</sup> Dec, '48	<u>£5. 9s.1</u>
From John Dean			Store for 27/12/48 to 24/2/49	£1. 6s. 6d.
			Four months three weeks at £22 p.a.	£8. 9s. 0¾d
			Paid for horse at Armidale paddock	<u>2s. 3d</u>
Settled 24 <sup>th</sup> February, 1849	£7.14s 6¾d			<u>£9 1s. 0¾d</u>

<sup>32</sup> Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Account Book, 1841-72, A103:V2259; Stores Issue Book, 1848-57, A103; V3054/14.

<b>Dr. to Daniel Hutton</b>		<b>Hired (as Farm Labourer) 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1848, at rate of £30 p.a.</b>	
23 <sup>rd</sup> July, '48: Cash to Gray for Horse	10s. 0d.	From Canot for ¼lb Cavendish (tobacco)	9d
13 <sup>th</sup> Aug, '48: Cash sent to England	£5. 0s. 0d.	18/9 Received from John Hopkins	£5 10s. 0d.
9 <sup>th</sup> Aug, '48: Two Letters	2s. 6d.	Four months 8days at £30. p.a.	£10.13. 2d.
28 <sup>th</sup> Aug, '48: Cash to Bird	5s. 0d.	Making two pairs of gaiters (E.E.)*	5s. 0d
10 <sup>th</sup> July, '48: Cash to Dr. Anderson	£2. 0s. 0d	Making four pairs of drawers (E.E.)*	8s. 0d.
To Armidale Church	5s. 0d.	Grinding three bushels of wheat	3s. 6d.
Store Account	£10.10s.4½d	Three days work at 10s. per week	4s. 3d.
Mending watch	12s. 0d.	Driving bullocks to the Macleay, 2wks 3d.	£1.10s. 0d.
Cash to Mellis	£1. 14s. 9d.	Two months and seven days at £30. p.a.	£5.11s. 6d.
Store	£5. 14s. 0d.	Mowing etc.	14s. 8d.
	<b>** £27. 8s. 7½d</b>	30/11: Shearing 667 sheep at 2s.6d.a score	£4. 3s. 4d
		Washing seven days (at 4s. per day)	£1. 8s. 0d.
			<u>£5.11s. 4d.</u>
		Settled November, 30 <sup>th</sup> : £5. 11s. 4d.	

Notes: \* 'E.E' denotes Edwin Everett, for whom Mrs Sarah Cannings Hutton probably did this needlework.

\*\* The total, which is incorrect, should have been £26s.13s.7½d

<b>Dr. to James Sherriff (1)</b>		<b>Hired 2<sup>nd</sup> October, (1848. Weekly hiring at Piece rates to 30<sup>th</sup> Nov)</b>	
Store	17s .0d	11 days at sheep station at 12s. per week	£1. 0. 0d.
		5 days at 2s a day	10s. 0d.
			£1.10s. 0d
		Store	<u>17s.1½d</u>
			12s.10½d
		1 day not accounted for at 2s.	<u>2s. 0d.</u>
		Settled October , 23 <sup>rd</sup> .	<u>14s.10½d</u>

<b>Dr. to James Sherriff (2)</b>		<b>Hired at 12s week for Lambing.</b>	
Store	10s. 0d	Two weeks at 12s	£1. 4s. 0d.
		Store	<u>10s. 0d.</u>
		Settled October, 23 <sup>rd</sup> .	<u>14s. 0d</u>
		Nov. 30 <sup>th</sup> : Shearing 666 sheep at 2s.6d. a score	£4. 3s. 3d
		4½ days washing at 4s. a day	<u>18s. 0d</u>
Store	17s. 0d.	Store Account due	£1.13s. 0d.
		Settled Nov. 30 <sup>th</sup> by Cheque in Bank	<u>£3. 8s. 3d</u>

However, if an individual was unmentioned in a letter, or for some reason, neither drew rations from the station nor performed paid work during any six-monthly wage period his, or more often her, presence at Ollera would not be recorded. The problem is compounded by the fact that, from the late 1840s and increasingly from the mid-1850s, as immigrant families settled into and developed their widely scattered shepherding stations, they were encouraged by the Everetts to contribute, as much as possible, to their own and the station's support by cultivating their small-holdings. As their self-sufficiency increased a kind of colonial 'cottage economy' was developed and the most successful and hard-working families became at least partial, *de*

*facto*, tenants on the Everett brothers' lands. By the end of the 1850s some regularly-employed casual workers whose homes were at Ollera paid rent for their cottages. The bullock-driver, John Hopkins, who owned his team, was one of these men.<sup>33</sup> The system was practical and financially beneficial to both parties and, despite the vastly different environment to which it had been transplanted, it was a natural corollary of paternalism. It resembled the centuries-old system which, from the late eighteenth century, had progressively been swept away in England's rural south by enclosure and agricultural improvement.<sup>34</sup> However, as the rations which were almost always a component of his wage were regularly issued to the resident shepherd and almost all financial transactions were in his name, details of his dependent family often went unrecorded. Even when at lambing, the time of greatest seasonal activity, the man was assisted by an adolescent son, the youngster's given name was seldom recorded. Like 'Lansley's Boy' in the early 1860s, he received half-rations and scant acknowledgement.<sup>35</sup>

Although its price per pound weight remained disappointingly low, wool continued profitable as Ollera's flock increased from 2,568 sheep in May 1844, to 6,869 in January 1848 and reached 7,250 at the start of 1849. The number of bales of wool sent to London rose accordingly, offsetting the lower 'per pound' price on offer. In 1844 the Everetts' twenty bales brought £351 (6198 lbs @ 1s.1d lb), while in 1847-8 although valued at only 10½d lb, the thirty-one bales (9763 lbs) dispatched realized £435. Returns were even better in 1848-9, when forty-four bales worth a total of £825 were produced. However the time-lag between the wool-clip's departure from Ollera and the Everetts' receipt of final payment of the proceeds remained significant, for eighteen months separate the two entries in the Ollera Account Book which give details of this transaction. The first entry, made in January 1849, records the advance payment made by William Dawes, the Everetts' Sydney agent, of £440 for '44 Bales of wool at £10 per bale'. The second, in July 1850, notes the receipt of the balance owed after the wool was sold in London. The entry reads 'Received for 44 Bales of Wool above valuation entered January, 1849: £385. 17s.8d.'<sup>36</sup> Additional and more immediate profits came from the sale of inferior wool, hides and tallow in Sydney. While these were small in the case of locks, pieces and belly wool,

<sup>33</sup> A.V. Cane, *Ollera 1838 to 1900: A Study of a Sheep Station*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Sydney, 1949, p.70.

<sup>34</sup> P. Horn, *The Rural World, 1750-1850: Social Change in the English Countryside*, London, 1980, pp. 31, 86-7.

<sup>35</sup> Ollera Station Records, Weekly Ration Book, Jan-Dec., 1860, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/27.

<sup>36</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

much larger profits were provided by boiling down, the mainstay of the squatters' survival in the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>37</sup> Whereas wool sold in the colony earned £50 in 1848 and again in January 1849, in the latter year £252.19.10d came from sales of tallow. The sum comprised £161.11s.7d produced by wethers, at 7d per head and £91.8s.3d worth of beef tallow.<sup>38</sup> Boiling-down benefited the squatters in two ways. While in the short-term it provided much-needed income, in the long-term the quality of their flocks and herds was improved by the culling of old or otherwise surplus animals. Selective culling combined with improved seasonal conditions meant that between 1844 and 1849 the number of weaned lambs produced by Ollera's much younger flock almost doubled.<sup>39</sup>

Lambs Tallied in March, 1842-50		Flock Composition	1843	1845	1849
1842	672	Lambs	757	833	1137
1843	757	Rams	32	41	159
1844	615	Ewes, Maiden 318]			
		....., Old 816]	1134	1342	2031
1845	833	Young Wethers 573]			
1846	1034	Old Wethers 423]	996	1049	3252
1847	1114		* 2919	3265	6849
1848	n/a				
1849	1139				

\* Includes 212 Halhed sheep.

The annual Stock Returns show that in these years the number of cattle on the station increased at a similar rate. From a herd of 500 beasts in mid-1844, the tally reached 986 in 1849 and 1150 in 1850.<sup>40</sup> Here again, George Wyndham's guidance may be evident for, as the first importer of Hereford cattle into New South Wales, he may have influenced the Everetts' long-lasting preference for the breed.<sup>41</sup> By 1849 cattle sales were also beginning to be profitable, for when the last beast from the original (1840) herd of 238 was sold, its members were calculated to have earned a profit of £835, or an average of £3.10s.0d a head.<sup>42</sup> By the end of the decade both seasoned working bullocks and fat cattle were beginning to sell well. While four of the former were exchanged with a neighbour for £40 worth of wheat, fat stock sold to Armidale's butcher for £4.10s.0d each.<sup>43</sup> Though returns from the sale of their well-bred horses failed to match the

<sup>37</sup> Abbott, 'Pastoral Age, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Morrissey, 'The Pastoral Economy 1821-1850', in J. Griffin (ed), *Essays in the Economic History of Australia, 1788-1939*, Brisbane, 1967, p. 81

<sup>38</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>39</sup> Ollera Station Records, Returns of Sheep, 1839-49, *UNERA*, A103:V3053/13; Cane, *op. cit.*, pp.46.

<sup>40</sup> Ollera Station Records, Stud Book, 1843-53, *UNERA*, A103:V2321; Cane, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>41</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, John to Arthur, 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1890. 'Herefords are the only cattle kept at Ollera'.

<sup>42</sup> Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

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

Everett brothers' expectations, the marked discrepancy between the number of animals branded and those entered in the Livestock Returns for these years indicate that business was nevertheless brisk. Whereas in January 1848, 201 horses were branded, only 170 appeared on the Livestock Return. The disparity was even greater in the following year, for while 259 horses had been branded in the twelve months ending in January 1850, only 211 of them were on the station when the annual return was made.<sup>44</sup> Sales of the station's horses and their stud fees provided a valuable source of supplementary income. In 1848 these transactions returned £203.13s.6d, an amount which was worth almost half the sum returned by the year's wool-clip.<sup>45</sup>

Though still vastly outnumbered, Ollera's female population rose to seven or eight at the start of 1849 when Jane Reeves and Martha Cotterell reached the station with their families. The presence of these women and their children helped to moderate the extreme loneliness, instability and worst discomforts of life on the frontier. In adjusting successfully to its unfamiliar and difficult conditions they reinforced the pattern set by the Cannings family a decade earlier and confirmed the Everetts' preference for an assisted-immigrant workforce composed of married couples and families rather than single men. Arrangements for the arrival of Charles Cummins and Alfred Marsh had probably already been made, for of the twenty-one assisted immigrants from Wiltshire who followed them to Ollera, only one, John Reeves, was an unmarried man.

1849 saw the arrival on the station of another man whose name would become part of the fabric of Ollera's story. Garrett Farrell was originally hired as a shepherd and, like many of his fellows, was apparently recruited in the colony.<sup>46</sup> Although his marital status at the time of his arrival is unknown, within a few years he had acquired both a wife and a new role as the station's valued long-distance bullock-driver.<sup>47</sup> The couple spent the rest of their lives at Ollera, where for many years Mrs Jane Farrell was the community's mid-wife.<sup>48</sup> For almost a century their children and grandchildren were employed permanently and/or as seasonally-employed selectors on the station.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>45</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>46</sup> Ollera Station Records, Entry for 1849. 'Garrett Farrell: Paid and Returned, £2.12s.0d', *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>47</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-48, first entry for Garrett Farrell; *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, John to Arthur, 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1891.

<sup>48</sup> Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>49</sup> Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Account Book, 1841-72, A103: V2259, List of Selections from December, 1869, A103:V5772.

Like those who preceded them to Ollera, the assisted immigrants who came to the station in 1848 and 1849 appear to have been bonded to serve the Everett brothers for a set number of years at an agreed annual rate. Although unsubstantiated by documentary proof, the records contain circumstantial evidence that the assisted immigrant labourers were bound to serve the Everetts for from two to four years. There are several pointers to this probable term. One lies in the fact that although it was later withdrawn, in 1844 after three years' service the Cannings family had given notice of their intention to leave Ollera.<sup>50</sup> In the next year, the Everetts' permission for Jem Munday's early departure was conditional upon his replacement by his brother, John, who no doubt served out the original contract.<sup>51</sup> In 1848, a debit entry for John Yeats, 'Passage Money, £5' shows that after at least three years' good service the assisted immigrant-shepherd was deemed to have repaid the cost of his passage.<sup>52</sup> The years of arrival of each successive importation of assisted immigrant workers also provide a clue to the length of bonded service. If the agreed term was indeed three to four years, each new group arrived as those in the preceding group neared or reached the end of the term for which they were contracted.<sup>53</sup> Within these parameters, the men were rehired annually.<sup>54</sup>

However, despite the advent of the newly-arrived assisted immigrants, the problems caused by the widespread shortage of labour not only continued but grew worse in the years before gold was discovered in New England in December, 1852. Statistics culled from records to which Cane had access in 1949, but which no longer survive, provide clear evidence of the extent of the problem. Between 1848 and 1852, Ollera's acreage increased from 61,440 acres (96 sq. m) to 76,800 acres (120 sq. m), and the number of sheep carried rose from 6,847 in January, 1849 to 8550 at the start of 1851 and to 10,140 at year's end. In the same four-year period the number of cattle and horses on the property rose from 864 to 1,320 and from 170 to 288 respectively.<sup>55</sup> The gap between the increasing demand for labour and its dwindling availability in New England widened consistently until, by the end of 1852, a relieved John Everett reported

<sup>50</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter, John to Ann, 8<sup>th</sup> December, 1843, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/3.

<sup>51</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter, John to William, 9<sup>th</sup> October, 1842, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/3.

<sup>52</sup> Ollera Station Records, Stores Issue Book, 1848-57, *UNERA*, A103:V3054/14. There is a similar entry for Joseph Cook, who arrived at Ollera at the same time.

<sup>53</sup> Between 1841 and 1858 the Everetts brought six 'shipments' of assisted immigrants to Ollera. These people arrived in 1841-42; c.1845; 1848-49; 1853; 1856; and 1858.

<sup>54</sup> Ollera Station Records, Stores Issue Book, 1848-57, *UNERA*, A103:V3054/14.

<sup>55</sup> Cane, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 49, 81.

that the wool-clip was safely in 'although we thought we would have to shear them ourselves or leave [the wool] on the sheep's backs'.<sup>56</sup>

The Everetts met their ever-increasing need for labour in several different ways. They took every opportunity to engage suitable men, as George's letter of 1847 offering employment to a man who was to deliver a purchased horse shows.<sup>57</sup> Although store prices increased accordingly, the consistent, marked rise in wages between 1848 and 1852 indicates the seriousness of a problem which worsened considerably when gold was discovered a few miles south of Armidale at Rocky River, in late 1852.<sup>58</sup>

Employment	1848	1851	1852
Overseer	£40	.....	£80
Shepherds	£26-£28	£27	£30-£40
Watchmen	£20-£25	£20-£25	£40
Labourers	£25-£30	£30	£50
Domestic Servant (Male)	£30	£30	£32
Groom	£30	.....	£30
Stockmen	£25-30	£25-30	£40
Bullock Drivers	£28	.....	.....
Shearers	2s.6d a score	2s.6d a score	4s. a score
Washers	4s. a day	.....	4s. a day

To answer their growing need for labour the Everetts employed white women, Aboriginal men and indentured Chinese to work with the sheep. Women began to be employed in 1848, when Mrs Cannings earned the equivalent of two and a half days' work at the sheep wash, and Mrs Bryant received a few shillings for her work. They were employed again in 1851, when Maria Bryant was paid £11.12s.0d for 'washing etc' and a further £15 in 'wages', and Maria Cannings earned £5.9s.3d. An Aboriginal shepherd received 3s.0d for his work that year, while in the following year two of his fellows received similar small payments for their work as watchmen.<sup>59</sup> With one other, in which two payments totaling £1.10s.0d were made to 'Charley Blackfellow', these are the only Aboriginal workers for which payments for such work are recorded. However other Banbai appear to have been similarly engaged, for in a letter in which John Everett noted the impending departure for the gold-fields of 'two of our best shepherds, Joe

<sup>56</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letters: John to Harry, 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1852. *UNERA*, A103: V3052/4.

<sup>57</sup> Cane, *op. cit.*, p.67; Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Everett Notebook, 1836-48 Letter, George to H. Solway, A103:V231

<sup>58</sup> L.T.W.. Lane, 'The Bedford Chapel at Saumarez Ponds: English Settlers in New England', Unpublished M.Lit, Thesis, University of New England, 1990, pp18-19; Ollera Station Records, Letter John to Harry, 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1852, *UNERA*, A103: V3052/4

<sup>59</sup> Ollera Station Records, 1841-72. Entries for 1848 and 1851, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.



Cook and John Yeats' he remarked that the 'blacks' were reaping the wheat and, with three newly-arrived Chinese, were working as shepherds.<sup>60</sup>

These Asian men were the first of two consignments of indentured Chinese labourers who began work on Ollera between July 1852 and May 1853, by which time five such men were employed.<sup>61</sup> Recruited in the treaty port of Amoy and at nearby Nampo on the Chinese mainland, all came direct to Newcastle on one of the two voyages made by the barque *Eleanor Lancaster* in March, 1852 and February, 1853. Owned and captained by F.W. Lodge, the vessel imported a total of 495 young Chinese men to answer the Northern Districts squatters' demand for cheap, reliable and obedient labour. Captain Lodge was a close associate of Robert Towns who, with the prominent Sydney merchant Robert Tertius Campbell, had close financial and personal links via the Australia Club with influential Northern District squatters.<sup>62</sup> Both Campbell and Towns had for over a decade been associated with various, ultimately unsuccessful schemes by which the squatters could be supplied with a cheap, non-European, bonded workforce. Though Towns, with Lodge, came late to the Chinese venture, as the principal financier of the later speculative voyages he stressed not only the cheapness of the Chinese imports but their value as an object lesson for their British workmates. As well as being 'excellent shepherds [who] may be taught anything',<sup>63</sup> the men would:

... be your salvation in shape of labour not so much for the six men but *it will teach your other men a wholesome lesson* viz that others are to be had if they persist in demanding such wages as you cannot pay... you have the services of these Men for 5 years @ a rate not exceeding ¼ you are obliged to pay your own countrymen & I find you can get more work out of a Chinaman than a European even in Sydney.<sup>64</sup>

Despite its illegality, the trade had brought increasing numbers of sponsored Chinese workers to rural New South Wales between October, 1848 and February, 1851.<sup>65</sup> However, from November, 1851 its legalization changed the nature of the trade. The validation of contracts with

<sup>60</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter: John to Harry, 12<sup>th</sup> November, 1852, *UNERA*, A103: V2259.

<sup>61</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-57. Successive entries for period September, 1852 to May, 1853. *UNERA*, A103: V2259

<sup>62</sup> Darnell, 'Chinese Labour Trade', *op. cit.*, pp. 66-79; 324.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, p. 121. Letter: Robert Towns to the 'all but insolvent' Phillip Ditmas of Clairvaux, 13<sup>th</sup> September, 1851.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, Letter: Robert Towns to A. Trevethan, 31<sup>st</sup> January, 1852. Emphasis added

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, p. 77. The figures indicate the steady rise in numbers of men imported under the 'bespoke' or sponsored schemes.

1848...	120,	all to NSW
1849...	280;	150 to NSW
1850...	1000;	406 to NSW
1851...	2066:	1470 to NSW

foreign bonded labourers encouraged squatters who had hitherto been reluctant to engage such men. The previously 'bespoke' consignments became speculative as the opportunity for quick profits attracted financiers like Towns and ships' masters like Captain Lodge, whose vessels were rendered idle by changes to Britain's Navigation Acts and by the Californian gold rush of 1848. As a result, the eight ships which brought Chinese labourers to the colony's ports in the first four months of 1852 over-supplied a market which was already in decline. The 8,888 men and boys who were imported from Namao in 1852-53 glutted the market and destroyed the trade. Demand was reduced further by the length of their five-year contracts and by the flood of free immigrants attracted by the discovery of gold in New South Wales and Port Phillip.<sup>66</sup>

The first record of a Chinese presence on Ollera comes from mid-July, 1852 when, among other payments, the shepherd McDermott was paid £3 for 'three dogs for Chinamen'. Three months later the following payments were recorded: 'Passage money of 3 Chinamen, £36' and 'Expenses on road, £6.7s.9d'.<sup>67</sup> The three men, Ling Cong, Qua Sim and Tang Ko, were part of a group of seven Chinese men whose services were jointly purchased by the Everetts and by Alexander Barlow who soon left Abington for Clairvaux. It was remembered that he:

...once went through Morpeth driving his team and dray with loading for the coming year with seven Chinese walking on each side of his dray. Each man carried a long pole and had a bundle on either end... Some of them stayed at Abington as shepherds and some went to the Everetts at Ollera.<sup>68</sup>

By the beginning of the next year arrangements were underway for a similar joint venture, this time with Frederick Vigne of Tenterden. The neighbouring squatters each paid £28 to Lodge for their 'purchase'. The two who came to Ollera were Chin Ho and Ung Hap.<sup>69</sup> The arrival, a year later, of Ton Yan (Tonyan), who in 1857 earned a princely £40 per annum as a house-servant, brought the number of Chinese labourers at Ollera to six.<sup>70</sup> However most of the station's Chinese were employed as shepherds and watchmen and were engaged at a flat rate of 4s.0d a week (c.£10 p.a.) and their rations. Some apparently adapted well to their new environment. One man, Chin Ho, received an additional £1.0s.0d as a bonus for 'good

<sup>66</sup> Darnell, *ibid*, p. 150 Of the 8,888 Amoy Chinese whose importation was speculative, 5,691 arrived in 1852 and 3,197 in 1853.

<sup>67</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:259. Successive entries, 15<sup>th</sup> July, and 3<sup>rd</sup> September, 1852.

<sup>68</sup> A. Harris, *Abington: A History of a Station and its People*, Armidale, 1982. p. 9

<sup>69</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>70</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

shepherding' with his first quarter's wage of £1.16s.0d, and another hoed potatoes with 'delight'.<sup>71</sup> However it is clear that others found the transition difficult, and personality clashes, clan feuds or 'culture shock' soon took their toll. In February, 1854 George Everett reported that one unnamed man from Namao had only just been prevented from hanging himself and that there had been a 'Tremendous bunk with our Chinese lately fighting with knives.'<sup>72</sup>

These were not the only employees with whom the Everetts were having problems. Not only was there a severe shortage of labour in the district but, having served out their bonds, the reliable John Yeats and Joe Cook had been lured away by the opportunity to make 'more money in shearing'.<sup>73</sup> They were followed less than a year later by Charles Cummins who, unlike the others, returned annually to the station for shearing and the harvest. Even 'Old Thorpe', the Everetts' all-but irreplaceable house-man, was talking of leaving Ollera. Deeply offended and more conscious than ever of the unaccustomed and unwelcome power in the hands of his employees, John Everett found:

.....'the impudence of the men unbearable – even young Tom Reeves, a miserable fellow, told me to look out for another man, I will put him down or things have come to a pretty pass'.<sup>74</sup>

The problem was that payable gold had been discovered in two places within thirty-five miles (c.50 km) of the station; at Rocky River, to the south and at Bingara to the west and almost certainly existed at an outstation within six miles (c.9km) of the head-station. Worried by the discoveries' effects on the station, Everett was further dismayed by the conditions he found when he visited a gold-mining friend at Rocky River, judging it 'not worth while for an Oxford or Cambridge man to use his hands instead of his brains'. Thoroughly disgusted, Everett concluded that 'the Blacks are the only sensible people'.<sup>75</sup>

However within a few months, gold's positive effects had become evident and, after more than a decade, the station was rapidly becoming 'a valuable property'. By August, 1853 wool was selling well and the market for mutton was growing. After years in which the only returns from sheep sales came from boiling down at sixpence or seven-pence a head, wethers had

<sup>71</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter: John to Harry, 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1852, *UNERA*, A193:V3052/4.

<sup>72</sup> Ollera Station Records, Microfilm of Letter: George to Rev. Tom, 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1854. *UNERA*, A103: Loc. M10; *Everett Records Guyra*, 'Extract from Bishop Turner's Notebook: English Letter by a Heathen Chinese', for arbitration of a conflict between Chinese workers on Ollera. Although it occurred a few years later, in 1859, it provides a typical example of the problem.

<sup>73</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter, John to Harry, 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1852, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/4

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* A nugget of 'Bingera gold' was enclosed in the letter.

more than doubled in value and prime stock were expected soon to sell for £1 each. Horses were also in heavy demand and bringing high prices. While ‘seasoned’ draught horses cost as much as £100, most horses sold for between £30 and £70 each. Ollera’s four-year-old stock were expected to sell at £20 a head, and plans were underway to begin cross-breeding the station’s herd with a Suffolk Punch dam or sire.<sup>76</sup> Things were even better at the end of the year. After an ‘excellent’ lambing in which only two of the 2,300 ewes had died and ninety per cent of their offspring had survived, 9,000 sheep had been shorn and 23,400lbs of wool was ready for dispatch to Ludgrove and Leathes, the Everetts’ recently appointed Sydney agents. 300 ‘old, fat cattle’ had also been sold for £559. After being fattened on the Murray River country, they would feed the miners on the rich Port Phillip gold-fields. Despite daily thunderstorms a ‘promising’ crop of wheat was expected, but reapers were still ‘scarce’.<sup>77</sup>

Nevertheless Ollera’s workforce had again been increased by the arrival of a new gentleman overseer and of the largest single group of English immigrants to be sponsored by the Everett brothers. The new overseer, Thomas Lawrence, was the son of acquaintances in the Hampshire gentry. Although he lacked ‘activity [being] a late starter and sleepy in the morning’, by rescuing the ‘decent young chap’ from drinking and gambling, the ‘vices and bad habits’ which were so prevalent on the gold-fields, the Everetts were meeting their responsibilities to their ‘family-friendship’ network, which by then included several of their immediate and near neighbours in New England.<sup>78</sup> In doing so they were living up to their duties as responsible paternalists. Though, with the return of his elder brother to England Charles Marsh had moved to Salisbury, he had also acquired Guyra station, while Matthew Henry Marsh had retained ownership of Boorolong, which was being managed by W. Perrott. The Wyndham connection had been reinforced by the arrival, at Ben Lomond on Ollera’s north-eastern boundary, of George Wyndham’s nephew Charles Codrington and by Wyndham’s addition of New Valley, on the Everetts’ rugged north-western boundary, to his extensive holdings at Bukkulla and Nullamanna on the McIntyre River.

However, despite the arrival of the *Java* and *Speedy* contingents the gold-rush years of the mid-1850s worsened the already severe shortages of labour in New England. The extent of

<sup>76</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter, John to Harry, 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1852, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/3.

<sup>77</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter: John to Rev. Charles, 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1853. *UNERA*, A103: V3052/4. It is possible that it was for this reason that Alfred Marsh, whose survival John notes, was aboard the *Monumental Castle* when she was wrecked on a voyage from Port Phillip to Sydney

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

the problem which faced the Everetts can be seen in the strategies they adopted to address it. First, the steady wage increases which had begun after 1848 had become even more marked in the years after 1852. British shepherds who between 1848 and 1852 had earned £26-£30 per annum now received at least £40 p.a. and watchmen's and all other rural workers' wages had risen accordingly. However the need for separate watchmen had decreased considerably, as the flocks, many of them double, were now cared for by shepherding families whose female member(s) assumed the role of hut-keeper and whose younger sons acted as watchmen. Both the masters and their 'men' reaped the social and economic benefits which resulted from this increasingly important change.

Employment	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857-58	1859 <sup>79</sup>
Overseer	£80	£100	.....	£100	.....	.....
Shepherd	£40	£40-£76	£40-£80	£40-£80	£40-£80	£40-£80
Labourers	£50	£52-£60	£52-£60	£52-£60	£52-£60	£52-£60
Stockman	£40	.....	.....	£50	£50	.....
Servant	£35	£40	£40	£40	£40	£40
Groom	£30	£35	.....	£40	.....	.....
Bullock Driver	£52	.....	£52	£52	£52	£52
Storekeeper	<i>none</i>	<i>none</i>	<i>none</i>	£60	£60	.....
Housemaid	<i>none</i>	£10	£15	£15	£20	.....
Shearer	4s score	.....	.....	4s score	.....	5s score
Washer	4s a day	.....	.....	5s a day	.....	5s 6d/day

The rising wages, which by 1856 had reached the high point at which they stabilized, extended even to the bonded Chinese workers. After their first year on the station their basic payments, though still pitifully small, rose from four shillings to five shillings a week. However, despite the significant extra payments for additional tasks and rewards for good service which were frequently made, the higher 'flat' wage-rates may have served a less benevolent purpose. Whereas the terms on which the Chinese workers' contracts had originally been negotiated included the annual issue of basic, usually shoddy, 'slop' clothing (smock, trousers, boots and a blanket), entries for the purchase of these items at the station store appear regularly in the financial records of each of the Chinese workmen.<sup>80</sup> The following examples, which come from the first quarter of 1854, are typical of many entries from the 1850s.

<sup>79</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103: V2259.

<sup>80</sup> Darnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 165.

Jan 17 <sup>th</sup> : <u>Chin Ho</u> , Wages - <u>Shepherd</u> :	£1.19s. 0d	Store:	11s. 0d
Feb 15 <sup>th</sup> : Chin Ho, Cash – Present for fattening wethers:	£3. 0s. 0d.		
Jan 17 <sup>th</sup> : <u>Ung Hap</u> , Wages – <u>Watchman</u>	£1.10s.0d	Store:	7s. 0d
Feb 15 <sup>th</sup> : Ung Hap, Cash – Present for shifting fold	£1. 0s. 0d.	Store: Boots	12s. 0d.
Ung Hap			5s. 0d

Another way in which the Everetts met their chronic need for labour during the gold-rush years was by employing women to work with their sheep. Two, Mrs Maria Bryant and Mrs Wilson, were the wives of bullock-drivers whose teams were on permanent hire to the station. In 1851 Mrs Bryant was paid £27.1s.3d, £15.9s 3d of which she earned as a shepherd and the remaining £11.12s.0d for ‘washing’. Mrs Wilson worked full-time as a shepherd in 1855 and 1856, for which she earned £20 per annum.<sup>81</sup> While, in keeping with established practice, her work was valued at half to two-thirds that of her male counterparts the fact that she was paid for such gender-specific work indicates the severity of the labour shortage at Ollera. However the two Aboriginal women who cared for the lambs in 1855 received even less. Although Kitty and Mary tended the most vulnerable flock, with which only the most skilled shepherds were normally entrusted, they were paid a pittance for their services. Together these women earned 3s.6d ‘shepherding lambs’, while Kitty was paid a further 3s.0d for ‘helping with the lambs’.<sup>82</sup> The wives of several other station workers were also paid for their work in the years between 1853 and 1859. Most were paid for ‘washing’, a task for which Daniel Reeves’ wife Maria earned a total of £37 for three years’ work, while Mrs Coombs earned £4 for six months labour and Mrs Mary Dudman received £15.<sup>83</sup> Like her predecessor Mrs Gray, Mary Dudman appears to have been a ‘farm servant’, for she earned a further £13 for housework and milking. From 1857 James Reeves’ wife Emma, was employed as the Everetts’ housemaid, for which she was paid £10 a year, while Mrs Farrell’s ‘wages’ for unspecified work were £11 in 1858 and £10 in 1859.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>82</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259; J. Humphries, ‘Enclosure, Common Rights and Women: The Proletarianisation of Families in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries’, *Journal of Economic History*, No. 50, 1990. pp.37-38; K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1600-1900*, Cambridge, 1895, p. 57 (f.n.); R.H. Gennys, ‘Shepherds and Shepherding in Australia’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, No. XI, 1921, p. 284.

<sup>83</sup> The amounts earned suggest that the women were laundresses rather than sheep washers, payments for which seldom varied from a few shillings to one or two pounds.

<sup>84</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259, consecutive entries for the years, 1851-59

John Everett personally acknowledged the partnership's dependence on Banbai workmen in the 1850s.<sup>85</sup> The truth of his words is evident in the frequency with which these men's names appear and recur in Ollera's financial records and in the kinds of work for which they were hired. An additional, perhaps serendipitous, consequence of their employment is equally clear. With those of their Chinese fellow-workers, the minimal wages paid to Aboriginal employees must have significantly reduced the cost of the high wages needed to retain or attract their European counterparts. The very low wages paid to non-European labourers were reduced even further by deductions for debts to the station store. Among many such entries, one, for 'Williams and Billy' shows that early in August, 1853 the two men, if rationed, had worked for their keep, for their combined debt to the station store exactly matched the 13s.0d they earned.<sup>86</sup> However all three Everett brothers and several of their workmen often personally rewarded trusted Banbai workmen such as these with presents of goods from the station store. Typical 'payments in kind' received by these men included items of clothing and the perennial favourites, sugar and tobacco. For example the Store Book records that in the Spring of 1851 Banbai men received the following 'gifts' or payments in kind.<sup>87</sup>

George Bryant (bullock driver): 28<sup>th</sup> Aug: 1 cotton shirt for Larry the Black @ 2s.6d

John Everett: 14<sup>th</sup> Aug: 1pr boots; 1pr trousers Larry  
Charley: 1 serge shirt @ 3s.0d  
4 twill shirts for blacks

Edwin Everett: 21<sup>st</sup> Oct: Charley the black: 1 regatta shirt @ 3s.6d;  
¼lb tobacco @ 1s.9d; 3½lbs sugar @ 2s.4d

The names of nineteen Banbai men appear in the records for 1853-59, although, as entries such as 'Blackfellows, cash: 6s' and 'Blacks, helping with the shearing, £3.15s.0d' indicate, they were not the only Aboriginal males who worked fairly regularly on the station. Of the twelve who worked as shepherds, eight were hired in from two to four of these years.<sup>88</sup> The others were involved in a wide variety of tasks, working as watchmen, shearers, washers, wool-packers and shed hands, in the stables, as stockmen, bullock-breakers, bullock-drivers and -watchmen, and as splitters and fencers, reapers, saddlers and handymen. Payments for their

<sup>85</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letters; John to Harry, 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1852, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/4.

<sup>86</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, Entry for 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 1853, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>87</sup> Ollera Station Records, Stores Issue Book, 1848-57, *UNERA*, A103:V3054/14

<sup>88</sup> Williams, Brummy Shepherd and Billy Cockatoo were the men whose names recurred most often.

work varied from a few pence to a rare £4 to £6, with most receiving sums of a few shillings to £1 or £2. The examples below, which come from the summer of 1855-56, are typical.<sup>89</sup>

Oct/Nov, 1855:	Brummy, cash for shepherding,	£1.10s.0d
	Cockatoo Billy “ “ ,	£1. 5s.0d
	Charley & Joey “ “ ,	4s.0d
	Billy,(6d), Brummy,(6d), Jemmy(8d),	1s.4d
Jan, 1856:	Tommy Tweeput, Wages,	£6.11s.0d
	Blacks, reaping,	£4. 0s. 0d
	Jemmy, reaping,	3s. 0d
	Brummy, Tommy, Billy Billy,	11s. 6d
	Johnny and Jemmy Jemmy,	£1. 5s. 0d.

Although wool remained profitable, realizing £1,800 in 1854 and £1,301.10s.1d in 1857, labour shortages no doubt played an important part in the brothers' decision to reduce the size of Ollera's flock as gold fever increased and reached its peak between 1855 and 1858. Tallow sales rose from £237 in 1852 to £357 in 1856, with 2,140 animals being boiled down in 1853 alone. The sale of a further 2,300 live sheep in 1854 reduced the Everetts' flock to 8,000. The trio of unsatisfactory overseers who were appointed and dismissed in these years and the lack of sufficient skilled shepherds must also have contributed greatly to the outbreak of scab in 1856. As a result 3,000 sheep had to be destroyed. The heavy losses continued in the next year when 2,632 lambs perished in heavy rain and unseasonable snow.<sup>90</sup>

It is therefore unsurprising that, given the gold-miners' demand for their cattle and horses, the Everett brothers responded to the opportunities provided by the developing market. Between 1850 and 1857, whereas the number of sheep carried on Ollera rose by only 14 per cent, the station's cattle numbers increased by 40 per cent, and its horses by 70 per cent.<sup>91</sup> Cattle sales peaked in 1854 when 'Lang' paid £550 for a herd of 200 bullocks and 100 cows, and fat cattle worth £157.12s.0d were sold to Andrew Glass, Armidale's butcher, who purchased a further £90.10s.6d worth in 1855. As the table below shows, the market for horses was equally strong, with sales returning £652 in 1854, £249 in 1856 and £1,009 in 1860, when £599 came from sales in the newly-proclaimed colony of Queensland.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>90</sup> Cane, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.; Norton, *op. cit.*, p.18-19

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80-82.

<sup>92</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-57, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.



**Proceeds from Sales of Cattle and Horses at Ollera, 1850-1860** <sup>93</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Horses</u>
1850	£ 31	£ 79
1853	<i>n/a</i>	£ 77
1854	£704	£ 652
1855	£691	£ 218
1856	£434	£ 249
1857	£459	£ 514
1859	£459	£ 480
1860	<i>n/a</i>	£1,009

To add to his problems, by the end of 1856 John Everett had been forced to assume sole oversight of the sheep, in whose management both Edwin and George refused any further involvement. So burdened was John by this heavy responsibility, and by his inability to find a 'good man to superintend and manage [the sheep], leaving me free to employ myself more agreeably' that, despite the considerable loss of income which would result from a concentration upon cattle and horse breeding, he was 'considering giving up sheep altogether'.<sup>94</sup> However, in reporting the success of what he hoped would be his *last* shearing it is more likely that he was referring to the timing of his return to England, to which his elder brother, George had retired earlier in the year. Normally a cheerful and optimistic correspondent and a master of the stiff upper lip, John Everett was clearly feeling the strain, believing that he was 'not "paid" to give up his time and his peace of mind to take charge of property in which he has only a share'. With that off his chest, this honourable man recognized his duty and, in a paragraph which revealed his strength of character, wrote,

... I do not intend to wear out my body and mind to make a fortune when I can be happy with less but as I have the interests of others to guard as well as my own I must hold on to that. I must not appear to shrink from a charge which I allowed myself to be saddled with when I ought to have taken more time for consideration and kept George until we had come to some decision upon our affairs, the distance of half the globe putting further consideration out of the question. I do not see how I can arrange matters in less than twelve months. It is no use to come home leaving it half done and my private affairs must stand over until fortune favours me and I can call my time my own to attend to them.

This last reference was almost certainly to his apparently already-planned marriage to Helen Wauchope, the sister of his Scottish neighbour, Andrew Wauchope of Moredun Station, for he continued that 'things were "sweet" in Edinburgh'.<sup>95</sup> The extract is important in yet another way, for although at that time he intended to settle in Australia after his marriage, Everett clearly

<sup>93</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259..

<sup>94</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letters: John to William, 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1856, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/5.

<sup>95</sup> Ollera Station Records, 'Genealogical note', *UNERA*, A103:V3052/15. The marriage took place in Edinburgh, 18<sup>th</sup> September, 1858.

perceived the difficulties the founding brothers would face in the decades ahead. The tension which characterized his later relationship with Edwin, his youngest brother, was already apparent in the years before John Everett's departure for England in 1858, as this comment makes clear. 'Edwin is happy to let me go – but I can expect no more work [from him] than his share'.<sup>96</sup>

Events at Biddesden added to John Everett's worries in the first half of the 1850s. Already saddened by news of his father's declining mental and physical health, he was deeply grieved by the death, in the northern summer of 1851, of his thirty-two year old 'thoroughly good only sister' Ann, to whom he had been very close.<sup>97</sup> John's sense of isolation was no doubt increased by George's extended absence in England, which was made necessary by their father's long final illness.<sup>98</sup> Decisions about the division of his estate meant that as a result of their father's death the 'Australian' Everetts divided their time between Ollera, where one was almost always in residence, and Biddesden. As two documents in the possession of Ollera's current owners suggest, Biddesden was not apparently subject to strict entail.<sup>99</sup> Instead, the younger brothers withdrew their entitlements to a share of the landed estate in favour of their eldest brother, Reverend Thomas Everett. In a letter written before he left on a return visit to England in late 1853, John Everett acknowledged the prime importance of the 'family interest'.<sup>100</sup>

*I would certainly retain my share of Biddesden* if I had decided to return to England but at present I intend to return to Australia. Property in Australia is increasing in value rapidly and I am puzzled as to the method of managing property at opposite ends of the world at once. However I will fall in with any arrangements jointly agreed to [which are] to the whole family's benefit.

With Edwin, he had already endorsed a formal agreement to the arrangement. The document, which is in George Everett's handwriting, reads:

We the undersigned hereby agree to Abide by any decision of the Executors and Trustees of our Late Father's Will, with regard to the Division of the Property according to the Terms of his last Will and Testament and are all most anxious that our Brother Thomas Everett should be put in a Position to Purchase the Biddesden property as soon as Possible.

Ollera	October, 11 <sup>th</sup>	[Signed] George Everett
New England	1853	John Everett
New South Wales		Edwin Everett

<sup>96</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letters, John to Rev. Charles, 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1857, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/5.

<sup>97</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letters, John to William, 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1851; John to Rev. Charles, 21<sup>st</sup> November, 1851, *UNERA* A103:V3052/4, Emphasis added.

<sup>98</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter: John to William, 31<sup>st</sup> October, 1851, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/4

<sup>99</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, George to Rev. Charles, 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1843; Document from folder tagged, 'Important Information', sighted by the author, November, 2004.

<sup>100</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter, John to Rev. Charles, 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1853, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/4. Emphasis added.

John's relationship with one of his English relatives was also causing problems at this time. In 1852 he lost a law-suit against a woman named Emma, with whom he shared an aunt's legacy of £1000. Everett deeply resented the court's decision that, as the money was (or would become) part of Emma's marriage settlement, the principal was 'untouchable'. He would therefore receive only the interest earned by a sum to which he believed himself more entitled than his female relative. His determination and his frustration at the perceived injustice were both evident as, rendered powerless by distance and time, he fumed that he would have 'strained every nerve for it if I had been at home for I need it more than Emma'.<sup>101</sup> With the station barely breaking even, this was all too true.<sup>102</sup>

However the situation had improved greatly by the end of 1857, when John Everett's departure on a year's vacation in England was delayed only by the need to settle his newly appointed Superintendent, James Mackenzie, into office. Although Mackenzie, who had come to Ollera in July, 1857 after an unsuccessful stint on the Rocky River goldfields, was initially hired as Superintendent for twelve months, when Everett left for England in March 1858 he was already hoping that his new Superintendent's term could be extended to two years.<sup>103</sup> In the event the young Anglo-Scot remained in the position until his death in 1887, for the 'slight...rheumatism' which was already lessening John Everett's ability to spend long hours on horseback forced him to settle permanently in England.<sup>104</sup> Forced to assume a less active role, Everett replaced his brother Henry as Ollera's English agent. To Edwin's chagrin, he retained active, albeit long-distance, involvement in the station's management until he died aged eighty-six, on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1902.<sup>105</sup>

The station John Everett left was very different to that which, with his brother, George, he had founded almost twenty years before. Having weathered its first difficult decade, the

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<sup>101</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letters, John to Harry, 12<sup>th</sup> November, 1852; 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1852. *UNERA*, A103:V3052/4.

<sup>102</sup> See below, for a discussion of the station's financial profitability.

<sup>103</sup> Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Letter, John to Rev. Charles, 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1857, A103:V3052/4; 'Fragment of a Diary-Journal of Edwin Everett, 1856-1862', A103:V3052/11.

<sup>104</sup> It is possible that this 'rheumatism' which in later years grew progressively worse, all-but crippling Everett in old age, was in fact a more serious condition. In a letter written to his brother Tom in March, 1846, the intrepid young man described a potentially serious accident in which, though apparently uninjured, he and the ever-present Williams narrowly escaped being killed. Both were thrown out of the buggy when the young colt John was training bolted.

<sup>105</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Mourning Card for John Everett, 1902 where the deceased man's age is given as 86. However if Everett was born in 1815, as the Ludgershall Parish Records state, he would have been eighty-seven at the time of his death.

station was at last proving to be a valuable investment, whose gold-rush induced profits seemed likely to persist. The number of sheep had risen from just under 8,000 at the start of 1857, when they were tended by ten shepherds (seven permanent and three employed seasonally) to 10,390 in February, 1858.<sup>106</sup> Ollera's acreage had again increased, for in 1856 the Everett brothers took up the lease of New Valley when George Wyndham acquired Ben Lomond. Although New Valley had been an outstation of Ollera since 1852 its acreage was not officially held by the Everetts until 1856.<sup>107</sup> In the interim this distant outstation, where George Ryder lived with his family, had apparently been 'sub-let' to the Everetts by the Wyndhams of Bukkulla.

The apparent discrepancy between the records of the Everetts' land acquisitions at this time is explicable if payments were made by installments during the years in question. The Everett brothers secured their tenure of 'their' property by successive land purchases between 1854 and 1856. Exercising his rights under the 1847 Act, John Everett paid £166.15s.0d for a quarter section (c.160 acres) in 1854. A second quarter section worth £105 was bought in 1855 and in the following year £173.9s.0d was spent on an area comprising a third quarter section, and 'land at the head station'.<sup>108</sup> In a letter to John, who was in England during 1855-56, Edwin reported that a surveyor named John(?) Henderson was at work on the station and described the various acreages for which he had applied. They included 'a half-section (320 ac) on the Lambamata, or Sheep Station Plain for John, a half-section for himself at Sandy Creek [between Ollera and Boorolong] and a half-section at the Head Station'. These were well-chosen acquisitions, as each included half-mile long frontages to the all-important water-courses, George's and Sandy Creeks.<sup>109</sup> John retained ownership of the Lambamata Plain until the early 1890s when he gave the block to his son Arthur, Ollera's newly-appointed manager. John remembered that it lay immediately opposite the homestead on the other side of George's Creek.<sup>110</sup>

Separated by thirty-five difficult miles (50kms) from the 'diggings' at Rocky River, Ollera was ideally placed to avoid the worst of the goldfield's disadvantages but also to benefit

<sup>106</sup> Ollera Station Records, 'Return of Sheep and Shepherds at Ollera, 1857-61', *UNERA*, A103: V3052/22.

<sup>107</sup> Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Account Book, 1841-72, Various entries concerning payments (wages to Ryder, reimbursements to Wyndham, 1852-55; Fencing, yards and hut construction at New Valley in 1856.) A103: V2259. Letter: Edwin to John, 30<sup>th</sup> January, 1855, (for news of 'chance to buy New Valley from Squire Wyndham'.) A103: V3052/7

<sup>108</sup> Ollera Station Records, various entries for years, 1854-56, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/4.

<sup>109</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter, Edwin to John, 30<sup>th</sup> January, 1855, *UNERA*, A103: V3052/7.

<sup>110</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, John to Arthur, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1891.

from the market opportunities the discovery provided. Entries in the Account Book for the years 1850 to 1857, show that a sharp rise began between December, 1853 (£444.18s. 8d) and March, 1854 (£1704.19s.3d) and continued until 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1858 when a profit of £5,135.6s.0d was declared. A note beside this entry, 'Balance in favour of Station not to be carried forward', suggests that this money was remitted to the Everetts' English accounts. The possibility is supported by the marked reduction in the station's next credit balance which in January, 1859, stood at £712.10s.1d.<sup>111</sup>

**Balances Brought Forward to Credit: Ollera Station, 1850-1859**

Dec, 1850	£ 86.13s.11d.	Jan. 1856	£2327.12s.0d
Jan, 1851	£ 415.17s. 7d	March, 1856	£3782. 7s. 0d
Dec, 1852,	£ 373 16s. 4d	Sept, 1856	£2954. 0s. 0d
Jan, 1853,	£ 195. 7s. 7d	Nov, 1856	£4256. 0s. 0d
Dec. 1853	£ 444.18s.8d	Dec, 1856	£3892. 4s. 7d
March, 1854	£1704.19s.3d	April, 1857	£4979. 3s. 0d
Dec, 1854	£ 877. 7s. 7d	Oct, 1857	£4713. 3s. 6½d.
March, 1855	£ 428. 0s.10d	March, 1858	£4640.19s.8d
July, 1855	£1731.19s.7d	Aug, 1858	£5135. 5s. 6d.
Dec. 1855	£2627.12s.8d	Jan, 1859	£ 714.10s.1½d

Further evidence of the station's increasing profitability at the end of the 1850s can be found in the revival of the market for livestock in the years between 1857 and 1859. Several such sales were made to nearby squatters. In March, 1857 Alexander Barlow, who by then had moved from Abington further north along the Gwydir to Beverly, paid £118 for 236 ram lambs and 'Wyndham' paid £1 each for another sixty.<sup>112</sup> Then, in May and September, Frank Wyndham of Bukkulla also purchased store cattle worth a total of £123.12s.0d. Horses continued to sell well, animals valued at £205 being bought by Dodds in June, 1857. The returns were even better in the following year, when 'Davidson' bought horses worth £480 and Balls, a station employee, made a purchase worth £30. Livestock sales continued to improve in 1859, when Muston(?) paid £1183 for a flock of sheep and Muller bought fat cattle to the value of £140.<sup>113</sup> The Stock Returns for the first half of 1857 provide evidence of the growth of station's flocks and herds. In a year in which losses from consistent rain took a heavy toll of the sheep, their numbers were as follows:

<sup>111</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>112</sup> Harris, 'Old Stations', *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>113</sup> Ollera Station Records, Dairy of Edwin Everett, 1856-68, *UNERA*, A103: V3052/11.

16<sup>th</sup> January, 1857, Ollera Sheep: 11,600  
Cattle: 1,650

Horses: 351 [GIE]  
47 [Men]

16<sup>th</sup> April, 1857, Sheep: 8,130  
Cattle: 1,650 [Ollera]  
560 [New Valley]  
Horses: 350 [Ollera]  
6 [New Valley]

By the end of that year responsibility for the day-to-day management of Ollera had passed to James Mackenzie. The young Anglo-Scot, who had strong links with Hampshire and the Isle of Wight and is said to have been a school-friend of Edwin Everett's, had come to Australia in the employ of his distant relative Governor FitzRoy.<sup>114</sup> Mackenzie was a nephew of George Wyndham's neighbours who held 'Cliffdale', the property at Bickham in the Upper Hunter which the Everetts later leased and then purchased in 1868. He was therefore probably present when, in 1854, his brother Arthur Mackenzie, who was then working at Cliffdale, married Wyndham's daughter, Weeta.<sup>115</sup> James Mackenzie's already close connections with George Wyndham were strengthened when he served his Australian apprenticeship at Dalwood before heading north for an unsuccessful stint on the Rocky River gold-field. With connections in both countries Mackenzie forged a strong link in the 'family and friendship' chain which stretched from 'Old' to New England. As the marriage, in 1858, of his employer and later close friend John Everett to Helen Wauchope had done, Mackenzie extended and reinforced the connection when, two years later, he married Anna Maria Clerk, the daughter of Edward George Clerk whose run, Clerkness, marched with Tenterden's western boundary. The connections between the four families, Clerks, Wauchopes, Everetts and Mackenzies, three of whom owned the adjoining properties of Clerkness, Moredun, and Tenterden, were further strengthened when, in the next generation, Mackenzie's daughter, Alice Ollera (Ollie) married John Everett's younger son Arthur, who by then managed Ollera.<sup>116</sup>

However all that lay ahead when, in December 1857, James Mackenzie's first six months as Ollera's superintendent drew to a close. His skills as a manager were apparent from the first. They were evident in the steady increase in the number of the station's shepherds from ten in

<sup>114</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, 'Memoirs'. Compiled by Mackenzie's daughter, Alice Ollera Mackenzie Everett, this journal-cum-scrapbook which also shows that Edward Arnold Hill, Edwin's sheep overseer/ companion/ close friend, was also a distant relative of the Mackenzies, contains detailed multi-generational lineages of the Mackenzie and Everett families; Cane, *op. cit.*, p. 87

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*; Wright, *Generations of Men*, *op. cit.*, p. 1

<sup>116</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, John to Arthur, 23<sup>rd</sup> July, 1891, which contains references to the couple's approaching marriage.

1857 to twelve in 1858 and to eighteen in 1860. Their numbers reflected the rapid expansion of the Ollera flock between January 1858 when there were 7,876 sheep, and September 1860 when 12,686 were counted.<sup>117</sup> Of the twelve shepherds named in 1858, nine worked for the whole year while three were employed seasonally. In 1859 nine of the nineteen shepherds served for from seven to twelve months, seven worked for from four to six months and three for up to three months in the peak season. While in the following year, 1860, the total number of shepherds employed had been reduced by one, the turnover of men had reduced greatly, with eight being employed for periods of from ten to twelve months, eleven for from four to eight months and one, the Banbai man Dicky, being employed at shearing-time in November.<sup>118</sup> The sheep were separated into flocks of nine different kinds:

Ewes	Mixed Ewes	Ewe Hoggets	Old Ewes	Young Wethers	Wethers	Mixed Young Sheep	Rams & Wethers	Lambs
Dawson G. Cook E. Lansley W. Clare	J. Matley	Matley	Lansley's Boy	Bob Cummins S. Cox	John Chinaman	Dawson	J. Reeves	Dawson

The five shepherds whose flocks were unspecified were an otherwise unnamed 'German' and Thomas Pitkin, who were employed for seven months, two other Chinese men, Sam and Tunian (Ton Yan?), who were employed for six and four months respectively and the previously mentioned Banbai man, Dicky.<sup>119</sup> Where shepherds' names are repeated, this could be either because, as in the case of the Dawsons and the Reeveses, several men from the same family were employed or because, as frequently happened, the man was shepherding a double flock.

Although by then up to fifty-one men were employed on the station, the records for 1860 contain important details of forty-four people who were issued with specified rations of meat, flour or rice, sugar and tea. These men were employed for the following lengths of time: nine served for the full year, two for from nine to twelve months, three for from six to eight months and the remaining twenty were 'on the books' for varying periods of up to two months.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Ollera Station Records, Sheep Returns, 1857-62, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/22.

<sup>118</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1941-72, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>119</sup> Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*, Account Book 1841-72, A103:V2259; Weekly Ration Book, A103:V3052/28

<sup>120</sup> Ollera Station Records, Weekly Ration Issue Book, Jan-Dec, 1860, *UNERA*, A103:3052/28.

**Periods of Time for which Men Received Rations at Ollera in 1860**

Full Year	9-12 Months	6-9 Months	2-6 Months	1-2 Months
Thos. Dawson	Edward Lansley	Henry Carpenter	George Cook	Jas. Reeves
John Matley	'Chinaman 2'	Lansley's Boy	Francis Cameron	Matley's Boy
John Clark	'Blacks' Bark-cutting	Jacob German	James Williams	Dawson's Boy
Sam Dudman			William Clare	Stewart
William Clark			Thos. Pitkin	Thos Boase
'Chinaman 1'			George Munday	Richard Doolan
Garrett Farrell			Tonyan	Michael Quinnell
Storekeeper			Jacky Jacky	Patrick Hughes
S. Cox			Dicky	Hugh Brigdale
			<u>Banbai</u> : Johnny	W. Sheppard
			Blacks:Bough yds	Jas. Cummins
				Jas. Hammond
				Edw. Cotter
				John German
				Jacob Hunt
				William Ryder
				Thos. German
				Evan Reeves
				Angus Cameron
				<u>Banbai</u> : Tommy
				Charley
				Two Boys

As 1860 ended, John Everett could again 'take pleasure in his sheep' for, just as they had been upon the arrival of John Cannings twenty years before, the animals were again in the hands of a good superintendent.<sup>121</sup> If the 10,000 lambs which had been born during the year that had seen 'the best lambing ever' survived until they were weaned, Mackenzie's hope that Ollera's flock would soon reach 30,000 might soon be achieved. The station would then be fully stocked, which in Everett's opinion was 'the only run that pays'. However John was far from free of worries about the station. New Valley, which the Everetts had apparently relinquished in the preceding years, was again on the market. John feared that Edwin would be tempted to 'speculate' on a property that 'would add neither to the partners' happiness or riches [for it was] a bad station with ridges possibly good for sheep but bad for shepherds'.<sup>122</sup> His anxiety was apparently justified, for in mid-1863 Edwin reported that the sale of the rugged valley on the western fringe of the Tableland to an unnamed purchaser had successfully 'settled the business'.<sup>123</sup> John's lasting disenchantment with the actions and perceived intentions of the New South Wales Legislative Council had increased in the decade since its creation. His belief, in

<sup>121</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter: John to Ann, 16<sup>th</sup>, July, 1841, A103:V3052/3 for the reference to Cannings' arrival.

<sup>122</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, John to Mackenzie, 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1861.

<sup>123</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*., Letter, Edwin to John, 11<sup>th</sup> May, 1863.



1857, that many of its members were ‘robbers... [who wanted] to dip a little too freely into the pockets of the squatters ... to take our runs and throw them open to purchase’ was reinforced, in 1860, by his careful reading of a draft of Sir John Robertson’s controversial Free Selection Act, which passed into law in the following year.<sup>124</sup> He was convinced that ‘they have fixed upon one class only in the community to bleed freely to make up the deficiencies in the revenue’.

Of greatest concern, however, were his problems with Edwin, whose record-keeping, presentation of accounts and willingness to submit to his elder brothers’ guidance failed to meet John’s stringent expectations. The difficulties of maintaining active involvement in a property so separated by distance and time, which were clear to John Everett when he relinquished his share of Biddesden, affected his ability to be involved in decisions about Ollera. The tensions which can be read between the lines of his letters ‘home’ in the mid-1850s were heightened by events in the early 1860s. Given the circumstances, friction was probably inevitable for, despite all his admirable qualities, John Everett was a leader, with a dominant personality. He was also clearly frustrated and very disappointed at his physical inability to remain at Ollera where, with his new wife, he had intended to make his home. Although he returned to the station only once when he accompanied his son Arthur on his emigration to Australia in 1881, for the rest of his life the older man remained closely involved in the station’s affairs. Not only did he report regularly upon the progress of the various Australian trees, shrubs and wallabies that struggled to survive in the grounds of Colbury House, his home near Southampton but, with his children, he often relaxed at ‘Ollera’, a slab and bark replica of his New England home which stood somewhat incongruously in his English garden.<sup>125</sup> Indeed some of the letters which were written by his daughter, Constance, in the second quarter of the twentieth century were written from there.<sup>126</sup> Matters were made worse by the fact that Edwin was not only as headstrong and determined as John, but also exhibited the all-too-common rebelliousness which almost certainly resulted from his position as the youngest of nine brothers. As the man on the spot he also held all the cards when decisions were made and, as we have seen, he possessed a half-share in the business founded by his brothers.<sup>127</sup> Although few of the letters written in the early 1860s remain, those

<sup>124</sup> Ollera Station Records, Letter, John to Rev. Charles, 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1859, *UNERA*, A103:V3052/3.

<sup>125</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Photograph taken in the late 1870s-early 1880s, of family group with ‘Ollera’ in the background in the possession of Mr. and Mrs Skipper, Ollera Station homestead, Guyra.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Ollera Station Records, Fragment of a Letter from ‘Constance’ in England c.1940-45, *UNERA*, A103:V1199/10.

that survive provide evidence of his attitude. The truculent tone with which he began a reply to John's query about delay in the receipt of a promised remittance makes this clear.

... I will not be sending £100 each to George and yourself [as] I promised but because of John's orders (sic) to draw heavily on the wool to pay Cheeseborough (sic) I couldn't do both.'<sup>128</sup>

Edwin's capacity to 'misunderstand', to his own advantage, the finer details of important agreements reached by the partners and to resent being reminded of the obligations they entailed exacerbated a problem which coalesced around the brothers' purchase of Tenterden station in mid-1862. However in spite the financial exigencies which had accompanied its much-increased acreage, the firm of 'GJE' and the run on which it had been founded were well-placed to benefit from the experience gained in the previous quarter-century. Ollera had weathered both the hardships of its establishment decade and the many challenges inherent in its second developmental decade and could look forward with confidence to an even more profitable future. Even the outward appearance of the homestead and its surrounds had changed. Not only were the gardens more established and the carefully-tended English trees growing taller, but the homestead itself had been extended to accommodate the Mackenzies and the first two of their many children.<sup>129</sup> Much produce was grown at a home farm which had been successfully established on a fertile reach of Sandy Creek and named Tangley in honour of Biddesden's neighbouring parish. However most of the station's wheat was no longer ground on site, but was taken to Allingham's mill in Armidale.<sup>130</sup> While the number of cattle and horses increased steadily the focus was once again on the production of wool from the twin stations' rapidly increasing flocks. In mid-1863, as the worst of the partners' financial problems eased, Edwin was confident that,

'... this Xmas I hope to be nearer square and as we have 200 wool bales which we intend to fill and now about 29,500 sheep, I hope to give a better return next year ...[and] take £10 a bale all around'.<sup>131</sup>

The number of workers needed to manage the two properties had increased and the composition of the workforce had changed. Between July and December, 1862 the names of seventy-four men were entered in the Weekly Ration Book. Fifteen were issued with rations for the whole six months; one for from three to six months; five were rationed for three consecutive

<sup>128</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, Edwin to John, 7<sup>th</sup> May, 1862. Original emphasis.

<sup>129</sup> See illustration, 'Ollera in 1860', opposite p.180. Ollera Station Records, *UNERA*; A103:FP5; Diary of James Mackenzie, 1862-87, A103:V3052/23-24; Cane, *op. cit.*, p.87

<sup>130</sup> Ollera Station Records, Account Book, 1841-72, successive entries for 1855-62, *UNERA*, A103:V2259.

<sup>131</sup> *Everett Records Guyra*, Letter, Edwin to John, 11<sup>th</sup> May, 1863.

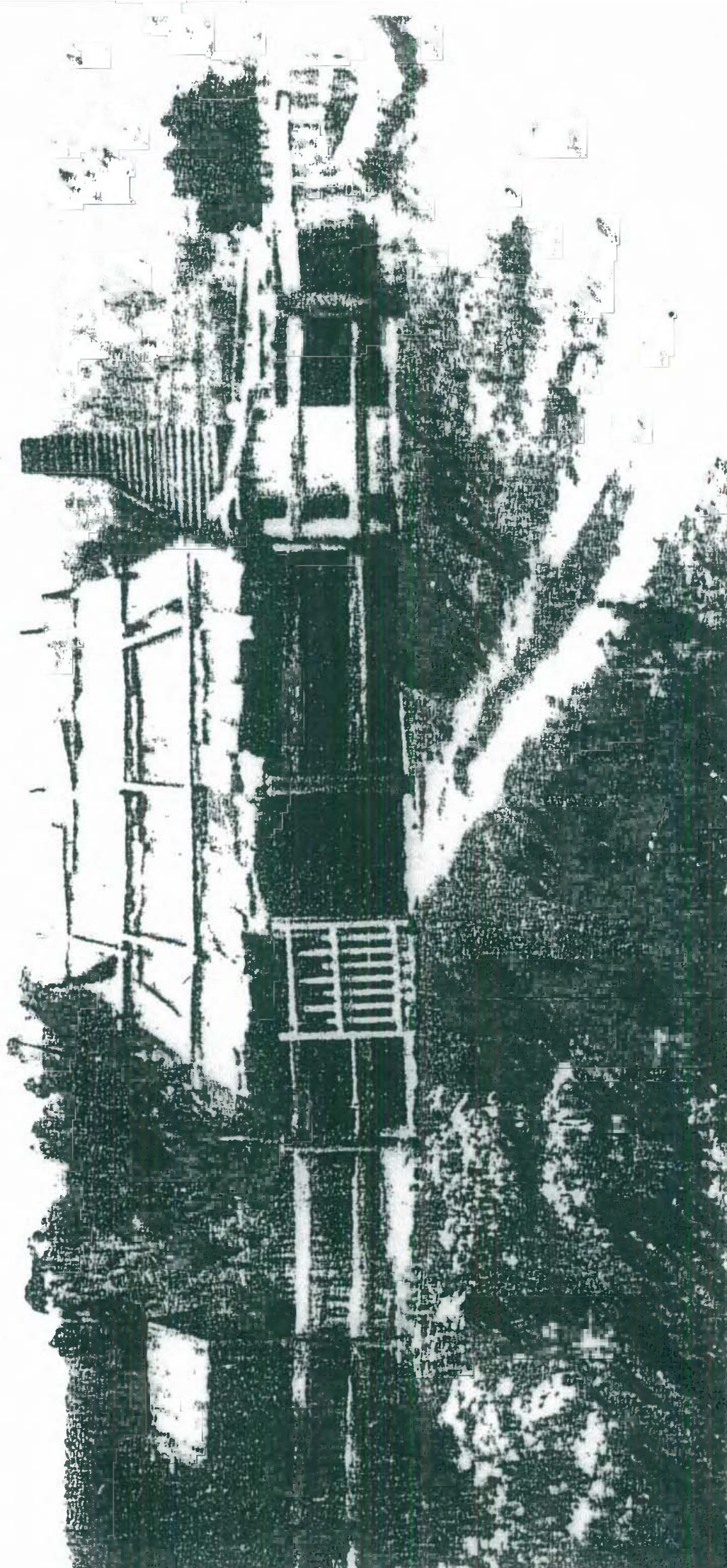
months; and the remaining forty-three for from one week to two months.<sup>132</sup> Most of those in the last category were employed in activities associated with shearing and washing in November. Twenty-one were engaged as shearers. While the racial mix remained largely unchanged, with five Chinese and at least five Banbai being named, the nature of the European component had changed significantly. Many more family groups, some of whom were represented by three to five workers, appeared on the list of workmen. (See Appendix K, below) The sons of the Ramages, Clarks, Kellys, Weekes and the prolific Dawsons had joined their confreres the Reeves, Grays, Matleys and the Lansleys to work beside their fathers on the station where they had made their home. It is to their living standards and conditions that we must now turn.

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<sup>132</sup> Ollera Station Records, Ration Issue Book, July, 1862-Jan, 1863, *UNERA*, A103:V2276.



SHEPHERD'S COTTAGE, OLLER STATION, G. LOW