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Cameo in the possession of Mrs Nancy Ramage said to have been a gift of Captain Thomas Rowley to his bride.

Thomas Rowley came to the colony in 1792 being the first Adjutant of the New South Wales Corps. During a tour of duty in Norfolk Island, he acted as Lieutenant - Governor of that settlement. He commanded the Sydney Loyal Association Company, our first militia unit; subsequently, he was Captain - Commandant of that Association. He was one of the first officers to receive a land grant, becoming a major landholder - his "Burwood Farm" gave the name to the Sydney suburb of Burwood. In addition, he held land at Newtown and "Banks Town". He was a founder of the pastoral industry - his were the first merinos in Australia. It seems likely that, through his support, his assigned convict, Simeon Lord, first trod the pathway leading to his becoming a notable Sydney trader. Rowley himself was a prominent officer trader. He died before the arrival of Governor Bligh, so played no part in the deposition of the Governor. His friends however played significant roles and this delayed the finalisation of his estate and brought other consequences for his friends.

Jan A. Ramage

INTRODUCTION

0.01 The recent gift to my wife of a cameo brooch, said to have been a present from Captain Thomas Rowley to his bride, led to my making enquiries about my wife's great great great grandfather. Many of the stories which accompanied the gift were subsequently found to have little foundation but my enquiries produced much information which may prove of sufficient interest to others to justify my writing this tale of a man who played no small part in the establishment of the Colony of New South Wales.

0.02

In consequence, this Cameo
of
CAPTAIN THOMAS ROWLEY (? - 1806)
is dedicated to the memory of his son
THOMAS ROWLEY (1794 - 1862)
his grandson
HORATIO NELSON ROWLEY (1831 – 1887)
his great grand-daughter
ELIZA SMITH (nee ROWLEY) (1868 - 1921)
his great great grandson
LESLIE JOHN SMITH (1891 - 1944)
and is written for the information
of
his great great great grand-daughter, my wife
NANCY RAMAGE (*nee* SMITH)
his great great great great grandchildren, our children
RAYMOND JOHN ALASTAIR RAMAGE
JUDITH ANNE RAMAGE
DAVID ANDREW RAMAGE
and his great great great great great grand-daughters, our grand-daughters
ALICIA JANE RAMAGE
LAUREN ELIZABETH RAMAGE

0.03 Preface to Second Edition: I have taken advantage of a request for reprinting to correct one or two errors of fact to which my attention has been drawn by some of the many interested descendants who have contacted me following the issue of the first edition.

For ease of reference, I have retained the paragraph numbering used previously. Where a paragraph has been substantially changed or supplemented, I have added an asterisk. For example, the error in para 9.06 in attributing a land grant to Thomas Rowley II when he would have been nine years of age, instead of to Captain Rowley, has been corrected in paragraph 9.06*.

Where new material has been inserted, as this preface, and the numbering sequence has allowed, a new number has been allocated. Paragraphs 16.29-42 are examples. Where a new paragraph has been inserted between continuing text, e.g. between 16.12 and 16.13, it has been numbered 16.125.

I particularly record my appreciation of correspondence with two Rowley descendants, Mr John Gray and the Reverend Ross Mackay.

0.04 Following the production of a "Second Edition", a change of jobs prevented me from continuing my study of Thomas Rowley - and I never returned to the serious study I had intended. From time to time however, as fresh information came to hand, I included this in the manuscript in bold type.

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1. THOMAS ROWLEY

1.01 Little is known of Rowley prior to his joining the New South Wales Corps. He was described in the *London Gazette* in the announcement of the appointment of officers of the Corps as a "gentleman". As to whether this was a generic term for those who did not already hold a commission, or a true description, H. W. H. Huntington, in an unpublished manuscript, written in 1918, includes the comments:-

“there are records of those who were intimate with him that his deportment, conversation, opinions, and habits, proved he was trained by his parents to simple and truest wisdom which good mothers can best teach. In all his transactions in New South Wales, he despised all danger in the path of duty and his actions were consistent, open and direct for he was not of that school of time-serving military officers with whom policy is more worth than sincerity and truth.” (1)

(1) Huntington p 5

1.02 What a pity the records of his intimates have not, it would seem, been preserved for many of the statements of the flattering biographer seem at conflict with other comments.

1.03 Whereas Brian Fletcher in his entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* gives Rowley's birth-date as “1748?” - John Ritchie in the index to *The Evidence to the Bigge Reports* repeats this - Huntington says “he was born in the year 1753” and this **is implied** on his tombstone, erected in 1884, when the remains were re-interred. Another report sets his birth-date as 1756. Again, whereas Huntington suggests that Rowley “was much better educated than his brother officers in the Colony”, Fletcher makes the point that the “singularly poor grammar and spelling in his letters indicate that he could not have been well educated.”

1.035 John Gray, a descendant who has done a considerable amount of research, suggests that Captain Rowley may be identical with the "Thomas Rowley", the son of George Rowley and Elizabeth (nee Friend) who was baptised at Kingston Upon Thames on 24 January, 1747 and I believe that this is likely. Rowley called his first farm "Kingston Farm" - to honour his birthplace ? - and his second, "Burwood Farm". Less than ten kilometres from Kingston Upon Thames are the villages Burgh Heath and Kingswood. Today, "Burwood Park" in England is operated by the Burbill Estates Co Ltd, no doubt Burbill being a similar contraction of Burgh Heath and Walton On The Hill.

Further support for John Gray's suggestion comes from the close proximity of the village of Croydon, from which Major Grose came, and the knowledge that the appointment of the Adjutant was in the personal right of Grose.

The following tree was compiled by John Gray.

Anthony Rowley - m - Mary Dennis 22.12.1706				
Anthony	Hanford	George -	m	Elizabeth Friend
baptised	baptised	baptised		27.12.1739
23.11.1709	29.8.1711	24.7.1717		at Godalming
at Kingston	at Kingston	at Kingston		.
Upon Thames	Upon Thames	Upon Thames		.
	.			
	.			
George	George	THOMAS ROWLEY		James
baptised	baptised	baptised		baptised
25.12.1743	16.6.1745	24.1.1747		6.6.1753
at Godalming	at Godalming	at Kingston		at Kingston
		Upon Thames		Upon Thames

1.04 A letter accompanying Huntington's manuscript, addressed to a descendant, refers to "some extracts from my bulky records connected with the life and work of your ancestor" but since the work is noteworthy for the things which it does not say, it is reasonable to assume that the author may have been charitably selective in what may have been a commissioned biography.

1.05 The Mitchell Library index on Captain Rowley contains the following reference:-

"Lieutenant of Marines 1786. Entries in Register of Greenwich Naval School 1873-1886 - *Bonwick Transcripts Biography Vol 2* p 448 (A20000-2)"

which suggest that perhaps Rowley was on half-pay from the Marines prior to joining the N. S. W. Corps. The Librarian of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, could find no trace of Thomas Rowley in her records.

Recently (1994), John Gray contacted a descendant who was in possession of what was reported as being Captain Rowley's sword. It was suggested that Rowley had, in fact been a Naval officer. According to John Gray's informant, Rowley had fought a duel - his sword bears evidence of having been used for such a purpose - and he had been allowed to leave the Navy upon joining the New South Wales Corps.

To confuse the issue, "Old Chum" writing in *Truth* (1a) says, "There is a legend that Captain Rowley was a non- commissioned officer in the British Army who, being an excellent drill, was given a commission as adjutant and lieutenant in the 'Botany Bay' Corps."

(1a) "Truth" 18/4/1909

1.06 There were two Rowleys who arrived in the colony in 1790 as convicts aboard the Second Fleet. On board the *Surprise* was William Rowley who was sentenced to seven years on 23 May, 1787 at the Old Bailey. Thomas Rowley, also sentenced to seven years - the terms tended to be 7, 14 or life - was transported on the *Neptune*. This has led more than one person to entertain the notion that Adjutant Rowley enlisted for service in New South Wales in order to watch over his convict son. It is easy then to suppose that Adjutant Rowley had a wife who was among those who died aboard the ship on which they came to the colony. ("By the time she reached Rio de Janeiro, probably in the middle of October, 13 soldiers, five soldiers' wives and seven seamen had died...") (2)

(2) Bateson p 125

1.065 There is a record in the register of St Philip's of the burial on 20 September, 1822, of Thomas Rowley, aged 39 years, a corporal in the Marines.

1.07 One family myth was that our ancestor had "commanded the Second Fleet". This is perhaps explained by the reference to the Naval Captain Rowley in the *Sydney Gazette* :-

27th August, 1809: " ... we are informed that the blockade of the Mauritius had been very strict, effected by the *Raisonable*, 64 guns, Captain Rowley;"

30th June, 1810: "On the 4th of May Capt. Garbut fell in with His Majesty's frigate *Boadicea*, Captain ROWLEY ... Her station was off the Mauritius, she being one of the squadron of frigates which protect our East India commerce from comparative annihilation..."

1.08 The naval Captain Rowley, later Admiral Sir Josias Rowley, was a member of a distinguished naval family. "He was borne on the books of the *Monarch*, then commanded by his uncle, Sir Joshua Rowley, from November 1777 to December 1778, though it is doubtful if he actually served in her.... (he) was commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean from December 1833 to February 1837, a command which then carried with it the G.C.M.G., ... was made a G.C.B. on 4 July, 1840 and died... 10 Jan, 1842." (3)

(3) D N B XVII pp 361/2

2. N. S. W. CORPS

2.01 On 5 June, 1789, Major Francis Grose was commanded to raise the New South Wales Corps of Foot for service in the infant colony. Initially, the Corps was to comprise four companies. The Secretary of War, Sir George Yonge, wrote to Grose on 8 June :

"Yourself and the three Captains now to be appointed by his Majesty will each be required to raise a complete company (viz. three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers and sixty-seven private men) in aid of the expenses of which you will be allowed to name the Lieutenant and Ensign of your respective companies and to receive from the public three guineas for every recruit approved at the headquarters of the Corps by a General or Field Officer appointed for that purpose."

2.02

"In addition Grose was to be allowed the privilege, whatever it may have been worth, of nominating the Adjutant, Quarter-Master, and Chaplain." (4)

(4) Britton p 91

Rowley was nominated Adjutant.

2.03 Rowley's initial appointment was simply as "Adjutant", apparently a "staff" appointment without **military rank** - and it appears to date from the inception of the Corps, 5 June, 1789. He is included on the "Muster-roll of his Majesty's New South Wales Corps of Foot, for 203 days, from 5th June to 24th December, 1789, inclusive." (5)

[Check AJCP Reel - listed WO 12/11028 Reel 417]

(5) HRNSW II p 433

Huntington suggest that Rowley had first "tendered his services as a recruiting officer" "in January. 1789".

2.04 In the listing of the Corps as at 21 December, 1796 (6), it is implied that Rowley's commission as a Lieutenant ("Lieutenant and Adjutant") was granted on 6 April, 1791. Promotion to Captain followed on 21 June, 1796 (7) although a later reference (8) gives the date, 29 September, 1796. Probably the first date relates to local rank and the latter date to that on the Army list.

(6) HRNSW III p 187

(7) HRNSW III p 526

(8) HRNSW III p 336

2.045 A study of the Army Lists for the years 1797 to 1801 gives the date of Rowley's appointment as Adjutant as 5 June, 1789. On 5 January, 1791, he was appointed an "Ensign" and, a few months later, on 6 April, 1791, a "Lieutenant". In the 1797 List, his promotion to "Captain" is dated 29 September, 1796 although in the 1798 and later Lists, the date is given as 21 June, 1796.

2.05 The promotion to Captain appears to have been made possible by the enlargement of the Corps, approval having been given on 10 June, 1796 to the raising of two additional companies. The General Return of 21 August, 1801, shows that the strength had increased to nine companies, each with an establishment of seventy.

Rowley's various promotions led to increases in pay. The annual cost of the establishment was listed by Sir George Yonge in a letter to the Treasury dated 20 May, 1789 (8b) -

Adjutant £68:10:10; lieutenant £79:19:4; captain £171:7:1. Privates cost £9:2:6 per annum, i.e. 6d per day.

(8b) HRNSW I 2 p 232

2.06 This return indicates that the companies were nominally commanded by Colonel Grose, Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, Major Foveaux, Captains Johnston, Macarthur, Townson, Abbott, Rowley and Prentice. Of these nine, Grose had been on leave since 15 December, 1794. Foveaux was with the detachment on Norfolk Island, Macarthur was at Parramatta while Johnston, Townson and Prentice were on leave. Thus the senior officers in Sydney were Paterson, Abbott and Rowley.

2.07 Each company had one lieutenant and one ensign on strength. Of the lieutenants, Kemp was on leave and three officers, each described as "Lieutenant – dead" were listed under the heading "Vacant Officers, and by what means"! The ten ensigns, including one local appointment made by Governor King, were over strength, but four ensigns were at Norfolk Island and one was serving with Macarthur, at Parramatta.

2.08 If at this time, Rowley was "ill", the question might well be asked "How well guarded was Sydney Town?" In 1802, Rowley resigned his commission, Fletcher suggesting that "He probably found it difficult to combine full military duties with other pursuits." (9)

(9) ADB 2 p 403

3. THE PITT

3.01 It had initially been intended to send all four companies of the N. S. W. Corps to Sydney by the end of 1789. "Writing to Phillip on 24th December of that year, Grenville (Secretary of State for the Home Department) informed him that a detachment consisting of about one hundred officers and men, had been put on board the *Surprize*, *Scarborough*, and *Neptune*, and that the remainder, consisting of upwards of two hundred more would embark at Portsmouth, on board His Majesty's Ship, *Gorgon*, in the course of a few days." (10)

(10) Britton p 102

3.02 *The Surprize, Scarborough and Neptune* arrived in Sydney towards the end of June, 1790 but Grose and the remainder of the Corps remained at Chatham Barracks and afterwards at Forton Barracks.

"Instead of coming out at the time proposed, Grose remained in England until July, 1791, when he took his passage in the *Pitt*. In November, 1790, he represented to Nepean (Under-Secretary of the Admiralty) the poor character of the 'accommodations' allotted to himself and his brother officers on board the *Gorgon*." (11)

(11) Britton p 105

"Adjutant Rowley reported that the vessel was without an eligible place for the military to dine in and that the Major and his officers would have to be turned into the gun-room for living on boardship." (12)

(12) Huntington p 13

In Surgeon Harris' letter written August, 1791 to Captain Hill, then at Norfolk Island, Harris suggests that "the detainment of the Corps so long was owing to there(?) being draughted to serve as Marines on the Grand Fleet which was the grandest ever produced in Europe in so short a time." (12a)

(12a) ML Mss A 1597 p 12)

"At the time she was taken up, the *Pitt* was the largest vessel so far employed in the convict service" (13), being of 775 tons and under the command of Captain Edward Manning.

(13) Bateson p 123

3.03 Originally embarking 443 men and women, the numbers were reduced following an inspection by three officers under instructions from the Commissioners of the Navy acting upon an anonymous complaint.

"In the prison, the space of a cube of six feet is all that is allowed to eight men and should the 391 men be placed in the prison every berth or space of 18 inches would be occupied; if sickness should happen, a sick and a person in health must touch each other." (14)

(14) Bateson p 124

3.04 Finally, it seems 344 male and 58 female convicts, a total of 402 prisoners sailed from Yarmouth Roads on 17 July, 1791. The women convicts were accommodated in three areas. One of these, intended to house 27 women was 13 ft 7 ins long and 8 ft 4 ins wide! In fact, the accommodation intended for 47 women may have been crowded still further by the remaining 11.

3.05 The voyage was an extended one - 212 days - there being many deaths occurring during the voyage. Smallpox broke out and before reaching St Jago, the largest of the Cape Verd Islands and now known as Santiago, 15 prisoners had died. The soldiers and crew were allowed ashore at St Jago but this respite proved unfortunate for many contracted fever there and 27 died of it within a fortnight, the losses increasing to 32 by the time the ship reached Rio de Janeiro.

Becalmed for almost a month and making no headway, ulcers and scurvy developed. With the crew depleted, convicts were recruited to assist in sailing the ship. Many were put ashore at Rio. Four convicts escaped from the ship but they were believed to have drowned. From Rio, the ship made its way on 1 November via the Cape of Good Hope where it arrived on 25 November, there meeting Captain William Bligh who was in port.

3.06 On arrival at Port Jackson on 14 February, 1792, the *Pitt* "saluted the town with 13 guns." (15) Her losses were heavy. Collins reported that "she brought out three hundred and nineteen male and forty-nine female convicts, five children and seven free women The *Pitt* also brought in many of her convicts sick." (16) Of the 120 sick convicts who disembarked, many died soon after arrival.

(15) Easty quoted in Cobley p 219

(16) Collins 1 pp 201/2

3.07 Major Grose reportedly lost about one-sixth of his detachment which had comprised one company "together with the Adjutant and Surgeon's Mate". (17)

Although Britton says that the company was "under the command of the Adjutant, Lieutenant Rowley", (17a) it seems that in fact the company commander was Captain Hill, as Britton records elsewhere. (17b)

Another report was that "The *Pitt* ... had been very sickly on the passage, and buried thirteen soldiers, seven seamen, twenty male convicts, and nine women." (18)

(17) Cobley p 219

(17a) Britton 1.2 p 212

(17b) Britton 2 p 106

(18) Governor Phillip to Rt Hon Henry Dundas, 19 March. 1792

quoted in HRA I p 336. also HRNSW I 2 p 595

3.08 Surgeon's Mate Edward Laing was aboard the *Pitt*.

"During the sickly passage Adjutant Rowley was the right hand of Surgeon Laing, and he went without fear among the emaciated sick people. Strange to say, the adjutant and the surgeon felt entire confidence in each other, and entered fully into each other's feelings wishes and hopes. They for years lived in the same barracks and pitched their tents alongside the boundaries of their first land grants, next door to each other." (19)

(19) Huntington p 15

4. ELIZABETH SELWYN

4.01

“There were always many more men than women among the convicts transported to New South Wales. But there was no system for determining the proportion between the sexes, nor were there regular timetables for the despatch of the ships. Transports carrying fresh batches of convicts arrived at irregular intervals. Three in 1792 brought 610 men and 123 women.” (20)

(20) Crowley p 86

4.02

“As soon as we came to anchor the decks were crowded with gentlemen settlers & men convicts, who came some to chuse servants, & some to chuse wives, as they please to call them.” (21)

(21) S. Hutchinson to J. Foyle, 5 December. 1798 (Ab 67/15, ML)
quoted by Crowley p 86

4.03

“It has been a common Custom (a Custom that reflects the highest Disgrace upon the British Government in that Colony) that shortly after a Ship has anchored in the Cove with female Convicts; Settlers, Soldiers, and Prisoners, have been permitted to go on Board; and make their respective Selections amongst them; and to induce these poor unfortunate women, some by threats and some by Promises, to accompany them to their Habitations & to become their mistresses: ... It may be alleged, that the female Convicts are very depraved previous to their arrival in N. S. Wales, but all are not equally so; all have not run to the same Excesses of Iniquity; some occasionally are found better disposed.” (22)

(22) Hammersley

4.04 The foregoing quotes ignore the occurrences of the voyage. An unnamed author, in *The Bulletin's* 1888 Centenary publication (*The History of Botany Bay*), writes:-

“In 1806 Captain Bertram, writing about these floating Gomorrahs, has this: ‘The captain and each officer enjoy the right of selection. Thus they continue the habit of concubinage until the convicts arrive at Sydney Town. Each sailor or soldier is permitted to attach himself to one of these females.’”

4.05 Commissioner Bigge recorded that:

“Mr Gyles has asserted that no precautions were adopted by the captain or surgeon to prevent an improper intercourse between the crew and the convicts”

and in the case of the female convict ship *Janus* mention was made of

"the frequency and long duration of the visits of this woman (Mary Long) to the captain's cabin; and it is to be observed, that he has not denied the allegation made by her upon oath, at his being the father of the child with whom she was pregnant when the enquiry took place." (23)

(23) Bigge pp 4/5

4.06 Among the convicts listed in the convict indents for the *Pitt* was

Name:	Selwyn, Elizabeth
Where Sentenced:	City Gloucester at Gloucester
Date:	23rd March, 1791
Term:	7 years

4.07 Her crime was reported in the *Gloucester Journal* of 28 March:

"At our assizes last week, Thomas Creed, for stealing 5 fleeces of wool, Elizabeth Selwyn, Ann Mose and Judith Cowley, for sundry thefts, were sentenced to seven years transportation."

Creed and Cowley were also transported on the *Pitt*.

4.08 In the *Calendar of the Prisoners in the County Gaol* for the Epiphany Sessions, 11 January, 1791, it is recorded that Elizabeth Selwyn was aged 18 and her companion, who was found not guilty, 16. They were committed for trial by "P. Hawker, Clerk" on 14 December, 1790 on suspicion of stealing – "grand larceny and burglary" - with Elizabeth Selwyn convicted of the lesser crime of grand larceny at the Lent Assizes, 1791. According to the record, she was sentenced "to be transported beyond the seas for seven years."

4.09 The indictment reads:-

"Gloucestershire - The Jurors for our Lord the King upon their Oath present that Elizabeth Selwyn /Guilty of the simple felony only - To be transported beyond the seas for seven years/ late of the parish of Cherrington in the county of Gloucester spinster and Elizabeth Evans /Not guilty/ late of the same spinster on the fifteenth day of September in the thirtieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third King of Great Britain etc about the hour of one in the Night of the same day at the Parish aforesaid in the County aforesaid being in the Dwelling House of one James Brown there situate one cotton gown of the value of fourteen shillings four yards of striped serge of the value of five shillings two pairs of women's shoes of the value of three shillings one woman's hat of the value of sixpence one serge cloak of the value of three shillings one pair of scissors of the value of sixpence one linen shift of the value of one shilling one holland shirt of the value of two shillings two pairs of stockings of the value of two shillings three linen caps of the value of three shillings and two yards of ribband of the value of sixpence of the goods and chattels of the said James Brown in the said Dwelling House then and there being with force and arms feloniously did steal take and carry away and that the said Elizabeth Selwyn and Elizabeth Evans being so as

aforesaid in the said Dwelling House and having committed the Felony aforesaid in manner and form aforesaid They the said Elizabeth Selwyn and Elizabeth Evans afterwards to wit on the same day and year aforesaid about the Hour of two in the Night of the same day with force and Arms at the Parish aforesaid the same Dwelling House then and there feloniously and burglariously did break to get out of the same against the form of the statute in such Case made and provided and against the peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.

W:J:

4.10 Knowing that the *Pitt* arrived in Sydney on 14 February, 1792, St Valentines Day, and in the light of the following extracts from Cobley's chronology of events in 1792 (24), it is not difficult to believe that Thomas Rowley "selected" Elizabeth Selwyn.

Monday, 19 November

...
Elizabeth Selwin gave birth to a daughter

...
Monday, 17 December

...
The daughter of Thomas Rowley and Elizabeth Selwin was christened Isabella Rowley.

The baptism took place at St Philip's Church.

4.11 The liaison was not atypical. Crowley (25) reports that:-

"In September, 1807 the total population of Sydney, Parramatta, the Hawkesbury and Newcastle was 7,563. About two thousand were convicts under sentence, 673 of them being assigned to private employers. About 500 of the convicts were women. It was estimated by G. H. Hamersley, in a paper prepared by the Colonial Office in London, that the total number of women in the colony was about 1,430, including the wives of officers and free settlers; the number of married women amongst them was 395, and unmarried women, 1,035. The total number of legitimate children was 807, and natural children, 1,025."

(25) Crowley 1 p 153

4.12 Isabella was the first of five children of Thomas Rowley and Elizabeth Selwyn. At the age of 14 1/2, on 3 May, 1807, she married Lieutenant William Ellison, R.N., at St Philip's Church, **the officiating minister being the Reverend Henry Fulton**. The marriage was **subsequently** the subject of strong criticism by the Reverend Fulton. **He** was an Irish rebel who had been transported in 1799, who wrote a letter, somewhat lacking in Christian charity, to Viscount Castlereagh on 14 February, 1809. Fulton, a Bligh supporter who was the first to be arrested by the rebels, was complaining of the "great loss and damage" suffered by him as a consequence of being ordered out of the Barracks. Not surprisingly, he could not find anything favourable to say of the rebels.

4.13

"The officers of His Majesty's ship *Porpoise* being intimate friends of the New South Wales Corps, and of John McArthur, Esq'r, also joined them in supporting the rebellion. ... Kent and Ellison were members of their Criminal Courts,.... We cannot wonder that naval officers, without any resentment, will suffer themselves to be accounted inferior to the military. Doctor Harris and Major Johnstone encouraged Lieutenant Ellison, of *H.M.S. Porpoise*, to marry a lady whose mother was a convict, and were present at the marriage, though they would not suffer an officer of the New South Wales Corps to do the same." (26)

(26) HRNSW VII pp 28 and 31

4.135 The *Pioneer Register* of the 1788-1820 Association notes (26a) that prior to serving in *Porpoise*, Ellison had been on HMS *Lady Nelson*.

(26a) Pioneer Register - 1788-1820 Chronology
- Naval Forces stationed in N.S.W.

4.14 A few months prior to Fulton's letter, Isabella had died, the *Sydney Gazette* of 30 October, 1808 reporting her demise as follows. -

"DIED

On Wednesday morning, Mrs ELLISTON, wife of Lieutenant ELLISTON of His Majesty's ship *Porpoise*, and eldest daughter of the late Captain THOMAS ROWLEY. This young lady was only in her 17th year; and for the last twelvemonth had laboured under the indisposition which has at length terminated her existence in the very bud of her youth. Her disposition was amiable; her manners gentle; and her patient resignation during the whole period of her affliction, was almost unexampled. The funeral, which took place on Thursday evening, was numerously attended by persons of the first respectability, who participated in the sorrows of those, who by the dearest ties were more immediately interested in the melancholy event."

4.15 The remaining children were named Thomas (born 12 August, 1794), John (Born at Sydney Cove on 28 November, 1797), Mary (born at Kingston on 18 March, 1800) and Eliza (also born at Kingston in 1804). Some details of them and their descendants are given in Chapter 16.

4.16 What of the role of Elizabeth Selwyn? Whether she assisted Rowley in his trading and other activities, we do not know. Certainly, the convict mistresses of many of the officers were often used to ensure that the officers' hands remained clean. John Palmer, in evidence to the Committee on Transportation, said:-

"the officers did not exactly sell it (spirits) themselves, but they kept women, and these women used to dispose of it, which was the same thing."

4.165 In a "List of Convicts with Absolute Emancipation", Elizabeth Selwyn is reported as having been emancipated by Lt-G Grose and "Gone to England". Since Grose left the colony in December, 1794, it would seem that Elizabeth Selwyn served less than half her sentence. (26b)

(26b) Society of Australian Genealogists

4.17 The Reverend Richard Johnson, writing to Jonathan Stonard on 11 August, 1794, reported:-

"many of our officers have turned merchants, storekeepers etc - wholesale and retail dealers in spirituous Liquors - a convict can go & purchase a Bottle, a pint of Rum from an officer or gentleman. Some, not quite so open, employ their washerwomen or others in this way - & in this way many are making their fortunes." (27)

(27) ML Mss B 1351 p 18

4.18 Brian Fletcher (28), writing of Simeon Lord, says that Rowley "placed him in charge of his retail businesses" which implies that Elizabeth may have played a lesser role.

(28) Fletcher "Colonial Australia" p 37

4.19 George Suttor, a farmer gaoled for failing to attend a muster in 1808, analysed the broader causes of the Rum Rebellion in the following account:-

"One of the first causes of our present evils was the Officers of the Establishment connecting themselves with the Convict women, with whom they think it is no disgrace openly to co-habit and appear in public as though they were their lawful wives; and indeed, these women have a much greater influence over them than a Virtuous Woman, and instigate them to things which a Virtuous Woman would be ashamed of. This brought on a connection with the other Class of Convicts, and laid the foundation for dealing and extortion, and made the Interest of the Officers and Convicts inseparable...." (29)

(29) quoted in HRA I VII p 136

5. THE HONOUR OF THE REGIMENT

5.01 Of the quality of the New South Wales Corps, much has been written. Governor Hunter protested in August, 1796 against “characters who have been considered as disgraceful to every other regiment in His Majesty's service” being “thought fit and proper recruits for the New South Wales Corps ... being superior in every species of infamy to the most expert in wickedness among the convicts.” (30)

(30) Governor Hunter to the Duke of Portland quoted in HRA I I p 574

5.02 The officers may have been of better stuff. Grose had been twice wounded in the American War of Independence and, on being declared unfit for other service, had two years' recruiting service. Macarthur undoubtedly was of considerable ability.

5.03 Joseph Holt, the Irish rebel General, however described the officers as "all those old tailors, and shoemakers, staymakers, man-milliners, tobacconists, and pedlars, that were called captains and lieutenants" (31) while the editor of Holt's memoirs included the following quote from Dunmore Lang's Account of New South Wales:-

"commissions were consequently procurable, in the New South Wales Corps, on much easier terms than in certain other military bodies, such as the Guards or the Blues. It was therefore, quite possible that gentlemen might have found their way into that corps, who possessed only in a very limited degree, that honourable high-mindedness, which should ever constitute the proud distinction of the British Officer; combining as he is supposed to do, the elegant accomplishments of the scholar, with the unexceptionable morals of the reputable citizen, and holding in equal abhorrence the practices of the pettifogging dealer, and the profligate rake. And if such was actually the case, it was not to be wondered at, that members of the corps I allude to, should, in the process of time be found sullyng their hands, with the slime of colonial pollution, and banding together on every proper occasion, to maintain by violence, or injustice, what they had obtained by the sacrifice of honour."

(31) Joseph Holt II pp 296/7

5.04 Probably Brian Fletcher gives the most balanced summary when he writes:

"Some writers believe that the rank and file was composed of the dregs of the army and that it included a high proportion of men taken from the Savoy military prison. M. H. Ellis regards the Corps as the equal of other British regiments, but, as A. G. L. Shaw has pointed out, to say this of a period when the whole army was noted for insubordination and dissoluteness is scarcely to restore the reputation of the Corps. Similar disagreement centres around its role in the colony. While historians such as M. H. Ellis have found much to commend in its pursuits, others, like George Mackaness, view it as bringing little but harm.

"Much work needs to be done on the composition and background of the Corps before the dispute about its quality can be resolved. From the military standpoint it had functioned effectively and had proved more co-operative than the troublesome marine corps. The decision of the British Government to allow the

officers land grants also had much to recommend it. Not all acquired farms, but those who did so worked enthusiastically and with exemplary effect. They helped make the colony self-sufficient and were among its best farmers. Some of their number were outstanding stock breeders and imported not only the first merino sheep but also quality cattle and thoroughbred horses. Against this must be balanced the ill-consequences of their trading activities for the rest of the community. Moreover, the fact that they had been allowed to establish an interest in the economy gave them unwarranted power and brought them into conflict with the civil authority they undermined. The British government should have recalled the Corps long before Bligh was overthrown. Its failure to do so resulted from the pressures of war which made it difficult to spare other troops for service in so unimportant a theatre.” (32)

(32) Fletcher "Colonial Australia" p 44

5.05 Perhaps aboriginal admiration of the officers was shown by the many natives who adopted the names of officers. Judge Advocate Collins wrote in his journal (33), that a native, Gnung-a-gnung-a or Mur-re-mur-gan, was called, "even among his own people:", "Colins", while Carradah "Exchanged names with Mr Ball (who commanded the *Supply*)" although the name was "corrupted into Midjer Bool". (34)

(33) Collins I p 299

(34) Collins I p 328

5.06 Rowley was similarly honoured, although the native "Tom Rowley" was murdered in October, 1797. Collins records the event:-

“Two men were tried for having killed a native youth well known in the settlement [by the name of Tom Rowley (after one of the officers of the regiment.) He had accompanied Mr Raven, in the *Britannia*, to Bengal, in the year 1795.]; but it appearing to the Court that he had been accidentally shot, they were acquitted. The natives certainly behaved ill, and often provoked the death which they met with; but there was not any necessity for wantonly destroying them, a circumstance which it was feared had but too often occurred.” (35)

(35) Collins II p 39

6. A RUM CORPS

6.01 The New South Wales Corps is better known as the “Rum Corps”, such were the efforts of the officers to fulfil Mrs Macarthur's “very reasonable expectation of reaping the most material advantages” (36) from their joining the Corps.

(36) Macarthur Onslow p 2 - letter E. Macarthur - Mrs Veale 8/10/1779

6.02

"At first the principal traders were the paymaster, John Macarthur, and the company commanders, Paterson, Johnston, Foveaux and Rowley, though Lieutenant Abbott and both company surgeon Harris and civil surgeon Balmain also appear to have taken part in it. As Mrs Macarthur put it candidly in 1798: 'This country possesses numerous advantages to persons holding appointments under government' (37) and Mr Macarthur had 'a handsome addition to his income by having the payment of a Company and transacting the business of Paymaster to the Regiment.' (38) In January, 1800, he was succeeded as Paymaster by William Cox, who had formerly been an ensign in Macarthur's old regiment, the 68th Foot - and these two were the largest purchasers of land in the colony." (39)

(37) Macarthur Onslow p 46 - ltr E. Macarthur - Miss Kingdon 1/9/1795

(38) Macarthur Onslow p 43 - ltr from E. Macarthur 21/12/1793

(39) Shaw p 102

6.03

“The beginning of the officers' trading was probably in April, 1792 when Captain Manning of the *Pitt* received Paymaster's bills for £1,440 prior to his departure for Bengal. The following officers at least were involved (in amounts shown to the nearest pound):

Captain Nepean (£337)
Adjutant Rowley (£295)
Lieutenant Laycock (£60)
Ensign McKellar (£22)

Captain Hill (£308)
Lieutenant Beckwith (£66)
Lieutenant Laing (£30)
Ensign Piper (£20).

6.04

"In October that year the *Royal Admiral* arrived with a cargo. Shops were opened in Sydney and Parramatta to retail her cargo, and when licences were issued for the sale of her porter the licensees (whose identity has not survived) took the opportunity to sell spirits as well." (40)

(40) Hainsworth p 22 (his ref, ML Macarthur Papers A2999 pp 6-18)

6.05 Since Rowley would have been closely associated with Captain Manning aboard the *Pitt*, and in view of the high level of his participation in the venture, it seems not unlikely that he may well have taken an entrepreneurial role. Not that Captain Manning needed any introduction to trade. M. Barnard Eldershaw reports that as soon as the ship arrived in 1792, "The first act of the master of the *Pitt*, even before he unloaded necessities, was to open a shop with merchandise of all sorts that he had brought as a speculation. He did a roaring trade at high prices, and cleared something like £4,000." (41)

(41) Eldershaw p12

6.06 The mechanics of officer trading are explained by D. R. Hainsworth:-

"The problem of sterling was probably the cause of the officers getting an early monopoly of the import Trade. There were two chief sources of sterling in the colony: Paymaster's bills drawn on the Corps' banker-agents in London, and secondly, and by far the larger, Treasury bills drawn by the Governor to pay for goods and services, and particularly grain and meat supplied to the Commissariat Store. The Paymaster's bills were entirely under the control of the senior officers of the corps, and this source of readily acceptable sterling bills gave the group its commercial start. Once they had begun to trade, however, the first source of sterling gave them the opportunity of exploiting the second. The goods bought with Paymaster's bills could be sold to the settlers, or dealers of various kinds, for grain. The grain could be placed in the Store in exchange for receipts which the Governor would later consolidate into Treasury Bills with which further goods could be bought.

6.07

"In the 1790s, the officers tended to be a funnel through which imported goods flowed out to the settler and through which in return grain and meat flowed back from the settler to the Commissariat." (42)

(42) Hainsworth p 25

6.08 On 18 June, 1798, all the military officers and "some of the principal inhabitants" entered into an "Agreement Between Officers and Others" (43) whereby, to stop the Sydney traders competing among themselves for cargoes, two nominated representatives of the "ring" boarded all incoming ships to buy whatever merchandise they considered profitable. Governor Hunter approved the agreement having been "assured by the officers that they will most readily stand forward in behalf of the whole colony."

(43) HRNSW III pp 405/6

6.09 The following are some of the items recorded as having been traded by Rowley:-

138 lbs. Soap @ 9d (Sold to the Orphan Fund on 5 February, 1803 for £5: 4: 6, the mistake in the extension being Rowley's way.)

1 chest of tea for £25 (Sold to the Orphan Fund presumably as agent for M. (W. ?) Tough on 15 August, 1803.) (44)

A quantity of east India Tobacco, in bags (for sale by Auction by Simeon Lord in front of the Bond Store on Monday, 12 September, 1803.) (45)

(44) HRA I IV p 601

(45) SG I 28. 11 September, 1803

6.10

"When I arriv'd in the *Reliance* at Port Jackson in 1795, Simeon Lord was a Convict in the service of Capt. Rowley of the New South Wales Corps or had just left him, either his time of servitude being out, or he was emancipated. From his good conduct Capt. Rowley told him if he set him up in any business he would assist him; in consequence he commenced Baker & retailer of spirituous liquors, & I am told he got himself taught to read and write."

Captain Waterhouse (46)

(46) Captain Henry Waterhouse to Sir Joseph Banks (Banks Papers. Brabourne Collection. Vol 4 pp 272/4 ML Mss A 78 -)

6.11 Presumably it was Rowley's generosity to Simeon Lord which is mentioned in a quotation used by William Foster in JRAHS Volume 60, pages 81 and 82. The article details how the officers, having initially cut a Spanish dollar into "six pieces - each of which they pay away as a shilling but receive as 10d only", subsequently used a method of dividing the coin into parts after having cut some of the silver out of the coin in the first instance. Diagrams included in the article illustrate the method which

"Some persons who are acquainted with the parties - say it was discovered by the ingenious Mr McA--- one of the Lieutts in the Corps, others that it was found out by a convict acting as a clerk in the service of the Adjutant, for which he is said to have had a present of a bottle of Grogg and a pair of military shoes from that Gentleman - but the majority say that the Master (Grose?) discovered it himself."

6.12 The same article gives another quotation:-

“In other parts of the world an Officer in the Army is a respectable character because they are Officers in the Army only. But at Port Jackson, it is all one mass - and the whole community Civil Military are properly stiled 'New South Wales Rangers'. The picture I form of an Officer. If married, with a Wife - a farm to exercise his leisure hours upon, and supply his family with grain and stock; is an amiable one. But, an Officer with a prostitute, and illegitimate offspring, Land added to their own possessions, purchased with enormous priced articles of the Soldiers, under their command - Publick duty neglected, The Officer standing forth in different characters - A Publican - Money Lender. Farmer - Chandler. - and an Officer of the New South Wales Corps, forms one, which must strike a man of common feelings, with horror and detestation.”

6.13 However desirable it may have been for the officer class to have changed its image, the fact remains that much of their behaviour was the result of the circumstances of the settlement at the time.

6.14 Marjorie Barnard (47) refers to the role of the regimental mess in the colony:-

“There were many rungs to the social ladder. The regimental mess rather than Government House was the social arbiter. The officers were more royalist than vicerealty. The Governor was secure, but they had to look to their pride and keep it bright in the doubtful surroundings of a penal colony. The officers were by no means all blue-blood, but they had colonial rank as aristocrats and society consisted of those accepted by the military caste. On the other side of the pale were the wealthy emancipists like Simeon Lord. He arrived in the colony in August 1791 with nothing but a seven-year sentence. He was assigned to Captain Rowley and endeared himself to that gentleman by making money for him, and also, in a quiet way, for himself. When he was freed he owned two houses. It was a beginning. His manners were rough, his domestic morals far from strict, but he had drive and imagination.”

(47) Barnard p 125

6.15 Rowley's continued association with Simeon Lord suggests that Rowley endeavoured to tread a middle course as would be appropriate for one who himself had a convict concubine. His close friendship with Johnston may also be explained by the fact that Johnston had seven children by the convict, Esther Abrahams, before he married her in 1814.

7. KINGSTON FARM

7.01 If the role of the officers as traders, particularly of liquor, is open to criticism, their efforts on the land are more praiseworthy. William Foster (48) wrote. -

"What is the evaluation of Grose as Acting-Governor? He was in agreement with Phillip in the latter's opinion: 'If fifty farmers were sent out with their families, they would do more in one year in rendering this Colony independent of the mother country, as to provisions, than a thousand convicts'. Lacking these free men Grose turned to his officers. 'As I am aware they are at this time the only description of settlers on whom reliance can be placed, I shall encourage their pursuit as much as in my power', were his words on 16 February 1793. It was a common sense decision; the officers and men of the Corps would take the places of the free settlers whom both he and Phillip wanted.

7.02

"If Grose had directed the officers - military and civil - to the pursuit of farming as their sole extra-professional activity, he would have merited great praise."

(48) Foster p 195

7.03 These views were strongly supported by the Reverend Samuel Marsden when he gave "An Answer to Certain Calumnies" (49):

"Even those most shocked and repelled by the moral quagmire, by which they claimed that Grose himself was untouched, had the grace to acknowledge that if he had not adopted the wise, humane and effective measure of encouraging private enterprise and if the officers had not supported his liberal views with their best exertions, the inhabitants must have perished from want."

(49) Marsden p 9

7.04 Writing to the Duke of Portland on 20 June, 1797, Governor Hunter (50) summarised the problem:-

"I have formerly given an opinion on the advantages derived to the colony by the officers, civil and military, having taken to farming and rearing of stock. I have never changed that opinion; but I have discovered what I could not foresee when I gave it; that the advantage deriv'd from their exertions in agriculture has enabled them to pursue a more extensive field in the way of trade, which has been injurious to industry as their former endeavours were beneficial."

(50) HRA I 2 p 22

7.05 Initially, power existed to make grants of land to the non-commissioned officers and men so that "the officers in the New South Wales Corps have supposed on coming to this country, that land might be granted them, with indulgences similar to those which have been granted to settlers." (51) Collins added:-

"the officers could not have intended to be precluded from the participation of any advantage which the crown might have to bestow in the settlements; particularly as the greatest in its gift, the free possession of land, was held out to people who had forfeited their lives before they came into the country." (52)

(51) Governor Phillip to Henry Dundas 4/10/1793 quoted HRA I 1 p 383
(52) Collins I p 256

7.06 The granting of lands to officers was approved in a despatch from London, written on 12 July, 1792 and received upon the arrival of the store-ship *Bellona* on 16 January, 1793. Dundas stated:-

"In answer to the request made by several of the military and civil officers to have grants of land made to them, which they may dispose of at their departure, I do not foresee any inconvenience can arise from your complying with their requisitions, provided the allotments are not made with a view to temporary but an established settlement thereon." (53)

(53) Henry Dundas to Governor Phillip 12/7/1792 quoted HRA I 1 p 365

7.07 Grose responded:-

"I have allotted to such officers as have asked one hundred acres of land, which, with great spirit, they, at their own expense, are clearing. Whether their efforts result from the novelty of the business, or the advantages they promise themselves, I cannot say, but their exertions are really astonishing, and I absolutely expect, if they continue as they begin, that in the space of six months the officers will have a track in cultivation equal to a third of all that has been cleared in the colony." (54)

(54) Lieutenant-Governor Grose to Henry Dundas. 4/10/1793 HRA I 1 p 383

7.08

"In the first place, Grose painted an exaggerated picture for only eight officers - six military and two civil - were then occupying land, and then for a mere four days; and secondly, he gave a wrong impression to the Secretary of State by the use of expression 'at their own expense', because he had allowed each officer, with land, ten convicts, who were, moreover, clothed and victualled from Government stores." (55)

(55) Foster p 180

7.09 Lieutenant Thomas Rowley was one of these. first grantees, the others being Captain George Johnston ("Annandale"), Lieutenant John Macarthur ("Elizabeth Farm"), Ensign William Cummings, Quarter-Master Thomas Laycock, Principal Surgeon John White ("Hammond Hill"), Surgeon Edward Laing ("Laing's Hill") and John Palmer, Commissary ("Walloomooloo").

7.10 Rowley's grant of 100 acres dated 28 May, 1793, was described as "laying and situate in the District of Petersham Hill, bounded on the north-west side by Annandale Farm, and separated by a small brook from the allotment of four hundred acres marked out and reserved for Government between the allotments intended for the maintenance of a minister and of a schoolmaster, adjacent to the town of Sydney."

7.11 In the Return of Lands Granted in New South Wales from 31 December, 1792 to 1 April, 1793 (56), the "Time of Entering on the Ground" is given as "12 February, 1793". Huntington refers (57) to "a grant dated 12 February, 1793 signed by Major Francis Grose". J. F. Campbell (58) comments:- "The small brook mentioned, which has its source on the ridge near St Andrew's College, can readily be traced to its junction with the main creek by the valley depression which marks its course. ... It is evident that Rowley utilized the portion of ground (an encroachment on the reserves) ... , prior to the survey of the western boundary of the Crown and School reserves."

(56) HRNSW II p 35

(57) Huntington p 180

(58) Campbell "Dawn of Rural Settlement" p 125

7.12 A contemporary account of the intention to grant land is given by Collins, writing in December 1792:-

"The lieutenant-governor propofing to open and cultivate the ground commonly known by the name of the Kangaroo Ground, fituate to the weftward of the town of Sydney between that fettlemnent and Parramatta, a gang of convicts was fent from the latter place for that purpofe. The foil here was much better for agriculture than that immediately adjoining the town of Sydney and the ground lay well for cultivation; but it had hitherto been neglected, from its being deficient in the very effential requifite of water; on which account Parramatta had been preferred to it. The eligibility of cultivating it was however now going to be tried; and permiffion having been received by the *Bellona* to grant lands to thofe officers who might defire it, provided the Situations of the allotments were fuch as might be advantageous to *bona fide* fettlers hereafter, if they should ever fall into fuch hands, feveral officers chofe this as the plot which they would cultivate, and allotments of one hundred acres each were marked out for the clergyman, (who, to obtain a grant here, relinquifhed his right to cultivate the land allotted for the maintenance of the minifter) for the principal furgeon, and one or two officers of the corps." (59)

(59) Collins I p 256

7.13 James A. Jarvis gives a later comment on the soil:-

"The Wianamatta shale which forms the country rock between Sydney and Parramatta gives rise to a heavy clay soil, deficient in plant food, difficult to work, and one which is speedily impoverished." (60)

(60) Jarvis p 83

7.14 Although Collins does not provide any clue to break the anonymity, it seems most likely that he speaks of Rowley when, in December, 1793, he writes that:-

"an officer who had an allotment of one hundred acres of land near the town of Sydney having occasion for a hundred thousand bricks to build a dwelling-house, contracted with a brick-maker and his gang, for that number of bricks paid him the sum of forty-two pounds ten shillings." (61)

(61) Collins I p 334

7.15 Rowley's original grant was enlarged by the grant, on 3 October, 1794, of an additional seventy acres. In Grimes' Plan of the Settlements produced in 1796, Rowley's Lot 4, Petersham, is shown as 170 acres. It was ultimately increased to 240 acres "by additions on the south and west."

7.16 The early grants appear to have been cancelled subsequently and a new grant of 240 acres, known as "Kingston Farm", was made by Governor King on 9 August, 1803, with a reservation to the Crown of all timber fit for naval purposes. (62)

(62) Henry E. Holt p 59

7.17

"In the early years there were few place-names along the Parramatta Road. Old records refer to the present suburbs of Camperdown and Leichhardt as Kangaroo Ground, and Petersham Hill included all the land from Petersham almost to Burwood. Gradually the western part of this came to be called York Place, but these names were used loosely and sometimes applied to the same area. Nearer to Homebush were the Liberty Plains." (63)

(63) Dunlop "Between Two Highways" p 11

7.18 As to the success of the officers' efforts, we turn again to Collins.

"The permission given to the officers to hold lands had operated powerfully in favour of the colony. They were liberal in their employment of people to cultivate those lands; and such had been their exertions, that it appeared by a survey taken in the last month by Mr Alt, that nine hundred and eighty-two acres had been cleared by them since that permission had been received. Mr Alt reported that there had been cleared, since Governor Phillip's departure in December 1792, two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two acres and one-quarter, which, added to seventeen hundred and three acres and a half that were cleared at that time, made

a total of four thousand six hundred and sixty-five acres and three-quarters of cleared ground in this territory. It must be further remarked in favour of the gentlemen holding ground, that in the short period of fifteen months (The officers did not begin to open ground until February, 1793), the officers, civil and military, had cleared more than half the whole quantity of ground that had been cleared by government and the settlers. from the establishment of the colony to the date of the governor's departure. The works of government, however vigilantly attended to, always proceeded slowly, and never with that spirit and energy that are created by interest." (64)

(64) Collins I pp 367/8

7.185 Not every farming venture was a complete success. In December 1795 "An officer who had sown seven acres with this seed at a farm in the district of Petersham Hill, on cutting it down, found it not worth reaping. This was owing to a blight; but everywhere the Cape wheat was pronounced not worth the labour of sowing."

(64a) Collins I p 442

7.19 Macquarie recorded details of a visit to Kingston Farm during his tour of New South Wales in 1810, by which date Captain Rowley had died.

"I quitted the carriage and mounted my horse at Canterbury in order to inspect the few remaining small farms between this and Sydney; Mrs Macquarie proceeding in the carriage by the main road, to meet and wait for me at Grose Farm. I called at Mr Moore's, Mr Blaxcell's, Mr Blaxland's. Capt. Rowley's and several other smaller farms in the district of Petersham, all of which are poor and of little value; the farm houses, however, are tolerably good and considerable pains have been taken to clear enclose and improve the lands." (65)

(65) Macquarie p 37

7.20 A notice in the *Sydney Gazette* of 27 August, 1814 warning trespassers refers to "Rowley's Farm, formerly called Kingston Farm" so that Rowley's name was still in use some years after his death.

8. BURWOOD FARM

8.01 Rowley's land holdings continued to increase with larger grants in the Liberty Plains area, which farm Rowley designated "Burwood".

8.02 In 1793 Lieutenant-Governor Grose decided that there was a need for the settlement of an area mid-way between Sydney and Parramatta - this for the convenience and safety of the travelling public.

8.03 The area of Burwood Farm was settled initially by the granting of four rectangular blocks (to the west of the present main northern railway line after it leaves Strathfield) in addition to which, two more blocks were shortly afterwards surveyed (to the west of present day Concord Road).

These settlers were Walter Rouse, Joseph Webb, Thomas Rose, Frederick Meredith, Thomas Webb and Edward Powell. Since the grantees were free settlers - Britton notes "one convict excepted" (66) - who had arrived in the *Bellona*, the area was called "Liberty Plains".

(66) Britton p 257

8.04 A further fourteen blocks varying in size from twenty to 110 acres were granted in an area known as the "Field of Concord".

8.05 Grose had been wounded during the American Civil War which broke out when, on 19 April, 1775, the American Minutemen, local volunteers, "Fired the shot heard around the world" and defeated the Redcoats at the Old North Bridge, Concord, Massachusetts.

8.06

"Was it on this day 21 year-old Lieutenant Francis Grose experienced his first taste of battle, and was it from this day that, twenty years later, Major Francis Grose, now Acting Governor of the Colony of New South Wales bestowed the name Concord on the area of land midway between Sydney town and the settlement at Parramatta? It is possible that the flat swampy land around Longbottom Stockade and the crude bridge across a tidal stream reminded him of the Field of Concord." (67)

(67) Horne p 6

8.07 On 1 June, 1793, Lieutenant John Townson received a grant of 110 acres on the eastern boundary of Liberty Plains, "Marsh Gate Farm". Another four lots were surveyed and these and Sergeant-Major William Jamieson's 100 acre grant were known as York Place. (The name has American Civil War connections - it was the headquarters of the Continental Congress.)

8.08 From all reports, the farms at Concord proved more successful than those at Liberty Plains. Collins, writing in December, 1793 of the settlers at Concord, reports that their

"allotments extended inland from the water's fide, within two miles of the diftrict name Liberty Plains. The fettlers at this latter place appeared to have very unproductive crops, having fown their wheat late. They were, indeed, of opinion that they had made a hafty and bad choice of fituation but this was nothing more than the language of difappointment." (68)

(68) Collins I p 330

8.09 Disappointment persisted however, for, on 2 March, 1798, the Reverend Samuel Marsden and Assistant Surgeon Arndell, in the course of an inspection of the farm lands, wrote:-

"The land in the Concord District is more rich and fertile than any we have visited, 'tho not so good in Liberty Plains. The settlers at Concord informed us that they had from twenty to thirty bushels of wheat this season. Tho' their ground in general is very rich, yet the farmers in it are very poor and greatly involved in debt, and are now living on credit. Most of them have no seed wheat and have every appearance of approaching ruin." (69)

(69) HRNSW II p 371

8. 10

"Nearly seven years after the first free settlers had been established, Thomas Rowley, Captain New South Wales Corps, was granted an area of two hundred and sixty acres adjoining those settlers on the east. This historic grant, dated August 1, 1799, (**August 3, 1799 - Colonial Secretary's list?**) may now be described as commencing at the junction of the Concord-road with the Parramatta-road, and bounded on the north by the latter road, on the east by the Burwood road on the south by Belmore-street and a line westerly to the Boulevarde, and on the west by that street northerly to the Strathfield railway station, thence by the eastern boundaries of original grants to Thomas Rose and Joseph Webb to the point of commencement. About two months later (October 8) Rowley was granted an additional area of one hundred and fifty acres ... , which includes the vacant land lying between his former grant and that of James Stokes.... The area of this grant was further increased by the inclusion of vacant land on the south and east, together with Walter Rouse's resumed grant ... and the triangular area of land on its right *, on the north side of Parramatta-road. In addition to these portions of land, Rowley acquired, presumably by purchase, the grant of James Stokes... , and on the west that of Joseph Webb ... , and part of Rose's land and acting under Governor King's suggestion ** consolidated the whole into one grant, nominally seven hundred and fifty acres. The remaining grants located in the Liberty Plains district within the period mentioned, were issued to:- Augustus Alt, Surveyor-General, 100 acres *** ... Henry Waterhouse, Commander of H.M.S. *Reliance*, 25 acres (now Newington Asylum), John Shortland, Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Reliance*, 25 acres (now Newington Asylum), Thomas Rose, free settler, additional grant, 25 acres ... , Thomas Laycock, deputy commissary, 100 acres (Homebush Abattoir site). (70)

* This area was subsequently included in the village of Longhottom.

** See General Order of 28 June, 1803.

*** Hermitage Farm.

(70) Campbell "Dawn of Rural Settlement" pp 101/2

8.11 Eric Dunlop, the historian of the Municipality of Burwood (71) says that “Rowley named Burwood after the Burwood Farm on which he lived in his native Cornwall”.

(71) Dunlop p 15

8.12 Another report (72) suggests that he had lived on Burwood Road in Cornwall but a descendant writes:-

“I know he is supposed to have come from Cornwall but I have written to the County Library and the Family History Society there and there is no record. Neither is there a place called Burwood or Kingston in Cornwall. The only county in England with both is Surrey.”

(72) Notes by a town planning assistant in the Burwood Municipal Library archives, although some obvious errors in this cause me to doubt its accuracy.

8.13 My own guess (and it is no more than that) which I would like to follow up is that Rowley came from Kingston, Hampshire, within a ten-mile radius of which are the towns, Burley and Ringwood. These places are not far from Portsmouth, which with London and Chatham, were the principal recruitment centres for the New South Wales Corps.

8.14 While Rowley lived all the time on Kingston Farm, Burwood Farm was certainly occupied although “Burwood House”, which is featured in the official crest of the Municipality of Burwood, was built after the death of Rowley and after the lands passed out of the hands of his family.

8.15 "Burwood House" was constructed by Alexander Riley who purchased the property in 1812. The house is pictured in a line engraving entitled “Burwood House, On The Road to Parramatta” (in the Burwood Municipal archives, there reportedly dated 1824 but published in “Harvest of the Years”, by courtesy of the Government Printer, and there dated 1854. It was also depicted in a painting by Lycett in the volume which was published 1 May, 1825. The accompanying text reads:-

BURWOOD, THE PROPERTY OF ALEXANDER RILEY, ESQ.
NEW SOUTH WALES.

THIS Estate is within eight miles of SYDNEY, on the high road to PARRAMATTA, and bounded at the back by the high road to LIVERPOOL, comprising a square of one thousand acres, within a rail fence; and is a remarkable instance how speedily the forest in NEW SOUTH WALES can be cleared of its superfluous timber, and rendered contributable to the comforts and luxuries of man; for, within three years of the felling the first tree on this estate, the whole was enclosed and subdivided; five hundred acres were more or less cleared; a desirable Villa-House, with every convenient appendage, was erected; artificial Grasses were growing, in aid of the natural pasture; and a Garden of four acres was in full cultivation, containing upwards of three hundred Trees, bearing the following choice fruits, - viz. the Orange, Citron, Lemon, Pomegranate, Loquat, Guava, Grapes, Peaches, Nectarines, Apricots, Apples, Pears, the Cherry, Plums, Figs, Chestnuts, Almonds, Medlars, Quinces; with abundance of

Raspberries, Strawberries, and the finest of Melons, &c. &c. &c. BURWOOD has the particular advantage of being well supplied with water, which is very scarce in this district. The situation of the House is upon a gentle rise of ground, commanding a pleasant view from the front, looking over IRON COVE, a bay of the River, abounding with fish, and commanding an extensive view of the road between PARRAMATTA and SYDNEY. At a distance from the back of the House, the Forest Scenery is characteristic of the country, and opens into vistas, through which, in places, may be seen distant parts of the BLUE MOUNTAINS, the high Land to the right of PENNANT HILLS, FIELD OF MARS, CASTLE HILL, &c &c.

- 8.16 In an article published in 1922 in the Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, C. A. Henderson recollects:-

"Mr Kent, the architect, told me that in repairing the old Burwood House a few years ago a stone in the foundation was discovered with the date 1797." (73)

This fact was quoted by Dunlop who adds the comment:-

"That would have been two years before Rowley received the grant, but unauthorised occupation was by no means uncommon in those days, and it seems quite possible that the Burwood Villa generally believed to have been built after 1814 by Alexander Riley incorporated some of the materials or perhaps rooms of an earlier cottage." (74)

(73) JRAHS VIII p 356

(74) Dunlop "Harvest of the Years" p 16

- 8.17 Absentee landowners suffered at the hands of trespassers and Rowley's notice, published in the *Sydney Gazette*, on 4 September, 1803, and repeated the following week, is indicative of the problems. (It may also have been lacking in effect, for a somewhat similar notice was published about five months later, 12 February, 1804.)

"NOTICE

ALL perfons are hereby CAUTIONED and Forbidden to CUT TIMBER of any Defcription (but fuch as may be required by Government for Naval Purpofes) or in anywife Trefpaffing with Stock of any kind, or on any other Pretence whatf6ever, on the FARM and Premifes belonging to Captain ROWLEY; Which Farm is fituated on the Left-hand Side of the Parramatta Road, beginning at Connor's Farm, and running to the Creek at the Half-way Houfes; alfo the Farm on the Right-hand Side of the Parramatta Road, which runs down to the Creek, formerly belonging to Walter Roufe, but now in Captain Rowley's poffeffion.

Trefpaffers after this Notice will be profecuted as the Law directs."

8.18 Even after Rowley's death, the need for published warnings existed, as witness the strongly-worded notice published on 26 September, 1812, again in the *Sydney Gazette*:-

“CAUTION Whereas many Persons have been in the Habit of committing Depedations upon the following Farms; viz, Faithful, Wilshire, and Jamieson's Farms in the District of Liberty Plains; on the North, by Rose and Rowley's Farms; on the East by Alt, Piper, Lucas, and Johnston, or Canterbury Farms, on the West, by a line South, to Cook's River, running from the Bridge joining Mr Wentworth's Estate, on the Parramatta Road, continuing by the line of Ponds which form Cook's River, and taking in the Pond called the Punch Bowl; it is thus so particularly described, that Persons knowing any of that part cannot be deceived. And as great Depradations have been daily committed on Alt's Farm, by cutting down and taking away the Timber or Shingle-wood, Notice is hereby given, that any Person or Persons cutting Timber or Shingle-wood on any of the above Farms, or otherwise trespassing with Stock thereon after this public Notice, will be prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the Law; and two or three persons resident thereby are authorized to impound Stock so trespassing and to detain all Persons cutting down or taking away said Timber or Shingle-wood.”

9. BANKS TOWN

9.01 On 14 August, 1798, Rowley received another grant, 85 acres on the banks of the George's River in the District of Banks Town. This grant by Governor Hunter, was at "an annual quit rent after five years (of) 9s." **(Check - 2s. according to Col Sec's list.) The payment of all quit rents by "Thomas Rowley Esq." and others listed was certified by D. D. Mann, Collector in a notice dated 5 May, 1804. (74a)**

(74a) SG II p 62 5/5/1804

9.02 This was an area where Hunter "had fixed a few marine settlers on the banks of a river which empties itself into Botany Bay, where the land promises well." (75) Among these settlers was Surgeon George Bass. At the same time as Rowley received his grant, one was made to his friend, Captain George Johnston. A year later, twelve more grants at Banks Town were made, among the grantees being naval lieutenants, John Shortland and Matthew Flinders.

(75) Governor Hunter to Colonial Secretary, 10 January, 1798

9.03 Rowley's grant was in the area now known as Chipping Norton.

"Chipping Norton embraces part of the Moorebank Estate and Clinch's 260 acres, and, in the deep sweep of George's River as it changes its northern for an easterly course, Johnston's grant opposite Cabramatta and a grant to Rowley with a river frontage opposite Lansvale, where his name has been given to Rowley's Point Road." (76)

(76) "City of Liverpool" - City of Liverpool Council leaflet

9.04 Governor Hunter included in his Historical Journal a map of "Sydney and environs in the 1790s, showing various Agricultural Districts such as Kissing Point, Northern Boundary, The Ponds, Portland Place, and Banks Town, as well as the outlines of some land grants". The two land grants which appear to be shown in the vicinity of Banks Town are on the northern side of the George's River on either side of Prospect Creek - Rowley's grant was on the southern bank of the George's River. The map notes that adjacent to "Banks Town" there is "Good Land".

9.05 The Parish Map of Holsworthy does not identify Rowley's 85 acres grant but other plans, including the Lands Department map of "City of Sydney and Environs, 1892" suggests that Rowley's Point Road is situated, not on Rowley's grant, but approximately along part of the boundary between the 70 acres granted to Johnston and 60 acres granted to William Strong. Perhaps the road looks at Rowley's Point.

9.06* There is another grant to "Thomas Rowley" shown on the Holsworthy Parish Map. This is an area of 700 acres incorporating "Hammondville" and Holsworthy Village, also the New Brighton Golf Course. This grant was made on 16 July, 1804. Father and son frequently appear to be confused. The local council (76) attributes this grant to Thomas Rowley II but he would have been only nine years of age at that date.

“Old Chum” suggested (77) that Captain Rowley “at one time lived at Holdsworthy, the scene of the present German Concentration Camp and the ruins of the substantial stone mansion erected there by him may still be seen, a silent monument of the period when the Captain held sway. This was before he came back to reside at Kingston.” I suspect the builder was Thomas II, **even if he was not the original grantee of the land.**

(76) “City of Liverpool” - City of Liverpool Council leaflet
(77) *Truth*, 20/10/1916

10. A FARMER AND GRAZIER

10.01 By 1792, Governor Phillip had the feeling that the prospects of permanent famine in the colony had faded. He distributed livestock among the colonists but their response was disappointing.

10.02 Judge-Advocate Collins, writing in his diary in December of that year reported that

“The flock which had been distributed among the married fettlers and others by Governor Phillip for the purpose of breeding from, (as has already been observed) appeared to have been thrown away upon them when viewed as a breeding flock for fettlers. No sooner had the *Atlantic* failed, than the major part of them were offered for sale; and there was little doubt, (many of their owners making no scruple to publish their intentions) that had they not been bought by the officers, in a very few weeks many of them would have been destroyed. By this conduct, as far as their individual benefit was concerned, they had put it out of their own power to reap any advantage from the Governor's bounty to them; but the flock by this means was saved, and had fallen into hands that certainly would not wantonly destroy it. There were a few among the fettlers who exchanged their sheep for goats, deeming them a more profitable flock; but, in general, spirits were the price required by the more ignorant and imprudent part of them; and several of their farms, which had been, and ought always to have been, the peaceful retreats of industry, were for a time the seats of inebriety and consequent disorder.” (77a)

(77a) Collins I p 254

10.03 It was not surprising therefore that the officers, in the absence of any free responsible settlers, took on the role of the colony's farmers. Lieutenant-Governor Grose, writing to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on 9 January, 1793, adds that

“I was absolutely obliged to encourage and promote the purchase of them by the officers, dreading that, without this precaution, the dissipation of a week would exterminate effectually a stock that had been the work of years to collect... .” (77b)

(77b) quoted in HRNSW II p 3

10.04 Collins supplemented the report:

“We ourselves had long been impressed with an idea of the advantage that grazing cattle would give to the country; every possible care was taken of the little that was in it, and all means used to promote its increase. One step toward this was the keeping up the price; an article, by which the proprietor was always certain of making a great profit, was certain to be taken the greatest care of.” (77c)

(77c) Collins I p 375

10.05 The difficulty of introducing livestock to the colony was exemplified by Collins' report of the arrival in 1793 of the *Shah Hormuzear* commanded by Matthew Bampton. Bampton had the advantage of having

"at Bengal,... met with Captain Manning, who had failed from hence in the *Pitt* in April laft, and who mentioned to him fuch articles as he thought were moft wanted in thefe fettlements.

"Mr Bampton had on board when he failed, one bull, twenty-four cows, two hundred and thirty goats, five horfes, and fix affes; ...

"His cattle died; of the fbeep more than half perifhed; one horfe and three affes died, and very few of the goats furfived the voyage." (77d)

(77d) Collins I p 270

10.06 To John Macarthur was given the title of "Father of the Australian Wool Industry". In view of his long absences from the colony – 1801/1805 and 1809/1817 - many people, not by any means "women's libbers", believe that the contributions of Elizabeth Macarthur were such that "her picture, not John's should be on our \$2 bill". (78)

(78) Australian Women's Weekly, 27/2/1980 p 18

10.07 But what of the part played by Thomas Rowley? P. R. Stephensen did a little more to undermine John Macarthur's claims when he wrote:-

"The first Merinos in Australia were brought to Sydney from Monterey, California, in April, 1793 in H.M.S. *Daedalus*, a naval storeship. Of the six rams and twelve ewes that were shipped at Monterey in December, 1792, only one ram and three ewes survived the passage. They were degenerate Spanish Merinos, descended from stock that had been shipped from Spain to Mexico perhaps two hundred years previously. They were acquired by Captain Thomas Rowley, a military officer who had a farm at Camperdown, on the Parramatta Road, three miles west of Sydney. The pioneer of the Merino in Australia, he built a flock from them, twelve years before John Macarthur imported Merinos from the royal stud in England in 1805. (Little or no research has been done by historians of the Australian wool industry in reference to the *Daedalus* sheep and Thomas Rowley's part in their acclimatization.)" (79)

(79) Stephensen p 293

10.08 Malcolm Ellis, writing of the New South Wales Corps, says:-

"Their early paymaster, Captain John Macarthur, needs no introduction to this (Royal Australian Historical) Society. To him and his next successor in that office, William Cox, to Colonel Foveaux, to Lieutenant William Lawson and Captain Thomas Rowley, the foundation of the livestock industry of Australia owes more than any other men, Governors King and Macquarie and Samuel Marsden excepted." (80)

(80) Ellis p 333

10.09 Since Ellis has been accused of being biased in favour of the Corps, his enthusiastic acclaim may be, queried in some quarters. Brian Fletcher, who generally takes a more even handed stance, is however equally complimentary.

“Beside helping to push back the frontiers of settlement, the officers were amongst the best farmers in the colony. ... No less important was the officers' contribution to the wool industry. It was men such as Captain Kent, a naval officer, Captain Rowley, Paymaster Cox and Lieutenant Macarthur of the New South Wales Corps, the Reverend Samuel Marsden, Commissary Williamson and the government boatbuilder, Thomas Moore, who were foremost in buying from Captain Waterhouse the Spanish merinos that he had obtained from Colonel Gordon at the Cape of Good Hope They did so not with the deliberate intention of developing the export of fine wool. but because they were enterprising settlers who were constantly seeking to improve their possessions. What would become of their wool they had no means of telling, but since the opportunity to improve it was available they were quite prepared to seize it. Their real interest lay in mutton and that reason they made little attempt to keep their merinos pure.” (81)

(81) Fletcher "Landed Enterprise" pp 72/3

10.10 Waterhouse explained his transaction in a letter to Banks:-

“In 1797 I arrived in the *Reliance* at the Cape of Good Hope, together with the *Supply*, Captain Kent, and *Britannia*, transport. On board the *Reliance* was the Commissary (Palmer), for the purpose of purchasing cattle for the settlement. On board *Britannia* were Governor King (then Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island) and Colonel Paterson on their way to England, both which gentlemen had been acquainted with Colonel Gordon, who lost his life there. Colonel Gordon had imported a few Spanish sheep to the Cape, which had increased to 32. Mrs Gordon was then going to Europe, and for some reason did not chuse to leave anything that belonged to her husband at the Cape. She gave three Spanish sheep to Governor King and three to Colonel Paterson. The remainder I understood were offered to the Commissary, but he declined to purchase them on the part of the Government. They were then offered to me. As I could not afford to purchase the whole, Captain Kent (that they might not be lost to the colony), offered to take half. We each received thirteen, and I took Governor King's on board the *Reliance*. Captain Paterson took his to England to present to Sir J. Sinclair. We paid Mrs Gordon four pounds apiece for them, the expences on delivery was about one pound a head more, the expence for food, etc. for the voyage was very considerable, unfortunately Gov. King's sheep had been brought to Cape Town some time before ours and put with some others, by which they became diseased and communicated it to ours, his three died soon after they came on board. I do not recollect the number I had alive when I arrived at Port Jackson, but I think more than half. Captain Kent, who I understood, shared his with Lieutenant Braithwait, I believe lost all, from the circumstance of his applying to me for one immediately on my arrival. I do not recollect if Lieutenant Braithwait had one or two alive. I offered all mine to the Governor, but I suppose he was satisfied as they were in the colony, as he declined purchasing them.

“Captain Macarthur then offerd me fifteen guineas a head, provided I would let him have the whole. This I declined, wishing to distribute them. I supplied Captain Kent, Captain Macarthur, Captain Rowley and Mr Marsden. As the Spanish ewes had lambs - none but Spanish rams running with them - I supplied Mr Williamson, Mr Moore, Government, and, in fact any person who wished to have them. I never had any other but Spanish rams with my flock, and on my quitting the colony sold the flock to Mr Cox, the Paymaster, with the exception of a few to Captain Macarthur. Most who had Spanish sheep were particular about them, and I took pains to disperse them; and I can assert that several of the Spanish sheep I originally brought from the Cape, together with their produce, was in the flock I left behind, if you will look to the *Sydney Gazette* Sir Joseph, you will find often the price of Spanish sheep at the sales. I apprehend most of those who turned their mind to raising sheep have some of the Spanish breed amongst them....” (82).

(82) Banks Papers, ML, A78-3 pp 272/9 (16 July, 1806)

10.11 In October, 1804, Lord Camden, having been influenced by Macarthur's views, wrote to Governor King seeking an indication of the prospects for the wool industry. King conferred with John Macarthur, now returned, and the Reverend Samuel Marsden who suggested "having every Flock inspected by Mr Wood, the Professional Gentleman who came out in the *Argo*, and that he be accompanied by either two, or three respectable Gentlemen, who should be instructed to pose the Queries and receive the answers of each person." (83)

(83) Macarthur Onslow p 112

10.12 King replied, a year later,

“there can be no doubt of our Sheep increasing at least in an equal degree with that Species in any part of the World, which I do not doubt the Return of the Increase during the five years may confirm - And that the change from Hair to Wool of different degrees of fineness has been and continues ameliorating beyond belief.” (84)

(84) Macarthur Onslow p 113

10.13 If Rowley's answers to the questionnaire are any guide, he was either not the best sheep-breeder in the colony or one of the least communicative.

"Agreeable to Your Excellency's Order of 28th July last I have sent the Answers to the Nine Questions, viz:-

- Questn. 1st Have you any true bred Spanish Sheep in your Flocks?
 Ansr. I do not know.
 Q. ----- 2nd Do you endeavour to preserve the Spanish Breed of Sheep pure and Unmixed with other Breeds ?
 Ansr. No.
 Q. ----- 3rd What other Breeds of Sheep have you that produce Fine Wool?
 Ansr. I am no Judge.
 Q. ----- 4th What Rams have you had in your Flocks and from whom and from what Country did you Obtain them ?
 Ansr. My first Ram was from California, and my second Two Spanish Rams from Captain Waterhouse.
 Q. ----- 5th Do you think Breeding the Pure Spanish Sheep will be profitable to you as if you bred other kinds?
 Ansr. I do not know.
 Q. ----- 6th Do you think the Wool of all kinds of Sheep Improved in this Colony?
 Ansr. I think it does.
 Q. ----- 7th How many Sheep do you possess at this time?
 Ansr. Males 219 and Females 300 - Total 519 Sheep.
 Q. ----- 8th How long do you suppose it will be before your whole Flock will be Increased to twice their present Number?
 Ansr. I do not know.
 Q. ----- 9th What means have you adopted to Improve the Carcase and Fleece of your Wool?
 Ansr. None.

THOMAS ROWLEY

Sydney 9th August 1805"

(85)

(85) Macarthur Onslow pp 119/120

10.14 The extent of Rowley's activities can be gauged by the information about him given in the returns of agriculture and livestock as at 14 August, 1804 (86) and 1 November, 1805 (87)

	<u>1804</u>	<u>1805</u>
Number of acres in		
Wheat	30	30
barley and oats	3	-
orchard and gardens	-	8
pasture	1,000	1,637
fallow	<u>42</u>	<u>300</u>
total number held	<u>1,075</u>	<u>1,975</u>
Horses		
- male	1	1
Female	2	2
Homed Cattle		
- bulls	2	2
cows	27	40
oxen	10	9
Sheep		
- male	150	219
female	348	300
Goats		
- male	8	9
female	12	12
Hogs		
- male	40	28
female	20	5
Persons victualled by Government	proprietor 4 convicts	proprietor 4 convicts
Not victualled by Government	3 children 10 convicts	3 children 8 convicts

(No entry is shown under the heading "wife", either "V't'd" or "Not".)

The lack of increase in the numbers of hogs may be explained, in part, by the advertisement inserted by Rowley in the *Sydney Gazette* of 18 August, 1805. "A Gratuity of a gallon of Spirits" is offered for the return of a "large White Boar". "Captain Rowley has fome reafon to fufpect the Boar has been stolen."

(86) HRA I V pp 36/7
(87) HRA I V pp 604/5

11. NORFOLK ISLAND

11.01 Rowley spent a period with a detachment of the New South Wales Corps on Norfolk Island. Since Norfolk Island has the reputation of being a notorious prison hell-hole, it is important to record here that the island went through four distinct periods.

11.02 Captain Cook, while sailing H.M.S. *Resolution* on his second voyage in 1774, “discovered land ... which we found to be an island of good height, and five leagues in circuit. I named it Norfolk Isle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. ... We observed many trees and plants common at New Zealand; and in particular, the flax plant ... (and) ... a sort of spruce pine.” These had attraction for the Lords of the Admiralty and Captain Phillip was instructed, when setting out for New South Wales, to establish a settlement at Norfolk Island “to prevent its being occupied by any other European power.” This he promptly did, the *Supply* leaving Sydney on 14 February 1788 with twenty five people, including six “disciplined female convicts”.

11.03 In the period 1788-1813 which encompasses Rowley's stay, the island outpost initially comprised well behaved convicts and a small guard. It was not, during this period, regarded as being a place of further punishment or banishment. This is not to say that by to-day's standards, cruelty did not often occur although it did not sink to the level of that shown on the mainland. Charles McLellan, who stole rum from Surgeon Jamison's tent, received one hundred lashes. When King was relieved by Major Ross, discipline became harsher just as when Townson and Rowley were succeeded by Foveaux, brutality was again in evidence. Thanks to the intercession of Foveaux's mistress, Ann Sherwin - she was the wife of a sergeant until Foveaux seduced her - there was some moderation of the treatment of many of the convicts. In 1804, the decision was taken to abandon the settlement although the major evacuation did not occur until 1808 and caretakers remained for a further five years.

11.04 It was in the second period, 1825-1856, that the re-established penal settlement was regarded as a maximum security prison for the incorrigibles who had been colonially reconvicted and it was then that the floggings, executions and mutinies gave the island notoriety.

11.05 After transportation ceased, the remaining prisoners were transferred to Port Arthur and, apart from a few caretakers, the island was deserted until the Pitcairn Island descendants of the *Bounty* mutineers arrived in June, 1856.

11.06 In 1914, the Australian Government took over the administration which is moving slowly towards self-government by 1984. As is noted elsewhere, Mr Peter Coleman, who became Administrator of the Island in September, 1979, is married to a descendant of Thomas Rowley.

11.07 Rowley's first involvement with the island occurred when he was a member of the Court of Enquiry convened in Sydney on 15 February, 1794 to investigate a charge of mutiny preferred by Lieutenant-Governor King against a part of a detachment of the New South Wales Corps then serving on Norfolk Island.

11.08 On 18 January, 1794, some of the soldiers showed their disapproval of the indulgences granted by King to the convicts and, during a riot, soldiers struck some of the convicts. The rioting troops returned to their barracks under orders from Lieutenant Abbott but their mutinous mutterings gave cause for alarm. Accordingly four days later, most of the soldiers were despatched unarmed to Phillip Island "to collect wildfowl feathers", leaving a carefully selected guard at headquarters. The officers disarmed the guards, confiscated all the weapons and recruited a militia force. Upon their return to Norfolk, twenty soldiers were arrested but, as there was insufficient transport available, only ten soldiers were sent to Sydney for trial.

11.09 Grose was incensed at King's action in disarming the detachment, found fault with the lenient treatment of the convicts who had not shown sufficient respect for his troops and regarded the appointment of a militia as an insult to his corps. He forwarded fresh orders to King, which, in effect, placed the island under military rule.

11.10 "In the *Francis* with these orders, Grose sent Lieutenant John Townson (Captain George Johnston "declined to act" (88)) to replace Abbott as officer in charge of the detachment at Norfolk Island. Townson had arrived in Sydney in June, 1790 with the first detachment of the New South Wales Corps. After Governor Phillip's departure, Grose made large land-grants to the military officers, including a grant of 110 acres to Townson Townson demanded similar grants and privileges at Norfolk Island, but King delayed the concessions, stating that he required fuller instructions." (89) (Maybe Johnston's reluctance was explained by his already established farming ventures.)

(88) Dowling p 214

(89) Clune p 61

11.11 The Court of Enquiry found, after five days' deliberation that the conduct of the detachment was highly reprehensible, and that their disobedience of the word of command given to them by Lieutenant Abbott was certainly mutinous. "But we can see no reason why the ten men brought here prisoners were particularly selected as objects of punishment,... ." (90)

(90) HRNSW II p 128

11.12 In 1796, King was granted leave and he proceeded to England. Townson, by then a Captain, succeeded King in command at Norfolk Island, being appointed Lieutenant-Governor on 22 October, 1796. "With that appointment the pioneering period of the settlement had ended. New South Wales no longer needed the food produced on Norfolk Island." (91)

(91) Clune p 63

11.13 In a letter supposed to have been written on 14 September, 1798 by the Reverend Samuel Marsden, it was reported that

"Norfolk Island has arrived at a state yet more flourishing, as the air is more soft and the soil inexpressibly productive. It is a perfect image of Paradise. Our officers and their ladies, while they regret their absence from Old England, were sensibly affected at their departure from this insular garden, and at their banishment to Sydney." (92)

(92) HRNSW III p 486

11.14

"Despite a promise given to King that he would not leave the island before his return, Captain Townson departed in November, 1799, leaving Captain Thomas Rowley in charge." (93)

(93) Hoare p 26

11.15 Townson proceeded to England, on leave. The reason for the reputed promise is difficult to envisage. It had already been established by a General Order of 9 January, 1796 that

"The service requiring that a captain should command the detachment of the New South Wales Corps on duty at Norfolk Island, the Commanding Officer of that regiment will cause a Captain to embark on board his Majesty's ship *Reliance* for that purpose." (94)

(94) HRNSW III p 2

Collins records almost literal compliance with that order in November 1799 when he writes

"On the 2d of the month, his Majesty's ship the *Reliance* failed with the relief of the military on duty at Norfolk-Island." (95)

(95) Collins II p 270

11.16 Rowley succeeded to the command on 12 November, 1799.

"1799 was another lean year for the island people, due to the loss of a maize crop.

"It seems that by this time the inhabitants' taste for liquor had become an increasing problem. Lieutenant-Governor King mentioned in his 1796 report that some convicts habitually bartered their clothing and other necessities with the settlers and soldiers for spirits. John Turnbull, who visited the island around 1801, also commented on the drunkenness of the inhabitants, noting that some were often intoxicated for a week on end. In 1799 the people suffered a period of ill-health, brought on, according to the surgeon, by drinking spirits hot from the Norfolk stills. Captain Rowley ordered the stills to be seized, and for this was indirectly threatened with prosecution by two of the owners.

"As well as the generally poor state of health and declining industry, there was a shortage of agricultural implements; and Captain Rowley was unable to proceed with the improvement of the Cascade wharf for lack of bar iron and lead.

“Thomas Rowley, in spite of his unwelcome efforts to enforce the sobriety of Norfolk’s citizens, appears to have been a popular Commandant. He stated that at his departure the principal inhabitants wrote a joint letter to the Governor expressing their sorrow at losing him. He also earned a word or two of praise from the Governor: ‘I think it wright to add that from every account I have rec’d from thence that Captain Rowley’s conduct in administering the Government of that Island was much to his credit and the advantage of Government.’ (96) But Captain Rowley stated bluntly: ‘I am £1,000 the worse for going to that island.’(97)” (98)

(96) HRNSW IV p 588

(97) HRNSW IV p 589

(98) Hoare pp 26/7

11.17 R. N. Dalkin is uncharitable when he writes:-

“The affairs of the island were then managed for eight months by Captain Thomas Rowley, who sounds as though he was an ageing but junior military misfit of limited background.” (99)

(99) Dalkin p 202

11.18 King, at this time had returned to the colony and was preparing to assume office as Governor in the place of Hunter. Rowley’s work is best reported in the following despatches.

11.19 Governor Hunter to Lieutenant-Governor King (King Papers)

“Sydney, 23rd June, 1800.

Sir,

I have this morning received your letter desiring I will communicate any recent information I may have received from Norfolk Island, in order that you may be enabled the more fully to instruct the officer designed to command there.

By letter from Capt. Rowley, the present commanding officer on that island, of the 6th Febr’y last, it appears that there is some salt meat in store likely to spoil, and that, in order to prevent it, a part had been sold by public auction, and money arising was to be applied to the payment of some extra work.

By letter of the 14th May, Capt. Rowley says he cannot proceed with the rebuilding the wharf at Cascade Bay for want of bar iron fit for such purpose and some lead; the sawyers were, however, at work preparing timber.

They are in want of spades and other implements of husbandry.

He also says that, in consequence of ill-health amongst many of the inhabitants - proceeding, in the surgeon’s opinion, from the distilling of spirits, which the people drank hot from the still - he had ordered the stills to be seized, and that he had been indirectly threatened with prosecution by two of those concerned - Hambly and Ransom.

By letter from the surgeon, 15th May, I am informed of ill and declining health of Capt'n Rowley.

The Norfolk Island returns which I send you I had put together intending to leave them. I have no other papers but that of a return of the receipt and issue of fresh pork since Capt'n Rowley's time, which I have somehow mislaid amongst the multitude of papers with which I am surrounded; but it is not material. It is scarcely possible to conceive the difficulty, situated as I am, to arrange in correct order, all the official papers with which I have concern, and wholly thro' the want of my secretary, and from being obliged, thro' that cause, to manage with my own hand the whole of my multiplied business. What I herewith send you will probably enable you to complete what you want.

I have, &c.,

Jno. Hunter

P.S. - It is not long ago since I sent for from Norfolk Island 61 casks of salt meat, to prevent its being spoiled." (100)

(100) quoted in HRNSW IV p 95

11.20 Lieutenant- Governor King to Major Foveaux

"Sydney, 26th June, 1800.

Sir,

Since closing my letter No 1 to you, Governor Hunter has communicated such recent information as he has received from the officer now commanding on Norfolk Island.... .

... and you will not fail to observe that the conduct of Capt'n Rowley in destroying the stills which has occasioned much illhealth among the inhabitants, caused by the poison they furnished, merits my warmest approbation; and I hope, if the indirect threat that has been by Hambly and Ransom can be substantiated, that they will be punished to the full extent of the law. As Captain Rowley complains of illhealth, that officer is to be permitted to return to this place, if an opportunity should offer, before the relief takes place, which will be as soon after the *Porpoise's* arrival as she can be refitted. Among the few returns that Governor Hunter has received from Norfolk Island, I am called upon by my duty to remark that no general return of the state of the settlement, employment of the people, or other necessary papers, appears to have been sent here since Capt'n. Townson's departure; nor can I doubt that officer's leaving his successor my directions and the list of papers similar to that which accompanies my present instructions to you, in which it would have been discovered that those documents were calculated to possess the Governor-in-Chief of the actual state of that settlement, for want of which I am at a loss how to account for the numbers now on that island, their employment, &c. You will therefore request Captain Rowley to furnish himself with all these necessary documents, to deliver to me on his arrival here, made up to the day before he gives up command to you, which must not prevent you from sending your's, also made up to the time that any opportunity offers of communicating with me.

I have, &c.,

Philip Gidley King" (101)

(101) quoted in HRNSW IV p 108

- 11.21 Lieutenant-Governor King to The Duke of Portland
(Despatch marked "Separate A" per H.M.S. *Buffalo* :
acknowledged by the Duke of Portland, 19 June, 1801)

"Sydney New South Wales 27th June, 1800.

My Lord,

Finding on my arrival here that the Government of Norfolk Island was adminst'ed by a Captain of the New South Wales Corps during his yearly tour of duty, and being well convinced that an officer so situated could not discharge that trust, either in a manner satisfactory to himself or to the concerns of the internal management of the island, equal to one who might be fixed there for some time; and as Major Joseph Foveaux, of the New South Wales Corps, made an offer of going thither and acting as Lieutenant-Governor thereof, until His Majesty's pleasure may be signified, and assuring me of his attending to my instructions, deeming it essential to the inter'st of His Majesty's service that he should assume that command as soon as possible ...

I have the honour to enclose copies of the appointment and Instructions I gave that officer, which I hope will be returned with your Grace's approbation.

I have &c.,

Philip Gidley King

- 11.22 Lieutenant-Governor King to Major Foveaux (enclosure)

... and you will be pleased to inform the officer who now has charge of that island that it is necessary he should call all bills issued by himself or the Deputy Commissary by his orders, for the public service, during his command, and to cancel the same, informing him at the same time, as well as the Deputy Commissary, of that part of your instructions contained in the latter part of the 6th article, and its relative enclosures, respecting the forwarding their respective accounts current and vouchers, &c., in support thereof, manner and made therein directed; and you are to require from the above officer and the Deputy Commissary a list of all such persons as may be indebted to the Crown and require payment thereof forthwith, or as soon as their circumstances will admit."
(102)

(102) quoted in HRA I 2 p 509

- 11.23 It seems that difficulties were being experienced with the Treasury. The Norfolk Island establishment appears to have been separated from that of New South Wales from 1798. Martin Timms was Superintendent of Convicts since July 1793 but, writing on 10 April, 1801, Governor King reported that he has "never been paid". (103) In the same letter, he refers to Surveyor-General Alt making over "half of his pay to the Deputy Surveyor ... but ... neither the one or the other has been paid."

(103) HRA I 3 pp 86/7

11.24 The name of Thomas Jamison, the assistant surgeon of Norfolk Island, was confused with that of the Superintendent of Convicts as a result of which he received no better pay than the Superintendent (104) King made "no doubt but Capt. Townson has got over the difficulty (of his salary) which I apprehend will occur with respect to his successor, Capt. Rowley, who remained in the Execution of that office from the time Capt. Townson left it, Nov. 1799, to the time of Major Foveaux's Arrival, 26th July, 1800, when he took the Command, to whom I make no doubt that the whole Salary will be given. As I was assured that I should receive the whole Salary for this Government; consequently the whole of the Norfolk Island Salary will be paid to Major Foveaux - indeed both are very hard earned."

11.25 Foveaux, writing to King on 16 November, 1800, reported

"Immediately after my arrival on this Island I communicated to Capt'n Rowley such part of your letter as you requested I would; I also gave orders for such returns whereby I expected to derive any information respecting the true state of the Island to be sent to me by Capt'n Rowley, all the returns I received from him are bound together and numbered 2. By those returns your Excellency will perceive there was not any ground in Cultivation on acct of Govt. When I first took command it was then too late for Wheat, I have however ... cropped or prepared for Cropping as much Govt Ground as there was cleared and unoccupied; finding a quantity of Cleared Ground belonging to the Crown was lent to Individuals, I thought it proper to desire Persons to provide an account of the different allotments so held and by what authority ... " (104a)

Perhaps we see in this evidence that Rowley put his faith in private enterprise farming at which he had demonstrated his own success, whereas Foveaux favoured the gaoler's approach.

11.26 Foveaux obviously did not see eye-to-eye with Rowley on many things. King responded in his letter of 19 December, 1800:-

"Your letter respecting Capn Rowley's taking his Son from the Island without your knowledge and not calling on you before his departure I have communicated to Col. Paterson who directed the Adjutant to write to Capn Rowley on the subject; his Answer I enclose." (104b)

This reply does not appear in the records and I have no knowledge of which members of Rowley's family accompanied him to Norfolk Island.

(104) HRNSW III p 43
(104a) Gov. King's Letter Book ML FM 3/234 p 159
(104b) do p 168

12. CITIZEN ROWLEY

12.01 Following his resignation, or retirement from the New South Wales Corps - **he ceased to be mentioned in the Army List of 1802** - Thomas Rowley became one of the leading citizens of the community.

12.02 Members of the Vice-Admiralty Court at the trial of Stow & sons held on 14 July, 1802 included "Thomas Rowley Esqr. Planter." - almost the description of a southern colonel.

12.03 On 28 August, 1803, he advertised in the *Sydney Gazette* on behalf of his friend, Captain Waterhouse.

"TO BE LET

And Entered on Immediately A CONVENIENT and pleasantly situated DWELLING-HOUSE, the property of CAPTAIN WATERHOUSE. With good Kitchen, Store-house and other Out-buildings, together with One Hundred Acres of excellent Land, great part of which is cleared; situated on the Banks of the River, One mile from Parramatta, late in the occupation of Mr WM COX.

Particulars known by applying to Captain ROWLEY

Sydney August 26

12.04 In the "New South Wales Pocket Almanack and Colonial Remembrancer, 1806" - a facsimile edition was published by the Public library in 1966 - there is the following listing

"Magistrates - For County of Cumberland

Major G, Johnstone	T, Arndell
Rev, S, Marfden	T, Jamieson
J, Harris	T, Rowley

Note.- Session days Tuesdays and Saturdays
- One Magistrate appointed to sit weekly."

13. THE LOYAL ASSOCIATION

13.01

"In the first week of September, 1800, many reports were current about proposed rebellions amongst the Irish convicts. In consequence, on the 6th of September, Governor Hunter issued an order, commanding all civil officers and such housekeepers, who are free men, possessing property, and good characters in the town of Sydney, to assemble, and from amongst these, fifty men were to be chosen to be used as an armed police under the command of civil officers. A similar order was issued to the inhabitants at Parramatta."

13.02

"On the following day, the men selected were enrolled into two companies, the Loyal Sydney Association, and the Loyal Parramatta Association, under the commands of Wm. Balmain and Richard Atkins, respectively. They were enrolled on the condition that 'they are not to expect pay for the voluntary offer of their services' (see HRA I 2 p 637) and were the first organised volunteer corps in Australia." (105)

(105) HRA I 3 p 768

13.03

"The whole were supplied with arms and ammunition, of which they were instructed in the use by some serjeants of the New South Wales corps, and their alarm-post was fixed at the front of Government House." (106) "They were drilled twice a week, between 4.30 and 5.30 p m, by Serjeants Jamieson and Flemming of Sydney." (107)

(106) Collins II p 303

(107) footnote to HRA I 3 p 768

13.04 The companies were disbanded, with "the Governor's approbation of their general good conduct and attention."

"ORDER

21ST AUGUST, 1801

In consequence of Captain Balmain (Commandant of the Sydney and Parramatta Association) going Home, and the necessity of Captain Thompson's (Captain of the Parramatta Association) removal from Parramatta, and Lieut. Palmer's resignation, the Governor, however anxious he is in applauding the good conduct of these officers and the inhabitants they have trained and disciplined in a manner that does them the greatest credit, yet, not having a sufficient numbers of officers on the civil department to appoint to these commands without being a hindrance to their professional duties, is therefore under the necessity of directing the associations to be disembodied ...(108)

(108) HRA I 3 p 260

13.05 The Loyal Association was however re-established in October, 1802 with Rowley as Captain of the Sydney Company and an additional appointment as Barrack Master. Governor King, in his despatch of 9 November to Lord Hobart, explained that

“on the late arrival of 400 Irish Convicts (Mostly Rebels) I conceived it adviseable, (in consequence of the Duke of Portland's approbation of that measure, And your Lordship's strong recommendation to the same effect) to rename the Officers and to re-embody the Men for One week to deliver them, their cloathing, and Arms after which they will be dispersed, But ready in case of any emergency to assist the New South Wales Corps.' (109)

(109) HRA I 3 pp 653/4

13.06 These appointments are recorded:-

“22nd October, 1802

LOYAL ASSOCIATION

The Commander-in-Chief is instructed not to dispense with the Loyal Associations; But, as there is no necessity for keeping them embodied constantly, they are to be exercised during One Month in every year, unless their services should be called forth on any particular emergency, in consequence of which the following Regulations are made respecting the Officers, viz:-

William Balmain, Esq., to be Captain Commandant of the Sydney and Parramatta Associations;

Thomas Rowley, Esq., Captain of the Sydney Company; and

Thomas Smyth, Esq., Provost-Marshal. Lieutenant;

James Thompson, Esq., Captain of the Parramatta Company;

D'Arcy Wentworth, Esq., Lieutenant, and

Mr John Jamison, Lieutenant.

The Muster Rolls are to continue the same as when delivered to the Governor by Captain Balmain, unless any exceptions may have since become necessary.

Captain Rowley and Mr. Wentworth will receive Lists of those who are now to be enrolled. They will receive the Clothing and Arms sent for that purpose by Government on Monday, the 25th Instant. The conditions on which they are re-enrolled will be previously made known to them.

Captain Rowley is directed to have the inspection and care of the Barracks appropriated to the Civil and Military.

23rd October, 1802

APPOINTMENT OF BARRACK MASTER

The Commander-in-Chief having judged it necessary to appoint Captain Thomas Rowley, late of the New South Wales Corps and now of the Sydney Loyal Association, to have the inspection and direction of the Barracks, the Commanding Officer is requested to direct the Quarter-Master to give Captain Rowley an account of the different articles of barrack furniture, &c., now in the different barracks at Sydney and Parramatta, and to conform to the regulations on that behalf.” (110)

(110) HRA I 4 pp 323/4

13.07 Governor King's despatch explained

“As great Expence has attended keeping the Barracks appropriated to the Civil and Military in repair, being neglected when uninhabited, as well as to prevent waste, I have taken it upon me to appoint Capt’n. Thomas Rowley late of the Corps to act as Barrack Master for which service he is remunerated from the Public Store.”

13.08 The effective roll of the Sydney Company as at 9 November, 1802 shows a strength of one captain, one lieutenant, three sergeants, two corporals and 44 privates. (111)

13.09 Governor King reported in a despatch to Lord Hobart in March, 1804 that he had issued the proclamation dated 9 December, 1803 which

"enabled me to take steps for re-embodiment that addition to our military strength which may be usefully employed in protecting the stores and towns at Sydney and Parramatta in case any emergency should require the Corps to march." (111a)

Duncan MacCallum noted:-

“He also mentioned that he had enrolled some Volunteer Artillerymen for service to replace the New South Wales Corps on the batteries. (111b)

In November, 1804, the members of the Sydney Association were mobilised to deal with an external threat which did not mature. At daylight, several ships had appeared, 'and from their frequent evolutions (they) were conjectured to be part of an enemy's squadron that had intended to favour us with a complimentary visit. Various circumstances strengthening the former conjecture, the drums beat to arms and the New South Wales Corps and Loyal Association immediately formed to welcome the Strangers home'. The visitors turned out to be the English whaler, the *Policy*, with her Batavian prize, the *Swift*, on charter to the Dutch East India Company, which vessel the *Policy* was ushering in. (111c)

It was fortunate that the *Policy* was an English ship, for she mounted twelve six-pounders and she emerged the victor after a keen engagement, with the *Swift* which lasted an hour and twenty minutes. The *Swift* mounted six eighteen-pounders. The official paper in its next issue praised the 'promptness shown in the formation of our armed force'. In less than twenty minutes the Loyal Association was in 'perfect readiness' to second the exertions of the New South Wales Corps, had 'the first transient conjecture been realized'. The defence of the harbour was 'equally an object of attention, and no pains were spared to be in readiness to compliment the Strangers as they passed the batteries. At Parramatta all were equally alert, and' - this gives point to the peculiar species of Volunteer which was part Militia force - 'had the apprehension been more than momentary all the settlements in the colony would, in the course of a few hours, have contributed to an extensive levy of loyal and determined volunteers.' (111d)

For at least part of the time during which they were embodied the members were victualled at the public expense and the issue of arm and ammunition to them was authorised even if not made. (111e) Captain Hunter's regulations for members

ordered that they should drill for an hour twice a week in the late afternoons. (111f) And in 1804 the embodied Associations were ordered to exercise 'every Saturday from one o'clock till three'. (111g)

It was in putting down the internal Irish convict rebellion in March, 1804, and not in repelling any external attack that members of the Associations were useful. In fact, the Governor praised their alert and prompt activity, and the words of his praise of the Sydney Association proclaimed locally on the eve of his despatch to England, indicate the function of internal security - if it had been England one would write of 'aid to the civil power'. The Governor referred to '... the forwardness every Loyal Inhabitant manifested to preserve the Peace and Tranquility of that Settlement. He mentioned also the support given by several Parramatta Volunteers to Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson's detachment of the New South Wales Corps. (111h)" (112)

(111a) HRA I 5 p 484

(111b) HRA I 5 pp 70 & 484

(111c) SG II 90 18/11/1804

(111d) SG II pl 25/11/1804

(111e) HRA I 4 p 33

(111f) HRA I 2 pp 636 ...

(111g) HRA I 4 p 80 & SG II 57 1/4/1804

(111h) HRA I 4 pp 571 ... & SG II 54 11/3/1804

(112) JRAHS 47.6 pp 353 /4

13.10 The Irish convict rebellion of March, 1804 involved about 330 convicts who organised a full-scale insurrection culminating in the Battle of Vinegar Hill. It is well known that Major Johnston marched his N.S.W. Corps detachment from Sydney to "Toongabbee", then pursued the rebels for a further seven miles and, deeming the protection of a white flag inapplicable to a convict revolt, arrested the rebel leader and ordered the detachment to fire upon the rebels. The role of the Volunteers is less clear although the *Sydney Gazette* on 11 March, 1804 reported that "Seventy of the Insurgents, armed with muskets of which they had stripped the settlers, commanded by Humes, having missed joining the main body, were concealed about the Castle Hill Road, which occupied the attention of the Detachment and the Association at Parramatta."

13.11 Governor King, writing to Lord Hobart on 12 March, enclosed a return of the Sydney and Parramatta Associations and advises that

"They will be immediately perfected in the exercise, and will at all times be of the greatest use, in case circumstances should render it necessary for the New South Wales Corps to leave Sydney or Parramatta on any exigence." (113)

(113) HRA I 4 p 564

13.12 Military historian, Colonel Austin, writes that:-

"While Major George Johnston was chasing the rebels, Paterson with 'one captain, the chaplain and surgeon, twelve drums, and 180 rank and file with a brass six-pounder was in readiness in Sydney to act in the event of any

disturbance. No doubt the remaining six-pounder would remain at the Barrack Parade, while the Parramatta Loyal Association stood by with two field guns at that place.” (114)

(114) JRAHS 49 p 200

13.13

“On 9 March, King published his thanks to His Majesty’s loyal subjects in the colony, singling out the Loyal Association in Sydney, Captain Abbott, Major Johnston, Lieutenants Davis and Brabyn, quarter-master Laycock, the twenty five soldiers, and the officers of *the Calcutta*, for special mention.” (115)

Thomas Smyth, Rowley's lieutenant, voluntarily accompanied Major Johnson's detachment.

(115) Clark p 173

13.14 On 8 April, 1804, the *Sydney Gazette* published a ballad, “The Volunteers”, to commemorate the response of “the Volunteer Blue” civilian army. The poem begins:-

“When menac'd with civilian commotion and noise
Shall Britons inactively slumber?
Then away to the field, the bright musket to poise,
With courage regardless of number.

With patriot firmness the laws we'll maintain;
With spirit and vigor we'll brave the campaigns;
Our women and children relinquish their fears
And trust to the prowess of brave Volunteers.

Should France, in her fondness for places abroad
E'er honor our coast with a visit,
Before on the soil many moments they've trod
They'll find our politeness exquisite.

13.15 Brian Fletcher notes (A.D.B.) that in April, 1804, Rowley became Captain-Commandant of the entire Association, i.e., the Sydney and Parramatta Companies. The return of the Parramatta Company as at 1 August 1804. “John Savage, Esqre., Captain”, is signed by “Thos. Rowley, Capt. Commandant.” (116)

(116) HRA I IV p 571

13.16 Upon Rowley’s death the Sydney Loyal Association “marched out” to attend his funeral. In the same issue of the *Sydney Gazette* which reported his funeral is the General Order announcing that “HIS EXCELLENCY has been pleased to sign a Commission appointing Richard Atkins, Esq. Captain Commandant of the Sydney Loyal Association, in the room of the late Thomas Rowley Esq. Deceased”. It would seem from this that the continued readiness of the Volunteer force was a matter of some concern. In March, 1808, Atkins was succeeded in the post by Lieutenant Thomas Moore. On 25 March, 1809 Colonel Paterson wrote to the War Office that the volunteers were “clothed and victualled at Government expence and are of little use to us. Should the New South Wales Corps be augmented, the expense of the volunteers could be dispensed with, and their place supplied with efficient and disciplined men.” (117) The Association thereafter appears to have lapsed.

(117) HRNSW VII p 96

14 THE TRADERS

14.01 It was the officers who first commenced to engage in trade. Their place was gradually taken by the merchants such as Robert Campbell who was to be joined within two years by William Tough and, later, by the emancipists such as Simeon Lord, Henry Kable, James Underwood, Andrew Thompson, Isaac Nichols and Thomas Reiby.

14.02 William Tough arrived in the *John* on 2 June, 1801, to establish an agency business for the merchants, "Chace, Chinnery & Co. of Madras who were the owners (with Arthur Hogue of Madras) of the cargoes of the *John* and the *Harrington*, whose captain and part-owner was William Campbell. Both vessels brought valuable cargoes although King would not allow the captain of the *John* to land spirits." (118)

(118) HRA I v p 806 – see note 33

14.03 While the earlier merchants enjoyed great profitability, this was not to last. The market was soon experiencing a surfeit of goods, resulting in stocks being sacrificed, often being sold below cost. Rowley is recorded observing in October, 1801 that "Stock has fallen near £100 per cent." (119)

(119) Bonwick Transcript, Biography Vol 4 p 1091

14.04 In 1803, Tough returned to Madras to find that Chace, Chinnery & Co. had dissolved their connection with Hogue, and he was soon sent back to Sydney in the *Harrington*, with a third investment. In June, 1803 no less than £18,560 worth of merchandise remained unsold from the 1801 investments. In August, 1804 some £4,302 worth of this had been sold and £9,000 worth had been shipped on the *Harrington* in the hope of selling it in South America. Tough also had £4,724 worth of sugar left from the cargo brought on the *Harrington's* second voyage. This gave him £10,000 worth of merchandise in his warehouse at the time (Robert) Campbell was estimated to have almost £50,000 worth and Simeon Lord and "other dealers" had stocks worth about £15,000. (120)

(120) HRA I V p 106

14.05 In the *Sydney Gazette* of 1 July, 1804, a notice appears:-

"All perfons indebted to Captain Rowley, as Agent to Mr. Wm. TOUGH, are hereby required to adjuft their Accounts on or before the 31st proximo, as a final arrangement is about to take place.

Sydney, June 30, 1804."

14.06 Six months later, Tough was dead and Rowley was acting in a new capacity as executor of his estate with Blaxcell.

"Sydney, February 16, 1805

We, the undersigned, Executors of the will of the late Mr WILLIAM TOUGH, Deceased, request that all Persons having any claim or demand against him, either by Promissory Notes now in circulation or otherwise, do forthwith present the same for payment. - And such persons as are indebted to him, to settle their Accounts as soon as possible.

Thos. Rowley
G. Blaxcell." (121)

(121) SG Vol II No 103, 17 February, 1805

14.07 The need for livestock in the colony to provide fresh meat and to discontinue the reliance on salt provisions was apparent to all including the merchants. King encouraged the importation of livestock but livestock losses at sea were high and few beasts were landed successfully.

14.08 On 12 February, 1803, Campbell & Co.'s *Castle of Good Hope*, arrived from Calcutta. She was the largest ship then to have entered Port Jackson. Her cargo mainly comprised livestock - 307 Bengal cows, 6 horses, the best that could be obtained, and 4 asses. The ship had shortened the voyage by going through Bass Strait rather than going south of Tasmania and this led to greatly reduced losses, only twelve cows and one horse.

14.09 The acceptance of animals landed was the responsibility of John Jamieson, Superintendent of Government Stock. The contract provided that the cattle should be "not less than Two Years or more than Three Years Old, and to be paid only for such as are landed and deemed merchantable at Port Jackson." Jamieson, "a proud, touchy but *honest* Scotchman" rejected ninety of the cattle and added insult to injury by speaking unkindly of the master, Captain McAskill.

14.10 Campbell petitioned Governor King that the animals rejected "on account of *their youth* as I understand" should be re-inspected by "such Gentleman as you may think proper to decide on their present state."

14.11 Governor King ordered Quarter-master Laycock and Captain Rowley to inspect the cattle.

"Whereas a certain Number of the Cows brought from Calcutta, by the Ship *Castle of Good Hope* (in consequence of a Contract for that purpose) being rejected as unfit to be received by Government and not according to the Tenor of the Contract.

You are therefore hereby required and directed to inspect the said Cattle, and to Report to me from under your Hands whether the State, Age, and Quality of the said cows are or are not conformable to the Tenor of the Contract, the Heads of 'which you are furnished with.

For which this shall be your order

Given under my hand at Government House Sydney in New South Wales this 16th February 1803.

To Mr. Thomas Laycock
Qr. Mr. N. S. Wales Corps

Philip Gidley King

On the part of Government

Captain Thomas Rowley
Sydney Loyal Association

On the part of the Proprietor

(Annexure)

"Engages to bring One Hundred and Fifty Head of large Cows from Bengal fit for Breeding, not less than two Years or more than Three Years Old, and to be paid only for such as are landed and deemed Merchantable at Port Jackson."

A True Copy – P.G.K.

N. B. What is meant by "Merchantable", is that there is no danger of their dying in Consequence of the hurts they may have received on the Voyage or the state they are landed in - P. G. K." (122)

(122) HRA I IV p 126

14.12 The inspectors endorsed their report upon the order in the following terms

"PURSUANT to an Order from His Excellency Governor King, on the other side as directed.

We the undersigned have taken a careful Examination of the Cattle Landed from the Ship Castle of Good Hope and according to the best of our Judgment have selected Thirty Two Cows, and Four Calves from the same, which are in our Opinions agreeable to the Tenor of the Contract and equal to the Others before approved of.

Thos. Laycock, Qr. Masr. N.S.W. Corps
Thomas Rowley, Captain Sydney Loyal Association." (123)

(123) HRA I IV p 127

14.13 The *Castle of Good Hope* venture was, according to Governor King, "of the most liberal nature" but for Robert Campbell, it involved considerable loss. He was left with the rejects, 58 cows and 2 calves and, to provide for these, he purchased at auction on 26 May, 1803 the property "Canterbury" for £525. This was one of the properties owned by William Cox. (The Cox family name of "Ashfield" is perpetuated nearby.)

14.14 Despite the disappointment of Campbell at the adjudication of Laycock and Rowley, it will be noted that they remained on good terms. The officers, civil and military - Laycock and Rowley included - gave a testimonial to Campbell on 24 December, 1804, expressing their "sense of approbation" at his conduct "as a Gentleman and a Merchant." (124)

(124) CO 201/41 p 23

14.15 William Cox came to the colony in January 1800 in the *Minerva* with his wife and four of their six sons. He is remembered for his work as a road-builder, particularly that from Emu Plains to Bathurst built in 1814, although he was a pioneer sheep-breeder, too.

14.16 In the list of Civil and Military Officers "holding Land by Grant or Lease, or in Possession of Stock" dated 9 November, 1802, the leading landholders were "Captain John McArthur (3,950 acres), "Paymaster William Cox (1,440 acres) and "Quartermaster Thomas Laycock (1,348 acres). These three owned more than the remaining eighteen.

14.17 The Irish rebel general, Joseph Holt, was also aboard the *Minerva* with his wife and two sons, one born aboard the ship. Cox befriended Holt but offended him when he arranged for Holt to be assigned to him. ("... I am not a convicted transport. I came here on terms to expatriate myself, but not to be subject to the rules and slavery of those whose criminality has deprived them of the rights of British subjects." (125)) They were shortly afterwards reconciled and Holt became farm manager for Cox. In September 1800, Holt was arrested under suspicion of complicity in a suspected plot for an Irish uprising but he was freed month later.

(125) Joseph Holt II p 63

14.18 Holt records a conversation between his wife and Mr and Mrs Cox in which he was reported as being "disappointed and hurt at the indifference Mr Cox had apparently exhibited upon my arrest, having taken no steps on my behalf, and she (Mrs Holt) had heard me say that I had my choice of two of the best situations in the Colony. She knew also that Captain Rowley had gone to see me in prison, but she was not acquainted with the purport of his visit." (126)

(126) Joseph Holt II p 129

14.19 It may well be that Rowley was seeking to engage the services of Holt. Holt, however, remained with Cox and records Cox's successful acquisition of Brush Farm, the Reverend Richard Johnson's 600 acres at Canterbury. Subsequent purchases included 30 acres from Curtis Bryan, 25 acres from Thomas Tilley, 50 acres from "Mr Hume", 30 acres from Thomas Higgins, 100 acres from Captain McKellar, 100 acres from Captain Campbell, and 100 acres from Dr Thompson. "The next year, I bought John Ramsay's farm of seventy-five acres, ... then ... Barrington's farm, of twenty-five acres, ... then ... fifty acres from Edward Elliot ... and by these means squared the estate." (127)

(127) Joseph Holt II pp 136/7

14.20 In January, 1803, "Mr Cox was one night at Sydney, in company with Doctor Jamieson, who was Surgeon-General of New South Wales. They had some words, and Mr Cox owed him two hundred pounds. The sum itself was a trifle to pay; but the Doctor had circulated a report that Mr Cox had failed, which had made everyone who had the slightest claim upon him press forward with their claims at once. When all the claims were added up, they made no less a sum than twenty-two thousand pounds; and all his creditors made a seizure at the same time." (128) Huntington says that "Captain Rowley was one of the principal claimants and induced all parties to accept compromises, rather than sacrifice the estate." (129)

(128) Joseph Holt II p 171

(129) Huntington p 62

14.21 On 15 April, 1803, an auction sale of Cox's livestock took place

"Almost all the creditors attended this sale, as it was advertised that if any of the creditors made a purchase at the sale, they should be allowed one-fourth of that debt due to them, in the payment of the purchase money." (130)

(130) Joseph Holt II p 174

14.22

"The next lot was a young cow, with female calf one month were put up at fifty guineas. Captain Rowley bid fifty-five guineas, and the bidding advanced to sixty guineas, sixty-five guineas, seventy-five guineas; at which sum they were knocked down to John Jones." (131)

(131) Joseph Holt II p 175

14.23 Although Huntington reports (132) that Holt thought highly of Captain Rowley - and the foregoing quotes indicate - that they were well acquainted - there is no such mention in Holt's memoirs. It may be that Rowley's death had removed him from Holt's list of officers and gentlemen, but under date 1810, Holt wrote that:-

"The only two individuals whose characters stood free from blemish, were Major Abbott and Captain Piper. They now enjoyed the reward of their honourable conduct, in the esteem of the Governor, and the good wishes of the settlers and others; of which these gentlemen were, in every respect, most worthy." (133)

(132) Huntington p 28

(133) Joseph Holt II p 311

14.24 The sale of Cox's property, "led to a wide distribution of his stock and King, to accommodate them, made fresh (land) grants in every district." (134)

"This I have done, with the intention of encouraging the rearing of stock as the bankruptcy of the Paymaster of the New South Wales Corps, who had monopolised a great quantity of stock, which had been bartered and exchanged by Government, has distributed the stock so that every industrious settler possesses some of one kind or another. To feed this increasing stock requires pasturage." (135)

(134) Barnard p 277

(135) HRA I V p 6

14.25 Rowley, Robert Campbell, the Reverend Samuel Marsden and D'Arcy Wentworth were named as trustees in a Deed of Indemnity executed on 13 February, 1804, in respect of the Cox Estate. (136) By 7 July of that year, it would appear that Wentworth had been replaced by Thomas Moore (137), with James Williamson replacing Campbell by March, 1805. (138) In the *Sydney Gazette* in which this last replacement is noted, the trustees report a further dividend "making in the whole seventy-five per cent."

(136) HRA I IV p 546
 (137) SG II 71 8/7/1804
 (138) SG III 109 31/3/1805

14.26 Some act of Rowley's in the course of his trusteeship of the Cox Estate resulted in his being defamed at a meeting of the creditors held on 19 March, 1804. Presumably the terms of settlement resulted in the publication in the *Sydney Gazette* in the issues of 8 and 29 July in that year, of the following:-

"ADVERTISEMENT

Whereas I, the underfigned Mary Newton, was fo imprudent, rafh, and indifcreet, as to utter fome expreffions highly injurious to, and tending to defame the character of THOMAS ROWLEY, Efquire, at a Public Meeting of the Truftees and Creditors of Mr WM. COX, on the 19th day of March laft; for which expreffions the said Thomas Rowley Efq. commenced a profecution againft me, and recovered damages in the Civil Court: but in confederation of my making a public acknowledgement of my error; confeffing my fincere contrition for my offence, and declaring the faid expreffions to have been falfe and unfounded, the faid Thomas Rowley Efq. has humanely confented to forgive the damages, on my paying all cofts: Now I, the faid Mary Newton, do hereby acknowledge the lenity of the faid Thomas Rowley Efq. in fo doing; and do confefs my forrow for my offence, and offer my grateful thanks to that Gentleman for his goodnefs. Given under my hand at Sydney, July 7th, 1804.

her
 MARY X NEWTON
 mark

Witnefs RICH. ATKINS."

14.27 Rowley and Williamson, Treasurers, threaten stern measures in a notice published on 28 April, 1805 (139) - a meeting is called "in order to examine into the Debts that remain unpaid, to give a Lift of the fame to the Provofit Marfhall to enforce payment thereof" but report a disappointment two weeks later when bills are "Protefted to the amount of 5861 £. 11 s. and 4 d. and that by way of India with very heavy expences." (140)

(139) SG III 113 28/4/1805
 (140) SG III 115/6 12 and 19/5/1805

14.28 Rowley appears to have remained as the sole treasurer following a meeting of creditors held on 19 September, 1805 - his is the only signature to notices published in the *Sydney Gazette* on 29 September, 1805 and 2 February, 1806 - but thereafter there appears a sad record of his endeavours to retire from the trust.

14.29

"NOTICE

IN confequence of extreme ill heath, I feel it impoffible to undergo the fatigue of continuing Treafurer of the Eftate of Mr. WM. COX.

I therefore requeft the Creditors and Truftees to meet at the houfe of Serjt. Major Whittel, at 12 o'clock on Saturday the 19th infant, in order that I may deliver up the Truft delegated to me by them at the laft Meeting.

T. ROWLEY, Treafurer." (141)

(141) SG IV 160/1 6 and 13/4/1806

14.30

"NOTICE

The Meeting of Mr Cox's Creditors called for the 19th infant is poftponed to Friday the 25th infant when it is requefted that all concerned will attend.

T. ROWLEY, Treafurer." (142)

(142) SG IV 162 20/4/1806

14.31

"ADVERTISEMENT

FINDING my health fo much impaired as to be no longer able to attend to the Affairs of Mr. COX'S Estate, I have to requeft the Truftees and Creditors will attend at the Houfe of Serjeant Major WHITTEL on the 23rd infant, when I will be ready to deliver up my Accounts.

T. ROWLEY, Treasurer." (143)

(143) SG IV 165 11/5/1806

15. LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

15.01 The decline in Rowley's health, sufficient to justify his return from Norfolk Island in 1800, **his retirement from the Army on 12 November, 1801** and his resignation as a trustee of the Cox estate suggests that he was aware that his days were numbered.

15.02 On 27 February 1805, he executed his will in the presence of "Richard Atkins, Thos Jameson J.P. and Wm. Evans."

15.03 Atkins was the drunken Judge-Advocate who, presumably, had drawn up the will. He travelled to the colony aboard the *Pitt* with Grose and Rowley, being appointed Registrar of the Vice-Admiralty Court upon his arrival. Manning Clark writes:-

"At the beginning of each new year Atkins resolved to give up that inveterate love of the bottle which was ruining his reputation with his fellow-men, as well as destroying his self-respect. Each new year's eve he recorded his trust in his fortitude and resolution to resist all temptation. On 1 January 1796 he recorded once again his failure the previous year ... By 11 February he was recording failure." (144)

(144) Clark I p 144

15.04 Thomas Jamison came out with the first fleet as Surgeon's Mate on the *Sirius*. He proceeded straight to Norfolk Island serving there till October 1799. Presumably he left the island when Rowley arrived.

15.05

"Jamison saw no harm in following the example of his colleagues in indulging in mercantile activities in his spare time, which led him first to disregard some government regulations and ultimately to conflict with authority; for all that he was more competent and conscientious than most." (145)

(145) ADB 2 pp 12/3

15.06 Surveyor Evans was a younger man who arrived in the colony in 1802 on the *Buffalo* on which Johnston returned, after the British authorities refused to institute a court martial on the charge of trafficking in liquor. Evans was appointed the acting Surveyor in 1803. He was Sergeant-Major of the Parramatta Loyal Association, subsequently being appointed Lieutenant. He undertook much exploration with Oxley; also in Tasmania.

15.07

"No immediate danger was apprehended, until his esteemed friend, Doctor John Harris the surgeon of the New South Wales Corps informed him and his family of the true nature of the disorder, consumption, and of its dangerous character. His mind was kept in peace but he suffered much, on account of his sore throat,

depriving him of natural rest and inability to lay down. The disease gained ground and his strength failed. His patience under extreme suffering, was most remarkable. His family lay nearest his heart and some of his brother officers relieved his mind, by promising to guide, protect and provide for them, if help was necessary. During the last week of his life he became more enfeebled and a short time after midnight on 29th May, he fell into a soft slumber, to which he had been almost a stranger for some months, and two hours later his family who were around him, witnessed the termination of his earthly career.” (146)

(146) Huntington pp 64/5

15.08 It was **on Tuesday, 27 May, 1806**, a few days after the date set down for the meeting to deliver up his treasurership of the Cox Estate that Rowley died. The June 1, 1806 issue of the *Sydney Gazette* reported that

"This day the Remains of Thomas Rowley Esq., are to be interred; the New South Wales Corps and Sydney Loyal Affociation yesterday received orders to march out to attend the Funeral."

15.09 In the same issue, the following obituary appeared:-

“DEATH

At two in the morning of Tuefday laft died of a confumptive complaint long contracted, THOMAS ROWLEY Efq. Captain Commandant of the Loyal Sydney Association, and formerly Captain in His Majefty's New South Wales Corps.

The philanthropy and many eminent virtues which adorned the character of that worthy Gentleman have too long been a fubject of univerfal admiration to admit eulogium here: nor is it in the power of language to convey the flightest conception of the regret occasioned by the event to his family and numerous friends of the very firft respectability in the Colony - in which fenfation all claffes of inhabitants participate.

15.10

"During the Captain's affliction many of his friends called to bid a final farewell to him, as it was well known he was past recovery. When he was sinking rapidly he told those around him that he was dying 'happy and contented', adding that the one desire of his heart was to be buried in a certain part of his farm, where he had spent many happy hours. His dying wish was honored, and a vault was prepared on the site he had pointed out.” (147)

(147) Huntington p 69

15.11 The following is the report of the funeral given in the *Sydney Gazette*.

"On Sunday laft the Remains of the late THOMAS ROWLEY Efq. was interred at his Farm near Town, agreeable to the particular injuncions of the deceafed fhorthy prior to his death.

HIS EXCELLENCY attended as did the Officers of the Colony, Civil, Military, and Naval, to pay the last duties of respect to an Officer whose long service lay claim to every honorable attention.

The New South Wales Corps, Sydney Loyal Association, and Marines and Seamen of His Majesty's ship Buffalo and Lucy private ship of war, marched off to join the procession at about half past ten; and at half past 12 the procession reached the place of interment, where the funeral service was performed by the Rev. Mr. MARSDEN; and when the bier was received into the vault martial honours were paid by a Company of the New South Wales Corps, firing three volleys over the grave.

The general sentiment that prevailed on the occasion was manifested in strong traits of sorrow which were conspicuous in every countenance." (148)

(148) SG IV 169 8/6/1806

15.12

"It appears that the troops, and the civil, military and naval officers, formed a procession on the parade ground, at the corner of what is now George Street and Old Charlotte Place (now Grosvenor Street) and marched along the road leading to Parramatta, until arrival at the 'Kingston Farm' Camperdown, where the remains of the deceased Captain were removed from his cottage and followed to the vault on the hillside.

Among those present at the burial rites were Governor King, Captains George Johnston, and Edward Abbott, Lieutenants John Brabyn and William Moore, Ensign William Lawson, Paymaster William Cox, Quarter Master Thomas Laycock, Surgeon John Harris, Richard Atkins Esq. Judge Advocate, Commissary John Palmer, Garnham Blaxcell Esq. the Governor's Secretary, Surgeon Thomas Jamison, Surgeon Darcey (sic) Wentworth, Augustus Alt Esq. (retired Surveyor General), Surgeon Thomas Amdell, James Wilshire, Captain Alexander Ferguson of the 18 gun vessel 'Lucy', Captain J. Houstoun of H.M.S. Buffalo, The Rev. Henry Fulton, Captain John Macarthur, Thomas Moore of the Sydney Loyal Association, and Nicholas Divine Superintendent of Convicts.

The newspaper account speaks of those at the graveside being visibly affected, and this sadness was mainly caused because every one considered the deceased a most estimable man. In him the cause of Christian philanthropy lost an able and judicious advocate, and zealous and liberal supporter." (149)

(149) Huntington pp 70/1

15.13 Rowley appointed "my respected friends Major George Johnstone of the New South Wales Corps and John Harris Esquire Surgeon in this same corps" executors, trustees of his estate, and trustees for his children during their minority, leaving the balance after payment of "all my just debts and expences of my funeral" and a legacy of £50 each for his executors, "in special trust for the benefit of my five natural children begotten on the body of Elizabeth Selwyn, namely Isabella Rowley, Thomas Rowley, John Rowley, Mary Rowley and Eliza Rowley ... in common with the said Elizabeth Selwyn, their mother ... so long as the said Elizabeth Selwyn shall continue sole and

unmarried and does not live in a state of cohabitation with any man ... but in the event of the said Elizabeth Selwyn forming connexion with any man so as to live with him in a state of co-habitation or marriage she is forever afterwards to lose and be deprived of this allowance ... whereas if the said Elizabeth Selwyn remains single she shall be entitled to receive her due share."

15.14 At the date of his death, the children's ages were - Isabella, 13; Thomas, 11; John, 8; Mary, 6 and Eliza, 2. Thus it was the true concern shown by a loving father when he concluded his will expressing "full confidence of their (his executors') discretion, judgment and fidelity and that they will kindly and tenderly afford every attention and care towards my young family in their progressful years of maturity."

15.15 Although Brian Fletcher says in the entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography that Elizabeth Selwyn "was the mother of four of these (five) children" (150), I have been unable to substantiate this which is contrary to the express statement in the will **and may be a reference to the other child fathered by Thomas Rowley, Jane Mickle or Muckle. (See Para 16.29)**

(150) A D B 2 p 403

15.16 Not all the blame for the perpetuation of Rowley myths can be laid upon the family. In the Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, C. A. Henderson recollected, in writing about "Burwood House" that

"Major Rowley, who lived here, was shot in fighting a duel at Annandale, his railed grave was visible from the railway line in the Annandale paddocks close to the eastern boundary." (151)

A Vice-President of the same society reminisced that the Prince Alfred Cricket Club's ground was moved to make way for the building of the hospital to

"Camperdown not far from a tributary of Johnston's Creek. ... At some distance from the cricket ground, towards the south-west, could be found the tiny graveyard, which I have read, contained the body of Major Rowley, who lived in Burwood House, and was shot fighting a duel in Annandale." (152)

The Reverend T. G. Rees, in his "Historic Camperdown" locates the grave as being "at the junction of Johnston Creek and Tributary."

(151) Henderson p 356

(152) Abbott p 11

15.17 After a decent interval after his death, Captain Rowley's executors commenced their duties, inserting their "probate notice" in the *Sydney Gazette* of 21 December, 1806. When the notice was repeated the following week, they or the printer demonstrated economy by changing the last two words of the notice. By changing "term fpecified" to "above term", they saved a line of type. The notice read:-

"NOTICE

All Claims or Demands upon the Eftate and Effects of the late Captain Thomas Rowley are requefted to be prefented for infpection to his Executors Major GEORGE JOHNSTON and JOHN HARRIS, Efq., on or before Monday, the 12th of January, 1807.

And all perfons indebted to the Eftate are required to make payment of their feveral Accounts within the term fpecified."

15.18 There apparently had been a need for earlier attention to the affairs of the estate as is evidenced by the notice in the *Sydney Gazette* of 7 September, 1806:

"NOTICE - The Shopkeepers and other Inhabitants of this Territory am hereby Cautioned not to give Credit to any of the Servants employed at or belonging to the Farm of Mrs. Elizabeth Selwyn (late Captain Rowley's); as She will not be reponfible for any Debt or Debts that any of her servants may contract."

15.19 The resolve of his duly appointed executors to attend to Rowley's affairs appears to have been upset by subsequent happenings.

"On the day of Bligh's arrival in August, 1806, the New South Wales Corps and the Sydney Loyal Association turned out to welcome him and all colours of the regiment were flying. Bligh was presented with an address of welcome, signed by Johnston for the military, Atkins for the civil authorities, and Macarthur for the free inhabitants. The address contained the usual platitudes. By the imps of irony must have been listening in, because at the court martial of Johnston in London, all three signatories of the address gave evidence against Bligh." (153)

(153) Evatt p 68

15.20 Upon the overthrow of Bligh in January, 1808, Johnston assumed office as Lieutenant-Governor until superseded by Foveaux in June, 1808 and Paterson, in January, 1809.

15.21 Bligh's replacement, Governor Macquarie, arrived on 28 December, 1809 with instructions

"to place Major Johnston under immediate arrest and send him to England for trial ... and ... to send every officer of the New South Wales Corps back to England with that regiment..." (154)

(154) Clark I pp 264/5

15.22 Johnston, with Macarthur, Harris, Surgeon Jamison, Waiter Davidson and David Dickenson Mann as witnesses, had already sailed on 28 March, 1809 aboard the *Admiral Gambier* for Rio de Janeiro en route for England. Johnston and Macarthur arrived together in October, Harris and Davidson in the following month with the remaining two coming in separate vessels.

15.23 Johnston's court-martial was held in May/June, 1811, he being found guilty of mutiny.

"He was sentenced to be cashiered. The Prince Regent, on behalf of the King, acquiesced in the sentence of the Court, but he added that the sentence was so inadequate that the Court had apparently been actuated by a consideration of the novel and extraordinary circumstances which may have appeared to them to have existed during Bligh's administration." (155)

(155) Evatt p 216

15.24 Harris, although a witness for Johnston, had differed with Johnston and Macarthur during the course of the mutiny. When directing Harris to return home, Johnston had described him as one

"well acquainted with the causes which have occasioned the supersession of Governor Bligh (156)

... no person can be more competent to give such an explanation, than one of those who have called upon him to assume the Command, and who pledged their lives and fortunes to support the measure." (157)

With a similarly barbed comment, Harris had replied

"I trust that I shall be able to explain to His Majesty's Ministers many things which otherwise might never have reached them." (158)

(156) HRA I 6 p 516

(157) (158) HRA I 6 p 517

15.25 (In the *Sydney Gazette* of 27 February, 1813, the Provost-Marshall advertises the sale, at auction on 6 March, "unless the Execution thereupon be previously superseded", of "a capital and substantial well-built Dwelling House and Premises, most eligibly situate, No 43 Pitt Street, the Property of ... Elizabeth Selwin." I am not aware that there was another Elizabeth Selwin or Selwyn in the colony, so the matter warrants further investigation.)

15.26 Johnston returned to the colony on 30 March, 1813 and Harris, having resigned from the New South Wales Corps while in England, returned as a private settler the following year.

15.27 In their absence, Macquarie had appointed Thomas Moore who had been the colony's master boat-builder "to manage the Estate and Effects of the late Thomas Rowley, Esq., during the further absence of George Johnston and John Harris, Esquires" (159) and to be guardian of Rowley's children.

(159) SG X 429 14/3/1812

15.28 Moore, like Johnston, was a neighbour of Rowley's. His "Douglas Farm" adjoined the south-west corner of Johnston's "Annandale Farm" and was south of Rowley's "Kingston Farm" and Laing's "Laing's Hill Farm". In December, 1805, Moore had received a grant of 750 acres at Moorebank in the vicinity of Rowley's and Johnston's Banks Town grants. As is recorded elsewhere, Moore was appointed second in command of the Sydney Company of the Loyal Association in 1805.

15.29 Moore's activities with regard to the Burwood Estate are discussed later but it would seem that if, on the one hand, Moore acted prejudicially to the interests of Rowley's family, other actions may have wrongly been to their benefit. **In any event, It was Elizabeth Selwyn and Thomas Rowley II who petitioned the Governor to appoint Moore as trustee and guardian. (159a)**

(159a) Despatch of Governor Bourke 7/9/1837 (CO 201/262)

15.30 Johnston and Harris, resuming their roles as Executors, published a notice in the *Sydney Gazette* of 15 February, 1817:-

"We, the Undersigned, the Executors of the late Captain ROWLEY, understanding that Messrs. Thomas and John Rowley have been selling and making away with a number of Cattle and Horses, without our knowledge or consent, we hereby require all Persons having received or purchased such Cattle, either to pay the Purchase-Money into our hands, or return the Cattle, under pain of being immediately prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the Law."

15.31 This notice was followed in August and September of that year by the publication of notices by the Provost Marshal in the matter of TURNALL v. ROWLEY. In the notice published on 30 August, 1817, an auction, pursuant to an execution order, of "Five Cows, 2 Calves and 3 Bullocks" is threatened. In the notice published 13 December, 1817, "the defendants undivided Share, and interest (being One-fifth of Sixty Head of Homed Cattle and Twenty Horses); and also the Defendant's undivided share and Interest (being one-half of several capital Estates, consisting of upwards of Eleven Hundred Acres of Land, situate at Liverpool and on the Parramatta River" are also offered for sale.

15.32 Probate of Rowley's will was not granted until 6 February, 1828, the grant being to the surviving executor, John Harris. The official search of the Probate Registry wrongly declares that "George Johnston the other executor predeceased the testator". In fact, Johnston died on 3 January, 1823, nearly seventeen years after the testator.

15.33 Elizabeth Selwyn survived Thomas Rowley by thirty seven years, dying at Kingston Cottage on 22 June, 1843. Her death certificate notes her age as being "78 years", but, on her tombstone, her age is probably given correctly as "68 years".

16. HIS FAMILY

Isabella Ellison

16.01 The **short** life of Isabella Rowley and her marriage to lieutenant **William** Ellison is noted elsewhere. (paras 4.10-14). The lives of the other children are briefly detailed below.

16.015 William Ellison is listed as a grantee of 200 acres in the District of Bulanaming at a quit rent of 5s. after 5 years. This grant (No 3/C 260 and No 1415 in the Colonial Secretary's Register) was made by "Lieutenant Governor William Paterson Esqr." on 10 March, 1809, i.e. following the Bligh Mutiny. Although many such grants were cancelled, there is no cancellation in the Colonial Secretary's Register.

Thomas Rowley II

16.02 The elder son, Thomas, was born on 12 August, 1794 **and baptised at St Philip's on the following 5 September.** He **was married by the Reverend Henry Fulton** to Catherine Clarkson on 27 February, 1818 at Castlereagh. Catherine had arrived in the colony, free, with her mother, being then about eight years of age. They came on the *Alexander* in 1806. Her father had been convicted at Warwick, being transported for fourteen years.

16.03 Thomas and Catherine had ten children, the first born being Thomas Rowley III. Thomas II died of apoplexy at Minto on 11 September, 1862; **according to his death certificate, there was a magisterial enquiry into the cause of his death.** His grave is in the beautifully maintained Pioneers' Memorial Park, Liverpool. Catherine, who died on 19 July, 1858, is buried with him. An adjoining grave is that of their second son, John Rowley; nearby are the graves of other relatives, Beards and Rolfes.

16.04 By an advertisement published in the *Sydney Gazette* on 26 October, 1816, Thomas advertised the services of a stallion in the following terms -

"To cover this ensuing Season, that superior bred Stallion Escape, sire by Northumberland and dam by Miss Portley - to be seen at Mr Thos. Rowley's, Liverpool, on Mondays and Tuesdays; at Parramatta on Wednesdays and Thursdays; and in Sydney on Fridays and Saturdays. Terms, Two Guineas, and Ten Shillings the Groom."

He, also John Rowley, is included in a List of Persons who have tendered Supplies of Fresh Meat at Liverpool in September/October, 1816. (160)

(160) SG XIV 662 27/7/1816

16.05 In the 1828 Census, Thomas II is described as a "tenant" of Holsworthy, having 900 acres, of which 50 had been cleared, and possessing 6 horses and 80 horned cattle. He is later included in a List of Individuals who have obtained Licences from The Colonial Treasurer for Depasturing Stock beyond the boundaries of the Colony to 14 January, 1837. This licence covered an area in the District of "Monaroo". (161)

(161) Campbell "Squatting on Crown Lands" pp 10/1

16.055 On 28 November, 1843, Thomas's estate was sequestrated; he was described in the Insolvency Index as "Farmer, Holsworthy".

16.056 Horatio Nelson Rowley (from whom my wife is descended) was a son of Thomas Rowley II and was born at Holsworthy on 27 July, 1831. He married sixteen year old Eliza Rolfe on 14 October, 1858 at the Pitt Street South Presbyterian Church. In the marriage certificate, he is described as a "carrier". Both the bride and the groom are described as being residents of Cabramatta.

He is mentioned in the Supreme Court's Register in Bankruptcy Insolvency Index (as an Innkeeper of Bombala) for the period 1842-1887, his estate being sequestrated on 17 August, 1880.

When he died on 15 December, 1887, aged 57 years, it was, according to his tombstone in Bombala, after a "long and painful illness." He died intestate having an estate "Goods sworn under £1,011" with his occupation, "Hotelkeeper". Letters of Administration were granted to his widow, the share of his infants "to be invested in the names of the Administrator and H(enry) T(ollemache) Edwards (of Bibbenluke, Grazier)". Edwards and "Joseph Casia Stafford of Archer's Flat near Bombala, Grazier" stood as sureties.

Horatio and Eliza Rowley had five children, a boy and four girls, of whom Eliza was the second youngest.

The news of Lord Nelson's victory at Trafalgar and of his death reached Sydney in April, 1806, Sunday, 20 April being observed as a "Day of General Thanksgiving". Twenty five years later, Horatio Nelson Rowley was born - perhaps his name was chosen at a time when Nelson was being commemorated, although there were some in the family who suggested that perhaps Thomas Rowley was a half-brother of Horatio Nelson.

John Rowley

16.057 John Rowley was born on 28 November, 1797 and baptised, according to the register of St Philip's Church, on 27 December.

16.06 In the *Sydney Gazette* of 26 July, 1817, John Rowley advertises his intention to leave the Colony. Presumably, there was only one John Rowley at this stage - both Thomas II and John subsequently had sons of that name. If he did leave the colony, he was back by 4 November, 1819, on which date, he married Sarah Pear at St John's Parramatta. In subsequent musters, Sarah was described as having "come free" aboard the *Earl Spencer* in 1813. She would then have been about twelve years of age.

16.07 The Mitchell Library index has a reference to John Rowley accompanying Charles Throsby on a journey to Bathurst from 25 April to 5 September, 1819 (162) and to his seeking a grant of land for his services to Throsby's party which was making the road, the claim also covering the use of Rowley's bullocks. (163) Governor Macquarie appears to have granted 550 acres (164) which was afterwards sold to Solomon Levy. (165)

(162) ML A 339 p 48

(163) ML Col. Sec. ltrs mem 1821 M-Y 117

(164) ML Col. Sec. Mem 4

(165) ML Papers of C Throsby 25/2/1821-18/3/1821 A 1940

16.08 John Rowley was promised, on 1 January, 1820, 200 acres, being part of Portion 113 in the Parish of Bumballa in the Marulan/Bungonia District. (166)

(166) JRAHS XXXII p 129

16.09 Governor Macquarie, writing in his journal of his visit to the Western and Southern Countries in 1820 reports that, on 26 October,

“Mr Jno Rowley galloped into camp with a letter from the Commissioner (Bigge) announcing his approach and his arrival at 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon at Goulburn Plains.” (167)

(167) Macquarie p 156

16.10 In the 1822 General Muster, John was described as a “landholder” of Liverpool. When public meetings were held of subscribers to a monument to be erected to the Memory of Governor Macquarie, the Liverpool Committee comprised John Rowley, his brother-in-law, John Lucas and Thomas Moore J.P., R. Lowe J.P., Charles Throsby J.P., and Major Antill J.P. (168)

(168) SG 23 3/3/1825

16.11* On maps of the Town of Liverpool dated 6 April, 1836 and 1916, an area of approximately 2 1/2 acres fronting George, Elizabeth and Bigges Streets is shown as having been granted to John Rowley. Perhaps this was the site of his inn, for in the 1828 Census, he is described as an “innkeeper” of “Liverpool”. Catherine Bull, a daughter of Thomas Rowley II, was reported at one stage to have lived “above the Dog and Duck, Liverpool”; perhaps this was Uncle John Rowley's inn. A publican's licence was granted on 6 July 1830 to John Rowley for the “Globe Tavern”, Castlereagh Street, Sydney. (169) Castlereagh Street is given as John Rowley's address in the 1832 Calendar and Directory. “John Rowley of Burwood, Farmer” is noted in the Insolvency Index, his estate being sequestrated on 5 December, 1842.

(169) Index of NSW Archives Office

16.12* John and Sarah had ten children. John died at Scone on 28 June, 1873 of "apoplexy". His death certificate notes that he was then "76 years", was a "Toll Keeper" and that he had been born at "Norfolk Island". Governor King, writing to Major Foveaux at Norfolk Island on 19 December, 1800, notes:

"your letter respecting Capn Rowley's taking his Son from the Island without your knowledge and not calling on you before his departure I have communicated to Col. Paterson who directed the Adjutant to write to Capn Rowley on the subject; his Answer I enclose." (169a)

Since John Rowley was baptised, according to St Philip's Register of Baptisms, on 27 December, 1797 - his date of birth is recorded as having been 28 November, 1797 - it would seem that, although he may well have accompanied his father to Norfolk Island, his death certificate is in error about his birth-place. The death also wrongly declares that his mother was "Mary Selwyn".

(169a) ML FM3/234 Goy. King's letter book p 168

16.125 Sarah survived till 25 April, 1880, being then aged 79. "Old Chum" recorded that "she was the mother of Frank Rowley, a well-known cricketer of the sixties." (169b)

(169b) "Truth" 19/11/1911

Mary Lucas

16.13 The fourth child of Thomas Rowley and Elizabeth Selwyn, Mary, was born at "Kingston" on 18 March, 1800. Rowley had departed for service on Norfolk Island on 2 November, 1799. Mary was not baptised until 3 May, 1801 according to St John's, Parramatta, register.

16.14 The existence of "Kingston" townships on both Norfolk Island and near Newtown, Sydney, inevitably causes some confusion.

16.15* Mary married John Lucas at St Philip's on 10 March, 1817. John Lucas was the son of a first fleet convict, Nathaniel Lucas, and had been born on Norfolk Island on 21 December, 1796. Presumably, he would have been a playmate of John Rowley's during the period of his father's service on Norfolk Island. Mary and John had at least seven children.

16.16* John Lucas, 32 years of age, and Mary, 26, are listed in the 1828 Census; living with them and their five children was Olivia Lucas - aged 65, "free by servitude" after a seven year sentence, transported on the *Lady Penrhyn*, 1788, nee Gascoyne. Her husband, Nathaniel, **a convict who was transported on the *Scarborough* in the First Fleet**, had died on 5 June, 1818.

16.17 On 18 November, 1825, John Lucas was issued by Sir Thomas Brisbane with "an order" for 150 acres on an unnamed stream, now known as the Woronora River, flowing into George's River.

16.18

"Lucas sailed up this tributary as far as it was navigable and there selected his land. The deciding factor was a suitable run of water for his objective was the establishment of a water powered flour mill."

16.19

"Apparently this was the only spot in the County of Cumberland where suitable running water was available for such an enterprise. In other respects, it appeared far from ideal. No wheat, corn or other cereal was grown locally, and the only access to the mill was by the water and that only in small ketches of shallow draft, and light burden. When assistant-surveyor Robert Dixon arrived in 1827 to survey and define the boundaries of the Lucas holding, he found the mill in operation.

"Dixon named the river Wooloonora, but this was obviously a misnomer, and later changed to Woronora, an Aborigine's word for 'black rocks'. ...

"The Lucas flour mill was destroyed by fire and not rebuilt, and the Mill Estate was offered for sale by auction on 14th March, 1843, but failed to arouse interest and, too, was abandoned. The memory of John Lucas is perpetuated by the name Lucas Heights, the site of the present-day Atomic Energy Research Station."
(170)

(170) Walker p 66

16.20 The entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography relating to his son describes John Lucas, senior, as "a miller, builder, publican and political activist." (171)

(171) ADB 5 p 107

16.21* The 1828 Census lists a child, John Lucas, then aged ten, as a member of the household. L. G. Norman records that John Lucas, who was born at Kingston on 24 June, 1818

"was elected M.L.A. for Canterbury, and held his seat in the Lower House until 1880 when he was appointed to the Legislative Council. He was Minister for Mines from 1875-1877, and a magistrate of the territory, and lived for many years in Pyrmont Bridge Road, Camperdown." (172)

"Old Chum" puts "meat on the bones" when recalling the selection of a parliamentary select committee to enquire into the Colony's gaols in January, 1861, he wrote that one of the members of the committee,

"Mr John Lucas was a Sydney native, a very large man, and known as 'Big Lucas', a mass of unwieldy flesh. He was of independent means not wealthy, but what might be called comfortable. He was in seven Parliaments, always representing Canterbury with the exception of the fifth Parliament when he represented Hartley. ... (He) severed his connection with the Legislative Assembly in 1880, and was translated to the Upper House, where he remained unto his death in March, 1902." (172a)

A subsequent item by that columnist recalls that

“John Lucas lived at Camperdown and always drove into the City in an old-fashioned four-wheeled buggy. It was a sight for comic artists to see John, one side of the vehicle low down, the other high up in the air.” (172b)

(172) Norman p 26
(172a) "Truth" 8/8/1915
(172b) "Truth" 28/1/1917

16.22

“Lucas had been one of the first to visit the Jenolan Caves in 1861 and described them in the Sydney Morning Herald, 5 June, 1863. Through his efforts the caves were opened to the public and declared a reserve. One of the largest caverns was named after him.” (173)

(173) ADB 5 p 108

16.23 Dunlop supplements the report:-

“A carpenter and builder, he had the contracts for building both the Burwood Parochial School and the Catholic Parochial School in the 1840’s. As a young man, he travelled widely throughout the State, was a co-discoverer of Rocky River goldfield in 1851.” (174)

(174) Dunlop "Harvest of the Years" p 174

Eliza Briggs

16.24* Eliza, the fifth child, was born in 1804, according to a newspaper obituary (174aa), “in the house in St Mary Street, Kingston, in which she died.” She married Henry Sparrow Briggs at St John’s, Parramatta on 28 August, 1826. They had ten children.

(174aa) Suburban Telegraph, 30/9/1882

16.25* In the 1828 Census, Henry Briggs is recorded as having “come free”. The first of their children, Henry Rowley Briggs, was living with them at Petersham, also “Betsey” Rowley, by which name Elizabeth Selwyn was known. The Census records relating to Betsey Rowley – “age 60, Ship Wm. Pitt, arrived 1791” are contrary to the recorded facts, “age 55, Ship Pitt, arrived 1792”. (The *William Pitt* arrived on 11 April, 1806.) The Census notes Henry Briggs as a “landholder, Petersham, total area 100 acres, cleared 40, cultivated 4, horned cattle 20.” In the 1865 Sands' *Sydney Alphabetical Directory*, Henry Sparrow Briggs is described as being the “district registrar for St George’s, St Mary’s street, Kingston”.

16.26* Eliza Briggs died on 27 September, 1882 at St Mary Street, Kingston and was buried in the family vault there. The same obituary notes “that it was under a pear tree which she had planted when a girl, and which has for many years stopped bearing fruit from old age, that the deceased lady expired.”

On 18 June, 1884, the remains of "Thomas Rowley, Esq., late Captain H. M. 102 Regt, also Elizabeth, wife of the above" were transferred to Waverley Cemetery where the tomb now stands. It has been suggested that Captain Rowley's "last" resting place had been St Stephen's Cemetery, Newtown - the Reverend T. G. Rees. writing in *Historic Camperdown*, notes that

"Captain Thomas Rowley who arrived in the second Fleet and received the grant of 240 acres next to Camperdown, which is called Kingston, was buried at the junction of Johnston Creek and Tributary. He was moved to this section - I. Two-thirds of the Circular Section between the Drive and (Sir Thomas) Mitchell Path - when the property was sold." (174a)

but there is now no record of the burial in the Church records and Eliza Briggs' obituary notes that

"the remains of Mrs Briggs will be laid in that vault in the paddock where the dust of several other members of the family rest."

Perhaps Mr Rees has confused the burial of George Robert Rowley in 1883.

(174a) Rees p 36

16.27 The subdivision of the Briggs Estate in 1885 led to considerable dispute between Newtown and Camperdown Councils. Probably this explains the dog-leg in the boundary on the plans of Sydney municipalities published in 1885 which notes "Briggs Paddock unsubdivided". The Newtown Council Jubilee Souvenir states that Briggs Paddock, afterwards known as Johnston's Bush, was the local water supply.

16.28 There is a record (No 35) in the State Rail Authority archives that, on 31 December, 1852, H. Briggs and others were paid £100 by the Board of Directors of the Railway Company as compensation for lands, buildings and damages in respect of 1 acre 3 roods 14 perches acquired in connection with the Sydney-Parramatta railway line.

Jane Mickle

16.29 Despite the earnest endeavours of many descendants, no parish register record of the birth in 1804, or subsequent baptism, of Eliza Rowley, the fifth child of Thomas Rowley and Elizabeth Selwyn has, so far as I am aware, been located. Perhaps, an explanation is that Thomas Rowley had temporarily abandoned Elizabeth Selwyn and transferred his affection to another young convict lass, Jane Mickle. In June, 1804, Jane Mickle gave birth to a daughter, Mary, who was baptised at St Philip's Church in June the following year.

16.30 Frank Clune expresses it nicely when, writing about the child, he notes

"Captain Rowley had no objection to his name being entered in the church records as her father, but he would not, or could not, and in any case did not marry the mother of the child." (174b)

(174b) Clune "Saga of Sydney" p 338

16.31 Jane Mickle was a convict who was transported on the *Nile*, arriving on 15 December, 1801. She had received a seven year sentence, and, at the time of her conviction, would have been only fourteen years of age!

16.32 Frank Clune suggest that Thomas Rowley provided for Jane Mickle in his will. This is not so but perhaps the shop and dwelling which she occupied in Phillip Street, the known as "Back Row East", were provided by him.

16.33 Many a mickle makes a muckle, the Scots say, and it was not long before Jane Mickle became known as 'Jeannie Muckle'.

"'Mistress Jeannie Muckle' as Dr Lang used to call her in conversation, as far back as 1813, held a wine and spirit licence in Phillip-street." (174c)

(174c) "Truth" 20/12/1908

16.34 In the construction of the first Presbyterian Church in the Colony, Scots Church, Dunmore Lang received considerable assistance from Jeannie Muckle.

"The actual subscription £1,500 being exhausted, they had to raise the money as best they could. The first assistance Dr Lang received was from a lady of some historic interest, Mrs Jeannie Muckle, of Sydney, who advanced the doctor on his personal security and without interest the sum of £300 - in Spanish dollars at 5s. each, the regular currency in 1824. ... Some time after Mrs Muckle's loan, Rev. Samuel Marsden lent Dr Laing £800 sterling. ... The Scots Church ... had cost about £3,000 and the debt on it ... £1,480. For that debt Dr Lang was exclusively responsible. His first effort was to pay off Mistress Muckle's loan, as it was the first contracted; this he did in due course." (174d)

(174d) "Truth" 20/12/1908, but see also Archibald Gilchrist "John Dunmore Lang" Vol 1 p 73 which quotes directly from Lang's "Settlement of Scots church", Gilchrist (Vol 2 p 429) quotes a Scots preacher telling of a Scotch woman to whom a neighbour said "Ephie, I wanna hoo ye can sleep wi' sae muckle debt on your heid." and received the reply "I can sleep fu' weel, but I wanna they can sleep that trust me."

16.35 In March, 1826, Dr Lang officiated at the marriage of Jeannie Muckle to Archibald McKellup. McKellup, a leading citizen, was also a publican in Phillip Street. He was the owner of eighty acres. McKellup was a Scot who had left his ship, *Fair American*, in 1803. Presumably, he had long been a neighbour of Jeannie Muckle. When Jeannie died in 1834, she left her estate to her daughter, Mary, who also benefited when McKellup died the following year.

16.36 Mary Muckle, the daughter of Thomas Rowley and Jane Muckle, married Richard Roberts, on 28 February, 1837. Roberts was the native-born son of two convicts, William Roberts and Jane Longhurst. Richard who died within three years of his marriage, on 24 June, 1839, was a well-to-do merchant. Following the death of her mother, stepfather and husband within five years, Mary Roberts was, at the age of thirty-five, a wealthy property owner. She remained unmarried and was most highly regarded as a resident of Sydney-town until her death in 1885.

16.37 Joseph Fowles, in his illustrated book, "Sydney in 1848" (in which by commentary and drawings, the buildings of Sydney are depicted street by street) shows two dwellings of interest to readers.

16.38 The first, shown on page 68A in the facsimile edition produced by Ure Smith in 1962, is probably the poorest home illustrated by Fowles. It was on the western side of Elizabeth Street, was barely one room wide, low ceilinged with a tiny attic. It could well have been Thomas Rowley's original gift to Jane Mickle.

16.39 The other, shown on page 76A, is a substantial cottage on the eastern side of Elizabeth Street. In the footnotes added by the producers of the facsimile edition, there has been confusion between mother and daughter in that the description is given – "First house (partially shown): Mrs Roberts (? Jenny Muckle), 1832." The other house is attributed to "Mrs Roberts".

16.40 Mary Roberts also was "an eminent benefactress to the Scots Church" (174c) continuing her mother's generous interest. The author of the comment, "Old Chum", later added to our store of information.

"Her house, in Elizabeth-street, east side, close by Gribben's farriery, was of substantial character." (174f)

This house was near Hunter Street whereas Mary's father-in-law, William Roberts had reportedly been the licensee of the "King's Arms" at the corner of King and Castlereagh Street.

(174e) "Truth" 20/12/1908

(174f) "Truth" 27/1/1918

16.41 The extent of Mary Roberts' land holdings is outlined by Frank Clune

"Much of the land in the blocks now bounded by Hunter, Elizabeth, King and Phillip Streets was owned a century ago by Mary Roberts, a widow who died, aged eighty, in 1885. At the time of her death, Martin Place had not yet been extended uphill from Pitt Street. Buildings were continuous along Elizabeth Street and Phillip Street, where now the broad thoroughfare of Martin Place gives a vista eastwards to the Sydney Hospital and the Domain.

"Mary Roberts owned the site on which the head office of the Rural Bank now stands. In her old age she lived at No 86 Elizabeth Street, not far from the corner of King Street, and she died there. She had no children. Under her will, her estate, valued at £94,000, was bequeathed to charities, and her properties in this valuable city block were sold for that purpose.

"... Under her will she made some personal bequests, and divided the rest of her estate into four equal parts, to benefit Sydney Hospital, the Prince Alfred Hospital, the New South Wales Institute for Deaf, Dumb and Blind, and the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children." (174g)

(174c) Clune "Saga of Sydney" pp 337/9

16.42 Not all descendants agree with Frank Clune's suggestion that Captain Rowley was the father of Jane Mickle's child. They point out that another Thomas Rowley (Corporal, Royal Marines) who was 39 years of age when he was buried at St Philip's on 20 September, 1822 and who would therefore been about 21 when Mary Mickle was born, could have been the father.

17. THE KINGSTON ESTATE

17.01 A government Public Notice published in the *Sydney Gazette* of 4 May, 1811 confirms that Elizabeth Selwyn, then known as Mrs Rowley, was continuing to occupy Kingston Farm. The notice includes the name of Jonathan Jennings as one of those who had "deserted their various Employments and being Prisoners whose Terms of Transportation are unexpired". Jennings had escaped from "Mrs Rowley's Farm". On 27 August, 1814, the *Sydney Gazette* was referring to the property as "Rowley's Farm, formerly called Kingston Farm".

17.015 The sale of part of Kingston Farm to James Holt is discussed in the following paragraph. In a deed dated 11 August, 1835, "John Harris of Shanes Park, South Creek" is joined - "no conveyance thereof hath ever been made to them (the family) by the said John Harris", the family are described as

"Thomas Rowley of Holdsworthy, Banks Town ... Farmer,"
 "John Rowley of Burwood ... Farmer,"
 "(John Lucas of Burwood ... Millwright and)
 Mary Lucas his wife"
 "Henry Sparrow Briggs of Harrowby Hunters River Farmer and)
 Eliza Briggs his wife"

and it is noted that

"WHEREAS the said Elizabeth Selwyn hath forfeited all claim to the estate of the said Thomas Rowley the Testator". (174h)

Conflicting with this forfeiture is the record of a Deed of Gift from Mrs Elizabeth Selwyn to Mr John Rowley, for a consideration of "Ten shillings in hand well and truly paid" of

"All the estate right title interest use trust property possession possibility claim and demand whatsoever both at law and in Equity of her the said Elizabeth Selwyn under or by virtue of the will of Thomas Rowley or otherwise howsoever in to out of or upon or respecting all and every the estates and effects lands houses tenements monies vested in the British funds ready monies goods chattels effects securities for monies or effects which the said Thomas Rowley was possessed of or entitled to at the time of his decease ..." (174i)

(174h) Registered 852 B.H.
(174i) Registered page 285 Book A

17.02 "In 1835 James Holt (relationship if any to Thomas Holt untraced) purchased an area of approximately 153 acres, the major part of 'Kingston Farm', for £1,000 and this area became known as the 'Kingston' estate." (175)

(175) ML Attested copies of title of Thomas Holt to Kingston Estate

17.025 In an attested copy of a deed dated 11 August, 1835 conveying "Kingston" property to James Holt in which "John Harris of Shanes Park South Creek" is joined - "no conveyance thereof hath ever been made to them by the said John Harris" - the family are described as "Thomas Rowley of Holdsworth, Bankstown ... Farmer," "John Rowley of Burwood ... Farmer", "(John Lucas of Burwood ... Millwright and) Mary Lucas his wife", "(Henry Sparrow Briggs of Harrowby Hunter's River Farmer and) Eliza Briggs his wife" and it is noted that "WHEREAS the said Elizabeth Selwyn hath forfeited all claim to the estate of the said Thomas Rowley the Testator" (175a). Conflicting with this forfeiture is the record of a Deed of Gift, for a consideration of "Ten shillings in hand well and truly paid", from Mrs Elizabeth Selwyn to Mr John Rowley of "All the estate right title interest use trust property possession possibility claim and demand whatsoever at law and in Equity of her the said Elizabeth Selwyn under or by virtues of the will of Thomas Rowley or otherwise howsoever into out of upon or respecting all and every the estates and effects lands houses tenements monies vested in the British funds ready monies goods chattels effects securities for monies or effects which the said Thomas Rowley was possessed of or entitled to at the time of his decease..."

(175a) Registered 852 BH
(175b) Registered p 285 Book A

17.03

“On 9 June 1854, Thomas Holt’s brother, Joseph Holt (a wool merchant at Leeds in Yorkshire) agreed with James Holt of 'Basing Cottage', near Basingstoke, Hants, to purchaser 'Kingston' estate on behalf of Thomas Holt for £150 per acre.”
 (176)

(176) Deeds Register No 748 Bk 33

17.04

“The ‘Kingston’ estate was divided into 'North' and 'South' Kingston. 'North Kingston' was bounded by Parramatta Road, Australia Street for its full length, Bedford, Trade, St Mary's, Ross and Denison Streets and thence to Parramatta Road. 'South Kingston' was bounded by Trafalgar, Liberty and London Streets, Stanmore Road, Aubrey Street and thence to Trafalgar Street and also included an irregular parcel of about five acres to the east of the above and south of Trafalgar Street.”

17.05

"In December 1854 James Holt, for a consideration of £23,078, conveyed the 'Kingston' estate to Holt. (177) 'North Kingston' was subdivided into 770 allotments and 'South Kingston' into 370 (178) and, by 1861, Holt had sold 480 allotments of 'North Kingston' (mainly those closest to the railway line) but only about sixteen allotments of 'South Kingston'."

(177) Deeds Registrar No 405 Bk 35
(178) Deposited Plans Nos 1 and 7

17.06

“A deed of Partition, 5 July 1861, then disclosed that the estate was purchased and paid for with the moneys of Thomas Holt, Thomas Ware Smart, Thomas Sutcliffe Mort and George Wigram Allen, in equal portions, but were conveyed to the said Thomas Holt for greater facility in selling and disposing of the same and whereas considerable parcels have been sold it has been agreed that the residue be partitioned according to the schedule hereto.” (179)

(179) Deeds Register No 642 Bk 86

17.07

“By the Deed of Partition the unsold lots were distributed between the four partners, Holt being allotted about 140 which he continued to sell.”

17.08

“The whole estate would appear to have realised slightly more than double its purchase price.” (180) (181)

(180) sales recorded in Deeds Reg.
(181) Henry E. Holt pp 59/60

17.09 An advertisement by Richardson and Wrench in the *Empire* on Friday, 20 July, 1860 refers, under the heading “Kingston Estate, Newtown” to an auction sale of 31 lots “as per plan of subdivision of this well-known valuable estate” “on account, cost, and risk of former Purchasers during the years 1854, 1855, 1856 and 1857.”

17.10 Presumably the purchasers had defaulted in the payment of the balance of purchase moneys. Their lands were variously described as “Fronting Bedford and Wellington streets”, “Fronting Bishopgate-street”, “Fronting Wellington-street”, “Fronting Denison-street”, “Fronting Australia-street”, “Fronting Parramatta Road” and “Adjoining the Railway Station”.

17.11 The name Kingston was perpetuated within the former Municipalities of Camperdown and Newtown where each named one ward “Kingston Ward” and by the Municipality of Petersham which had a “South Kingston” Ward.

17.12 Camperdown Municipality merged with the Council of the City of Sydney in 1908, Newtown in 1949. The Petersham Municipality was incorporated into the Municipality of Marrickville in 1947. In turn, in August, 1968, some parts of the former Newtown Municipality were transferred into Marrickville.

17.13 Local government boundaries have always been a subject for debate and boundaries have been redrawn and councils amalgamated at intervals.

17.14

“In 1853 it was resolved that representatives of Camperdown, Darlington and Macdonaldtown (Erskineville) meet with Newtown Council to discuss plans for amalgamation.”

"1885 - subdivision of the Briggs estate led to much argument between Newtown and Camperdown over the new boundary line.”

“In 1886 a fourth electoral ward was created by Newtown. This was Camden Ward, and was bounded approximately by King Street, Erskineville Road, and Union Street.” (182)

(182) Norman

17.15 These matters are also the subject of comment in Newtown Council's Jubilee Souvenir published on 12 December, 1912 - 12.12.12!

“In consequence of the subdivision of the Briggs Estate, an alteration of the boundary line between Newtown and Camperdown was found to be necessary in 1885. This caused a lot of trouble for a long time on account of not being able to come to a satisfactory decision.

At the meeting in November, 1885, the boundaries of the new ward and the adjusted boundaries of Enmore, O’Connell and Kingston Wards (new ward to be called Camden Ward) were approved of.”

18. BURWOOD VILLA

18.01 Thomas Moore, who had been appointed executor of Rowley's estate by Governor Macquarie auctioned

"The valuable estate of Burwood, the property of the late Captain Rowley, consisting of 750 acres, opposite the Parramatta Road, (which) was brought to the hammer on Thursday (31 August, 1812) and purchased for £520." (183)

(183) SG X 454 5/9/1812

18.015 The circumstances of the sale are set out fully in the memorial which Moore addressed to the Governor which was enclosed with Governor Bourke's despatch of 7 September, 1837. (183a)

Following the departure of Rowley's executors, creditors preferred claims against Elizabeth Selwyn. In consequence, Elizabeth Selwyn and Thomas Rowley, the elder son, petitioned Governor Macquarie to appoint Thomas Moore as trustee for Elizabeth Selwyn and the children, as well as guardian of the children. The petition was lodged without the knowledge of Moore and he accepted the appointment only because "the said Governor requested and urged him to accept" and on account of his "having been on intimate terms with the said deceased."

By deed dated 10 March, 1812, Governor Macquarie appointed Moore "to have the care and disposal during the said time of all and every the lands, houses, farms, tenements, real and personal estates goods and chattels ... provided ... (he) ... shall not sell alienate or dispose of any part of the real estate ... without application ... to the Judges of His Majesty's Court of Civil Jurisdiction."

Claims amounting to £1,211:13:11 were made upon the estate in 1812. Moore sold cattle and livestock to the value of £700:3:6 and paid off some of the debts and used some funds "in supplying the wants of the said Elizabeth Selwyn and her said children."

The funds were not sufficient so Moore petitioned Ellis Bent, then Judge-Advocate and sole Judge of the Court of Civil Jurisdiction "praying to be allowed to sell amongst other real property the said estate called Burwood". Moore also represented "That there are two farms one at George's River, and the other near Iron Cove which are at present no use and therefore I wish to get the approbation of the Civil Court to sell them as it will be more advantageous to keep the breeding stock for the good of the family."

Judge Bent, with Charles Hook and John Blaxland sitting as assessors, ordered the sale.

At the time, said Moore, "the same estate was wholly unproductive and that the said Elizabeth Selwyn and the children of the said testator had not any means of support arising therefrom" so that "the sale thereof would have been absolutely necessary."

As to price, Moore believed "that the said sum of £520 was the very utmost value and as Memorialist believes much more than the value of the said land at the time."

(183a) Gov. Bourke's Despatch 7/9/1837 (C.O. 201/262)

18.02 The purchaser was Alexander Riley who built a substantial cottage, "Burwood Villa". He lived here until 1817 when he departed for England.

18.03 Adjoining "Burwood Farm" was a grant of 1,000 acres made in 1810 to William Faithful. In 1815, Faithful exchanged the grant for land at Jordan Hill. At this time, a newly formed road to Liverpool had been built by Macquarie and the new road was used as a boundary for a re-subdivision. Riley acquired 200 acres on the northern side, incorporating it into Burwood Farm. Simeon Lord, the emancipated convict who had formerly been assigned to Rowley, was granted the remaining 800 acres on 8 October, 1816.

18.04 Captain John Piper

"leased 'Burwood Villa' from Alexander Riley and here (his family) lived until 1822, when the house on Eliza Point - called Henrietta Villa for reasons I cannot fathom - was ready for occupation. Burwood Villa was a white cottage, roomy and pleasing, with pillared neo-classical facade, very elegant in its day. It stood in grounds that are now Burwood Park and Captain Piper had £40 remitted from his rent on condition that he took the stumps out." (184)

(184) M Barnard Eldershaw p 113

18.05 Piper is reported to have added the pillared verandahs which are shown in a drawing of the villa done in 1824.

18.06 The farm was subsequently leased to others including Dr John Dulhunty and Dr Elyard. On Saturday, 23 September, 1826, three bushrangers held up "Burwood Villa". Dr Dulhunty's son and Mr Clay beat off the attackers with pistols and cudgels and alerted the police. A posse combing the countryside surprised two of the bushrangers asleep on Monday morning and arrested the third man soon afterwards. "Convicted of several atrocities committed at and about Burwood", the three were sentenced to be executed.

18.07 A government Order, dated 13 October, 1826, records the detail of their hanging on gallows erected at the gate of Burwood Farm on Parramatta Road.

"The execution of Thomas Mustin, Daniel Watkins and John Brown is to take place at Burwood on Monday morning next. The prisoners will move from the gaol in Sydney at 6 o'clock under military escort to the place of execution. The road parties in the neighbourhood will attend according to the orders communicated to the inspector of roads. The bodies of the criminals ... will remain suspended during the day.

"The Government would willingly hope that the examples thus held up may have the effect of deterring the evil disposed from entering upon a course of crime which must infallibly end in their ruin."

18.075 Unfortunately, at the time of Moore's sale of "Burwood Farm" to Alexander Riley, "there was not at the time any attorney. solicitor or barrister in practice in the Colony". Riley employed "George Crossley who had some legal experience, and who was then considered the best legal practitioner in the Colony" to prepare the conveyance of the property.

Apparently, the conveyance embodied Moore's personal assurance of good title.

18.08* In February, 1830, Surgeon Harris instituted legal proceedings to have Burwood Farm which, it was claimed, Moore should not have sold, restored to the children and Elizabeth Selwyn. Isabella having died, her claim lapsed, and the entitlements of the other daughters, Mary and Eliza, were passed to their husbands, John Lucas and Henry Sparrow Briggs. The court found in favour of the family on 29 November, 1832 and ordered Riley's ejectment. Apparently that part of Faithful's farm which had been incorporated into Burwood Farm was also transferred to them in their joint names. Elizabeth Selwyn did not participate in the division.

18.09 Following the settlement of the descendants' claims, the land was subdivided into five areas, John Rowley taking 100 acres including Burwood Villa. Thomas Rowley II, John Lucas and Henry Briggs each took title to a 213 acre parcel. A plan of the subdivision, including that portion of Faithful's grant, is given on page 27 of Dunlop's *Harvest of the Years*.

18.10* The Burwood Estate's restoration to the Rowley family resulted in Riley's executors taking action against Moore since his assurance of title had proved of little worth. Riley's executors were awarded £5,391: 2: 6 damages but, on a re-trial, judgment was reduced to £2,530. Although Moore had accepted the "executorship" of Rowley's estate with reluctance, the opinion of the British Treasury was that

"altho' he may have been misled by the Term's of the Governor's deed, and by the acquiescence of the Court in the application he had made for permission to dispose of a portion of the Property,... the liability, to which he has been subjected, would seem to have arisen entirely from his own inadvertency." (185)

The Treasury letter concluded that

"shd. the Council at N.S. Wales... see reason to recommend the Grants ... and to appropriate a sum to the purpose from the Colonial Revenue, my Lords would not object."

(185) quoted HRA I XIX pp 421/2

18.11 The wheels of government and justice ground slowly on Moore's claim for assistance offsetting the damages awarded against him **and the costs of the proceedings** and it was not until 22 September, 1840 when the *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council* recorded:-

“That in compliance with the prayer of Petition of Thomas Moore Esq. presented to His Excellency Sir Richard Bourke in the year 1837 ... this Council do recommend ... that the sum of £3,063:16:2d. ... be appropriated to indemnify the said Thomas Moore from the loss sustained by him in consequence of the sale of Burwood Estate, in the year 1812

“After an animated Debate of near four hours, Mr Jones amended his Motion by substituting £2,536, for that above stated, being the amount of Award of the Court as finally adjusted, excluding the Costs; upon which the Council divided; For the motion as amended, Seven; Against it, Four;”

18.12 On 8 June, 1841, Lord John Russell wrote to Governor Gipps conveying “approval of Her Majesty's Government of this expenditure, .. £2,500.” (186)

(186) quoted HRA XXI p387

18.13 One cannot be at all certain therefore that Moore received his money prior to his death. He died on 24 December, 1940 and was buried at Liverpool. His grave is beside that of the young Thomas Rowley of whom he had been guardian and the sale of whose interests in Burwood Farm had been the cause of so much anxiety.

18.14 Lucas was the first to subdivide his 213 acres. In making the subdivision, access was provided to the highways upon which the traffic of the colony flowed. Lucas Road was one such access road. Rowley Street was not formed until a further subdivision took place in 1854.

18.15 C. A. Henderson says that despite the subdivisions, there was little residential settlement of Burwood between the two highways (Parramatta and Liverpool Roads) before 1860.

“From Neich's (Emanuel Neich established The Bath Arms Hotel in 1834), on the Parramatta Road Corner of Burwood Road there was only one house along the road to Burwood Station for several years after 1856. From Burwood Station to the Liverpool Road ... there were about three cottages, and they were near the station.” (187)

(187) Henderson p 356

19. ROWLEY STREET

19.01 When Malcolm Ellis wrote of "British Military Regiments in Australia -Their Records and Experiences", he commented:-

"The despised New South Wales Corps, which was not so much to be despised in fact, has a record of pioneering which would be remarkable in any land. We see in our geography the names of its members everywhere - Grose Valley, Macarthur Street, Foveaux Street, Johnston Street, Paterson River, Cox River, Mt Lawson, Point Piper, Belmont, Minchinbury, Laycock Street, Rowley Street, and many more. It is safe to say that no corps of officers in the history of this or any other country was ever more completely and permanently dowered with memorials in the landscape than those of the early New South Wales Corps." (188)

(188) JRAHS Vol 37 p 333

19.02 Within Sydney, we find no less than six Rowley Streets, two Rowley Roads, one Rowley Place and one Rowley's Point Road. Regrettably, the latter, when I last visited it, had no signboard to boast. (In fact, despite the passing of almost two hundred years, Hunter's visions of promise have yet to be fulfilled.)

19.03 Also disappointing is the change of name which has been perpetrated in Newtown. The 1958 street directory shows that Rowley Street continued from Cardigan Street (then the boundary of the City of Sydney) to Warwick Street. This section, now within the Municipality of Marrickville, is today known as Rosevear Street.

19.04 Undoubtedly Rowley Streets in Burwood and Newtown are situated on Rowley grants while it appears to me that Rowley's Point Road, George's Hall (Banks Town) is on adjoining land.

19.05 In other older settlements, presumably, the name is of long standing or has been given by more recent subdividers with an appreciation of local history. There are Rowley Roads in Parramatta and Five Dock – "Five Dock Farm" was the property of Rowley's friend, Surgeon John Harris - and Rowley Streets in Seven Hills, Smithfield, Toongabbie and Fairfield.

19.06 Rowley Place, Airs, runs off Merino Crescent along with Waterhouse, Foveaux and Kingston Places, no doubt in tribute to founders of the livestock industry with Thomas Rowley doubly honoured.

19.07 Thomas Rowley's son-in-law, John Lucas, seems always to be close at hand; in Five Dock, Lucas Road runs off Rowley Road; in Seven Hills, Lucas Road is not far from Rowley Street, while both sons-in-law are mentioned in Newtown - Lucas Street is parallel to Briggs Street.

19.08 On the Newtown grant, the name of Kingston Farm is honoured by Kingston Road, which intersects Rowley Street and it is possible to find all the children's names nearby - Isabella Street, Thomas Lane, John Street, Mary Street and Eliza Street.

19.09 Rowley Street, Brighton-le-Sands warrants further investigation; Thomas may not have any claim to it!

20. LETTERS TO CAPTAIN WATERHOUSE

20.01 In February, 1800, Rowley's friend, Captain Henry Waterhouse was ordered to return to England in view of "the very weak condition" of and "the Continual repairs" (189) his ship H.M.S. *Reliance* required. The advertising of a Waterhouse property by Rowley is mentioned in para 12.03.

(189) HRNSW IV p 53

20.02 Two of Rowley's letters to his friend have been published. Although they are hardly momentous documents, they tell of local gossip and give some insight into Rowley's character.

20.03

"Sydney, New South Wales,
4th October, 1801.

My dear Waterhouse,

Yours I rec'd the 16th of Sept., by the Venus, whaler, which is the first I rec'd from you since your departure from hence. It appears by your letter you had wrote to me before, and that you had sent some trifles for the children. I do assure you I never rec'd either letter or articles for them; therefore I will thank you if you will inform me what they were, how packed, and in what ship, and if directed for me. I should be extremely glad to get to the bottom of such rascality. My dear fellow, here is nothing but wars and rumours of war here. It began just before Bunker sailed on the 25th of August last, which you will hear a good deal of news by him; but since his departure, here is ---- to pay. McArthur and three or four more is off with King; the Colonel and McArthur has had a duel the 14th Sept. last; the Col'l rec'd a shot in his arm, and the ball still remains; by what I can learn of the business is this, that Col'l Pat. wrote to Sir Joseph Banks something about King's conduct, and intrusted McArthur to correct it, and a little time after, McA. not liking Col'l Pat.'s conduct, and the torrent running against himself, wanted to turn the tables on poor Pat. by making this letter known to the Gov'r and others (a noble action). Pat. heard of it, and took the letter to the Gov'r, who had heard of the scheme before, and took Pat. by the hand and advised him to chuse a better confidant in future. McArthur is ordered to England under arrest, and sails next Sunday. Piper was under arrest and to be sent Home for being McA.'s second, but is respited. McKellar was also confined for being Pat.'s second, but is released and going to England to prosecute McA; but it is my opinion McA. will get the better of them, because the Col'l called him out. All this business originated through a Lieut. Marshall, of the Navy, who came here as a Navy Agent in the Cornwallis. McA. and him had some words, and they were to have a meeting. Marshall whent to the place appointed, and nobody come. Abbott objected to Marshall's second, by seeing him behind the counter, but he was the purser of that ship, and a very gentlemanly young man; after Lieut. M. had waited a long time on the ground, and no one coming, marched in to town, met Abbott and gave him the ---- *of a lick with a thick stick*. He was brought to a Criminal Court for it and sentenced fine and imprisonment; but the Gov'r sent him home with Bunker, which has caused all this bustle. The Gov'r and the officers of the Court have been busily employed writing against each other. I am out of the mess. I have been in the sick-list ever since last Jan'y.

Respecting my Norfolk Island command, I have only to say that the settlers and principal inhabitants wrote a joint letter to the Gov'r expressing their sorrow of my being relieved, and the Gov'r has worded my certificate at the latter end in the following words: "I think it wright to add that from every account I have rec'd from thence that Captain Rowley's conduct in administering the Government of that Island was much to his credit and the advantage of the Government." I am £1,000 the worse for going to that island, and stock his fell near a £100 per cent. - no money to be got. I have your grant all registered. I have your sheep, but your mare is at Cox's; she has just foaled; I cannot yet tell what she is. When you sailed from Norfolk you gave Drummond a draught on me for £4.14:10d, which was not settled. Bob Campbell is married to Palmer's sister, and settled £200 a year on the morning of marriage, in case of death. A good trip to Botany. All my children is very well, and desires to be kindly remembered to you. Abbott sailed this morning for Norfolk Island. The Gov's as divided them properly. God bless you. Adieu, and believe me to be, with truth,

Yours, &c.,

THOS. ROWLEY." (190)

(190) Quoted HRNSW IV pp 588/9

20.04

"Kingston Farm, New South Wales,
14th May, 1802.

My dear Waterhouse,

Flinders arrived here on Sunday, the 9th instant. I was exceedingly happy to hear from you. You say you have wrote to me by almost every ship. I never rec'd but two letters - one about last June, and one now by Flinders. The first I answered by a ship of Lord's, which sailed for the Cape last Nov'r, which I hope you will receive safe, but for fear it should not, I will send the copy of it as near I can; it contains all the news I could collect.

You have wrote to me about your concerns. I will most cheerfully do anything to serve you. I am at a loss to know what to do with your mare. You are informed that she don't breed, but she do, and has a fine filly foal and should be in foal again. I have learnt her to draw as people may see she is useful, but there is no money; the stores removes the whole. I believe I shall not sell her till I hear from you again, except I should get a good chap for her. I received six sheep from Biggars about nine months ago; no increase since, but hourly expected. I sold one wether for £3 5s. The Governor's General Orders is 15d. p'r pound for mutton and 8d. p'r pound for pork. Since that the butcher's shop is shut up; nobody has anything to sell. King and I are on very good terms. I believe the little time I commanded on Norfolk Island was so pleasing to him that he would be glad to serve me. Here is strange work: I was President of two General Court-Martials, and member of one, in less than a month - two on Bayley one on poor Piper. Both Piper and Bayley do not know how it is settled. Gov'r King will not approve of them. They are sent Home for His Majesty's approval.

The colony is on very short allowance - one pound ten ounces of pork p'r week, and not many weeks of that. The officers and families is all off stores - no employment for them; the Croppies troublesome; a great many of the ringleaders

is now in gaol, under orders to go on board the Porpoise, supposed to be sent to Lord Howe Island, or some other island, to shift for themselves.

One of the French surveying ships is here. Flinders has got the start of them, as he has surveyed the south-west coast and they are bound there.

Bass has been here and is employed by King to go to some of the islands to cure pork. I think he will make a good job of it. There has been so many ships from England, India, America &c., articles are wonderfully cheap. Leith and Wilkinson was greatly deceived. Liquor at 5s. p'r gallon, everything else in proportion.

I made a purchase of Wilkinson's stock of 15 head of black cattle, 97 sheep, one mare foal, and one horse, Major Foveaux's farm as it was, and one hundred acres in the brush, and all for seven hundred pounds down. Cox offered eight hundred trust, but the ready money had the advantage.

Cox has been repairing the kitchen - weather-boarding it, &c. I will most assuredly attend to yours as much as I would my own, and believe me to be,

Yours, &c.,

T. ROWLEY" (191)

(191) Quoted HRNSW IV pp 752/3

21. FINALLY

21.01 This biographical note is based, in the main, upon published sources. it was written at a time when I became concerned at handling the weight of material I had collected. Accordingly, I decided to produce a rough draft from the accumulation and, thereafter, to supplement, correct or rephrase the draft in the light of subsequent discoveries.

21.02 While there is still much published material I have yet to digest, the time seems right to seek out unpublished material and to follow up particular leads which suggest themselves.

21.03 It goes without saying that I will greatly appreciate any suggestions, comments or corrections which any reader cares to offer. I fear that, in concentrating my gaze on Thomas Rowley, I may not have properly interpreted the times in which he lived and that the background may need to be repainted.

21.04 To those descendants who have already contributed so much, I offer my thanks - Mrs Peter Coleman, Mrs L. G. Robinson, Mrs R. G. Shannon, **Mr J. L. Gray** and especially Mrs Pamela Fulton.

21.05 I have also appreciated the assistance of my friends, Berry Campbell and Keith and Lorraine Jones who, in the course of researching their own families, have frequently passed on their Rowley Reports.

21.06 The grapevine has proved to be exceedingly active and I tell of the following episode with gratitude. One day, I was recording the inscription on the grave of Thomas Rowley II in the Liverpool Pioneers' Memorial Park. The curator of the park not only does a first class job in the park, he also has a very considerable knowledge of Liverpool's early settlers. Once having shared some of that knowledge with me, he put me in touch with the local history librarian of the council. But that was not all; for, a few mouths later, I heard from a descendant in Tasmania. Bill had talked of the Rowleys to Phyl Simons and had passed on my name and address. With such help my task has been made so much easier.

22. BIBLIOGRAPHY

22.01

(The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes)

ADB	Australian Dictionary of Biography
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
HRA	Historical Records of Australia
HRNSW	Historical Records of New South Wales
JRAHS	Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society
ML	Mitchell Library
SG	Sydney Gazette
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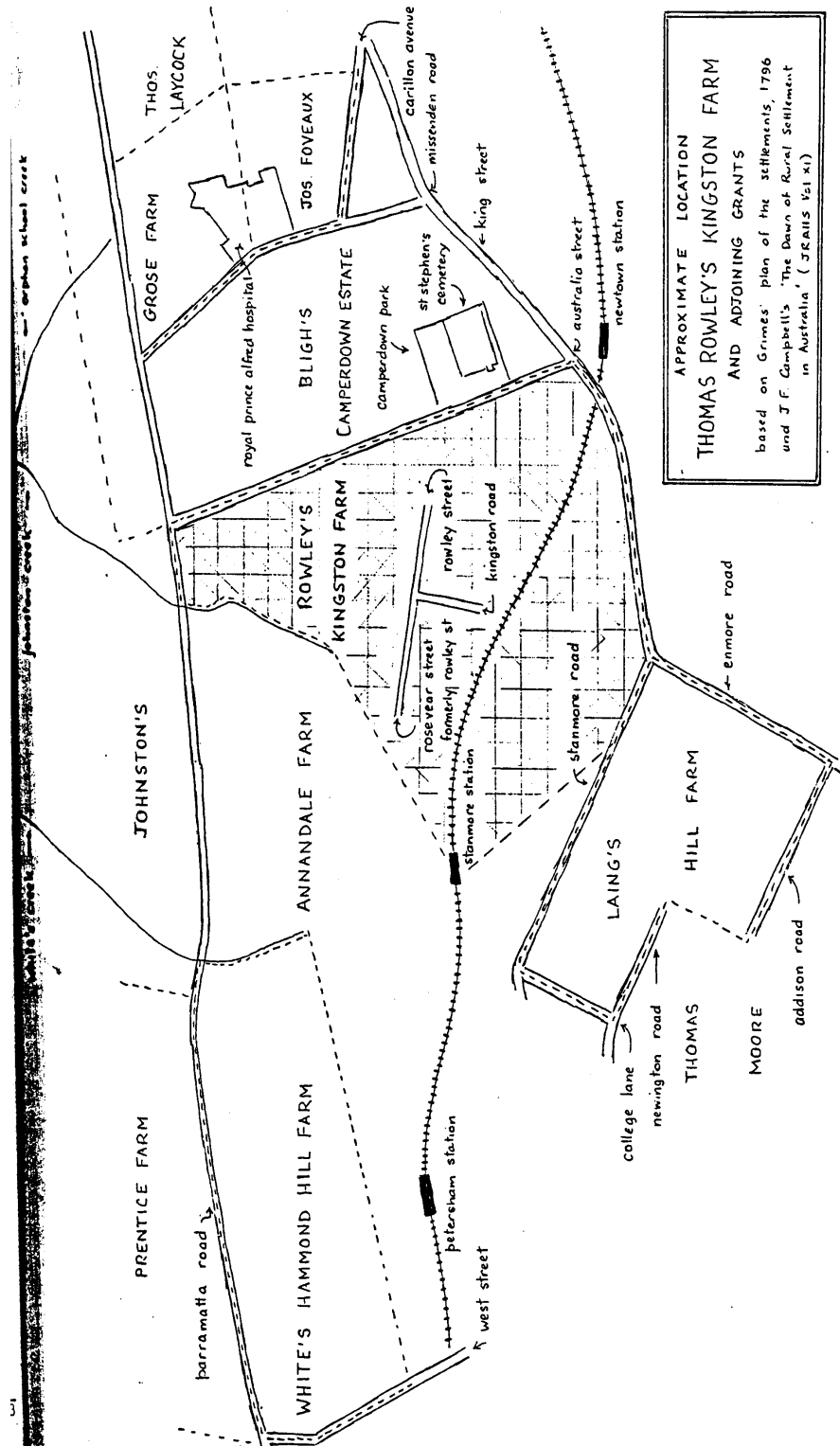
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 TRUTH (+)

(+) additional references since first edition

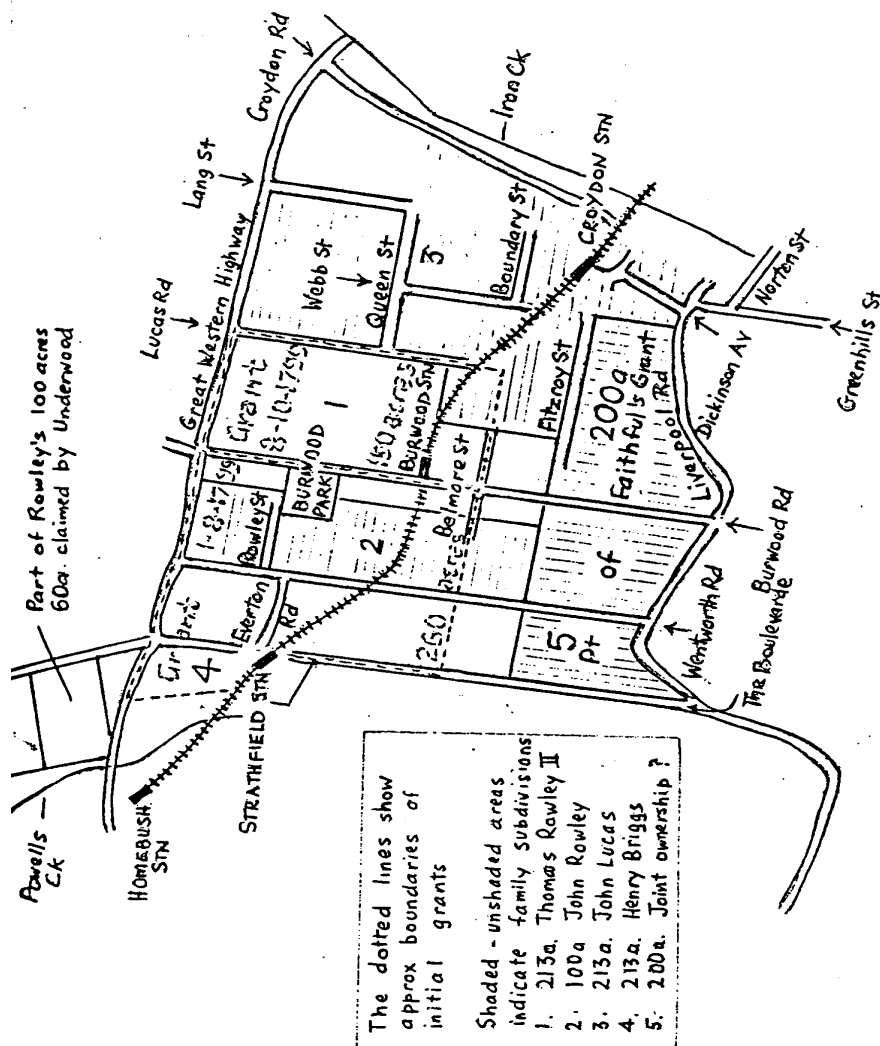
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23. APPENDIX - MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

Kingston Farm



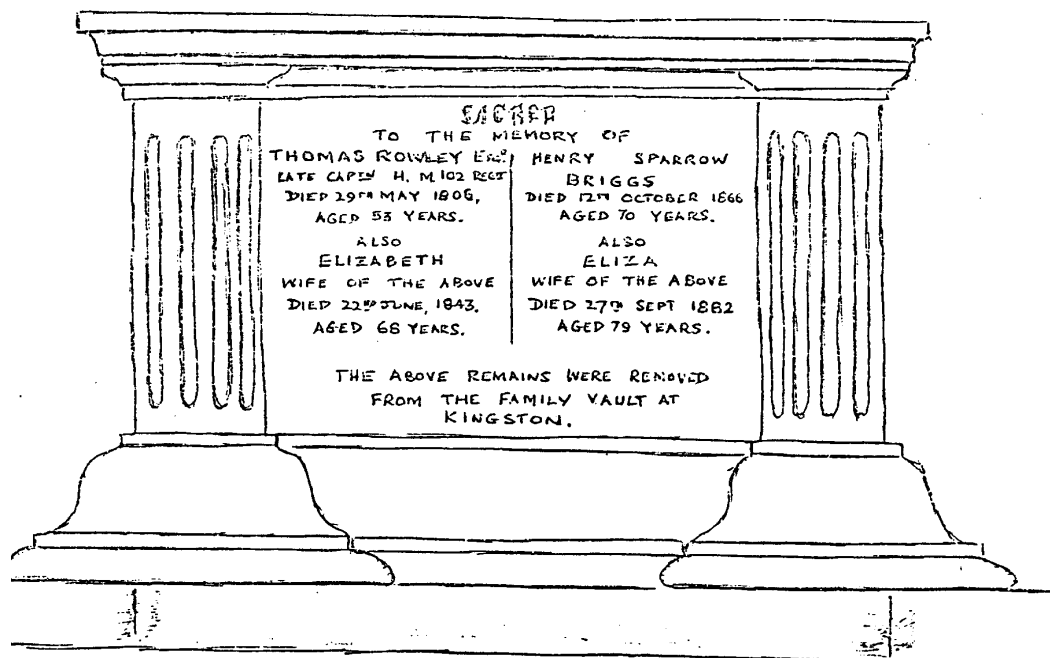
Burwood Farm



THOMAS ROWLEY'S BURWOOD FARM

References: Eric Dunlop 'Harvest of the Years', J. F. Campbell 'The Dawn of Rural Settlement in Australia' (J. R. A. H. S. Volume XI).

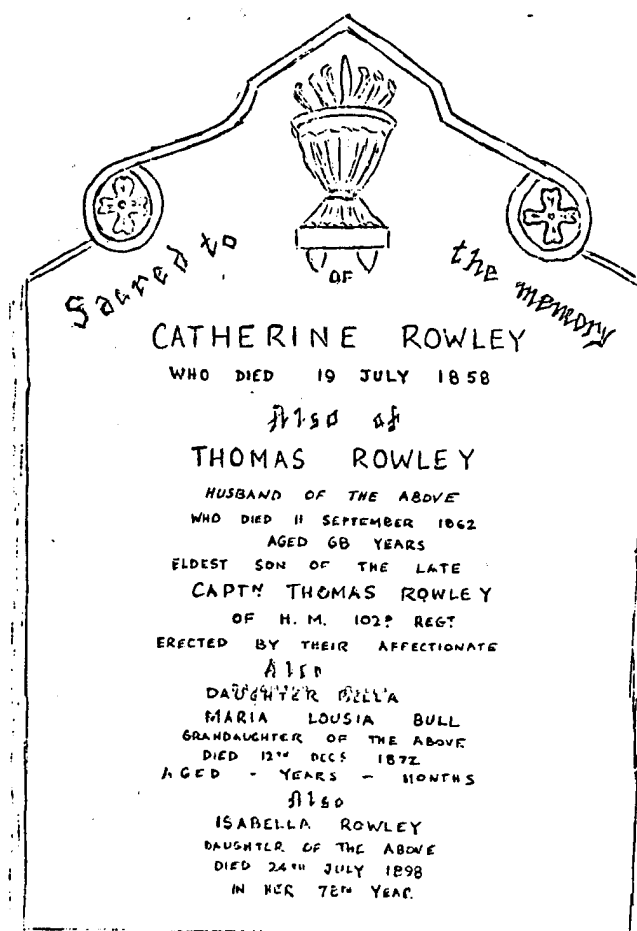
The Grave of Thomas Rowley



The Grave of Thomas Rowley - Waverley Cemetery

The Grave of Thomas Rowley II

The Grave of Thomas Rowley II - Liverpool Pioneers' Memorial Park

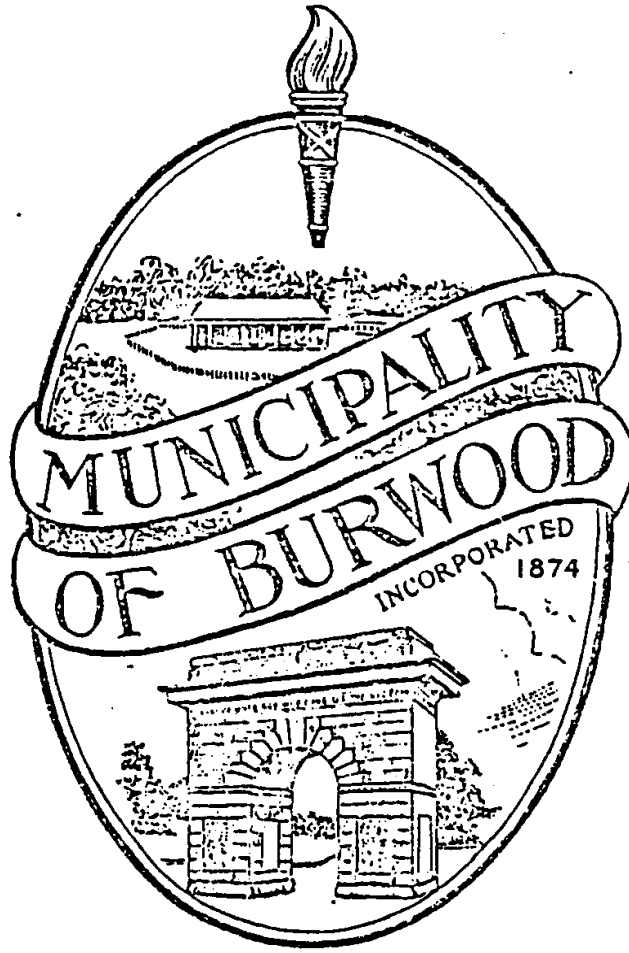


Burwood House



Illustration by courtesy of N. S. W. Government Printer

Municipality of Burwood



*ORIGINAL DRAWING OF EMBLEMATIC DESIGN ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL
ON THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF MAY, 1936.*

W. J. Swan
MAYOR.

ARTIST AND DESIGNER: W. J. SWAN, 119 PHILLIP STREET, SYDNEY.

Illustration by courtesy of Burwood Municipal Council

List of Grants

LIST OF GRANTS MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA									
ORIGINAL WILLIAMS PAID IN THE STATE ARCHIVES OF N. S. W. - REF. 7/2021									
GRANT	GRANTOR	ILLUSTRATION	ESTIMATE OF AREA OF LAND	APPROXIMATE DATE OF GRANT	BY WHOM GRANTED	REMARKS	DATE	FILE NO.	FILE NO.
100	Thos. Rowley	District of Columbia	100 - -	Grant	1. -	Francis Greco Esq. Lieutenant Governor	1	53	Consolidated in 17. Thos. Rowley's Grant 1503
101	Thos. Rowley	Liberty Plains	60 - -	60	1. -	do	1	57	do do do
102	Thos. Rowley	do	20 - -	60	1. -	do	1	57	do do do
103	Thos. Rowley	District of Columbia	70 - -	60	1. -	do	1	97	do do do
104	Thos. Rowley	At the entrance of the flats at the lower part of the harbor of Port Jackson	20 - -	60	1. -	do	1	145	do do do
105	Thos. Rowley	District of Columbia	100 - -	60	1. -	do	1	175	Cancelled, a New Grant being given by Governor Hunter to Captain Thos. Rowley by whom this allotment was purchased See No 2 Register folio 332
106	Thos. Rowley	George's River in the District of Columbia	60 - -	60	2. -	Governor Hunter	2	201	Consolidated in 17. Thos. Rowley's Grant 1003
107	Thos. Rowley	Liberty Plains	200 - -	60	1. -	Governor Hunter	2	201	Consolidated in 17. Thos. Rowley's Grant 1003

1798	Aug 3	Capt. Thos. Rowley	Dist. of Liberty Plains	260 --	do	1.	after 5 yrs	Governor Hunter	10		This Grant renewed by Govt. Hunter to Capt. Thos. Rowley by whom it was purchased it having been originally given by Lt. Col. Patterson to 6 Privates of the N.S. Wales Corps. Consolidated in Lt. Thos. Rowley's Grant 1803.
1798	Oct 2	Capt. Thos. Rowley	Dist of York Place	150 --	do	2.	after 5 yrs	Governor Hunter	2	321	
1800	Oct 18	James Stokes	do	30 --	do	2.	after 5 yrs	Governor Hunter.	2	348	Consolidated in Thos. Rowley's Grant 1803
1800	(Blank) a	Thos. Rowley Esqr	Dist of Liberty Plains	150 --	do	2.	after 5 yrs	Governor King	2	91	Consolidated in Thos. Rowley's Grant 1803 as will appear (signed) D.D. 2000 - Clerk
1800	Aug 9	Thos. Rowley Esqr.	District of Parramatta	240 --	do	6.	after 5 yrs	Governor King	2	118	
1800	Aug 9	Same	Districts of Liberty Plains and Concord	750 --	do	1.	after 5 yrs	Governor King	2	118	
1800	July 16	Thos. Rowley Esqr.	Dist of Burks Town	700 --	do	16.		Governor King	2	141	

LIST OF ALL GRANTS AND LEASES OF TOWN ALLOTMENTS REGISTERED IN THE COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE BETWEEN THE 28TH DAY OF JANUARY 1789 AND THE 31ST DAY OF DECEMBER 1809

1789	May 4th	Lieut. Thos. Rowley N.S.W. Corps	Between the Church Land and the Ground used as a brickfield without the Town of Sydney	2 acres	14 years to commence after date	6. Francis Esq. Lieutenant Governor	1	52	
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a the word "(Blank)" is written in - the entries above and below are dated "1800 March 31".

Golden Wedding

Kingston Farm
via Sydney Town
May 27, 1806

My dear Claude and Elsie,

Very sorry I will be unable to attend your golden wedding anniversary celebration but I am not a young man any more and I think I may not last another 183 years. I would dearly love to be present.

Congratulations to you both from Betty and myself. How I would have liked your great great great grandmother and I to have had such a celebration, but the old buzzard wouldn't marry me.

Yours, etc.,
your loving great great great grandfather,

Thomas Rowley, Esq.

P. S. It will be such a relief to get that wretched fellow McArthur off my back. He kept peftering me for pictures of my funny Spanish sheep. Something about the flipside of the two-dollar note, he said.