ROBERT CAMPBELL, COLONIAL MERCHANT
1769-1846

MARGARET J.E. STEVEN

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Australian National University.

1962.
This is my original work.

M. J. E. Stevens.
'All can lament a glory that has been,
Or count the loss from wonders taking wing,
But only genius, sees, or can have seen,
The hope for man in the beginning thing;
To have observed, to have encouraged this
New hope for man beneath the blinding sun,
How shall word tell the wonder that it is
Whether as greatness seen or greatness done?'

John Masefield.
PREFACE

There has been very little attention devoted in any period of Australian history to the influence of a commercial class. Given that such exploration is worth attempting, the greatest obstacle is a lack of connected sources. With one or two exceptions, the absence of practically any personal or commercial papers presented an immediate problem, in the case of Australia's first merchant, forcing dependence on purely external sources for any reconstruction of the man and his business activities. The exceptions were two fortunate survivals - the Hook Letter Book and a collection of Campbell's own business letters for 1821, written in an old school-exercise book of his son. The Hook Letter Book, being the letters written to John and Robert Campbell by Charles Hook, partner of Campbell & Co., from Sydney between 1810 and 1814 is a quite invaluable record of the collapse of the firm which is probably the earliest surviving business account of the management of an Australian commercial house. In addition, a remarkable proportion of papers preserved in the Supreme Court collection in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, concern commercial matters, round which are grouped all manner of maritime and trading detail, providing a rich, if confused, hunting ground. Apart from these, there remain only incidental references in the papers of contemporaries and in newspapers and official documents.

Though these sources originally seemed so inadequate for the purpose, they were the only surviving means by which an evaluation of the place and role of this substantial merchant and pioneer
could be attempted. Therefore, this study could not be conceived as a biography, though any narrative which chooses a human career as a theme must necessarily be concerned with biographical material.

The search for sources inconvenienced many people who showed me much kindness and inexhaustible goodwill. Chief amongst these are the present descendants of Robert Campbell, Mr and Mrs W. Campbell of Tumut, and Colonel and Mrs C.E.T. Newman of Sydney, who allowed me access to surviving family papers, and offered every encouragement. Of the people who unstintingly gave me the benefit of their knowledge, criticism and time I must enumerate I. Nish, B.H. Fletcher, Mrs B. Penny, Dr M. Roe, Dr T.M. Perry, Dr N. Gunson. Mrs J. Broomfield entered wholeheartedly into the problems of detection and produced nearly all the material relating to Campbell & Company of Calcutta. I owe a particular debt to Dr Cumpston of Canberra whose knowledge of the early sealing industry and shipping was generously laid at my disposal, and to Mr R. Hainsworth of the Mitchell Library, who, with equal generosity and enthusiasm gave me the benefit of his knowledge of uncatalogued collections. The staffs of every library I harried, especially the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and the National Library, Canberra, showed that helpfulness and patience for which they are already noted. To the Australian National University for a scholarship and its attendant privileges, and to my supervisor, Mr L.F. Fitzhardinge, for encouragement and patience, I am especially grateful.
SUMMARY

This thesis is concerned with the course of the career of Robert Campbell of the Wharf, colonial merchant, who came from India to New South Wales in 1798 and subsequently established the firm of Campbell and Co. of Sydney. Campbell's career, which began with some slight knowledge of merchanting and civil affairs in eighteenth-century Scotland took him several times between India, England and Australia, as the result of both business and politics, for his career as a merchant involved him in many other activities, which included banking, politics, pastoralism and philanthropy.

This narrative is concerned mainly with the effects of Campbell's trading on the embryo society of New South Wales, traced through the difficulties he encountered in the attempt to trade in a primitive economy. Some attempt has been made to reconstruct his early methods of trading and the volume of that trade. Campbell and Company's successful attempts to import livestock and their setbacks in the spirit trade show how the Sydney business was related to the trading of the main house in Calcutta.

The way in which Campbell was forced to organise and expand some form of colonial export is seen in the development of the colonial fishery. This, in turn, increasingly identified Campbell with colonial aspirations as illustrated by the Lady Barlow's entry to the Port of London, in defiance of the East India Company's monopoly. The development of New South Wales's trade and commerce and its significance in the rebellion against Governor Bligh is outlined, prior to the personal misfortunes which reduced
Campbell in 1810 and resulted in the dissolution of the original Indian connection by 1813.

Campbell's return to Australia in 1815 and his attempts (which succeeded by 1827) to re-found a once extensive business coincided with a more active colonial commerce. His contemporaries felt that Campbell's return to his once unique commercial eminence entitled him to the appellation of 'Father of Australian Commerce' and the merchant after 1827 was diverted into politics as a member of the colonial Legislative Council. From this period until his death in 1846 the emphasis of his life changes after the admission of his sons to partnership in Campbell and Company and with his acquisition of extensive pastoral property.
CONTENTS

Preface
Summary
List of Abbreviations

Chapter | Title | Page
---|---|---
I | 'An Universal Instrument' | 1
II | 'Campbell, Clarke and Company - Calcutta Merchants' | 18
III | 'Prices too Indelicate to Repeat' | 47
IV | Stocking the Country with Cattle | 85
V | 'The Distracted State' - The Spirits Trade | 109
VI | Sealing | 140
VII | The Lady Barlow Case | 164
VIII | New South Wales, 1806-1808 | 184
IX | The Bligh Rebellion | 206
X | 'May British Commerce Ever Flourish all over the Globe' | 240
XI | 'My Accumulated Misfortunes' | 270
XII | 'Formerly an Eminent, Useful Merchant of this Place' | 305
XIII | Rebuilding a Business | 331
XIV | 'A Good Trip to Botany' | 358

APPENDICES

A | Estimated Property in Campbell & Co.'s Go Downs, Sydney, 16 August 1804 | 383
B | Grain Receipts Received by Campbell, 1800-1807 | 384
C | Spirits Brought to N.S.W. 1800-1804 | 385
D | Sealer's Lays | 386
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>E Debtors Sued by Campbell &amp; Co., 1810-1814</th>
<th>387</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>F New South Wales Savings Bank Deposits 1819-31</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>G Ships Managed or Owned by Campbell &amp; Co.</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entering and Leaving Port Jackson, 1798-1810</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAPS</th>
<th>Opposite Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Map 1</td>
<td>Trade routes of the Eighteenth Century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 2</td>
<td>Australia c. 1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 3</td>
<td>Sealing Grounds of the Early Nineteenth Century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 4</td>
<td>New South Wales, 1826</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.T. Board of Trade Papers.
C.G. Calcutta Gazette.
C.O. Colonial Office.
C.S., I.L. N.S.W. Colonial Secretary's Papers, In-Letters.
E.I. Co. Papers, C.M.B. East India Company Papers, Court Minute Book.
H.R.A. Historical Records of Australia.
H.R.N.S.W. Historical Records of New South Wales.
Johnston's Court Martial. Proceedings of a General Court Martial ... for the Trial of Lieut. Col. Geo. Johnston ... 
M.P. Macarthur Papers.
R.P. Riley Papers.
R.H.P. Hassall (Rowland) Papers.
S.C.P. Supreme Court Papers.
S.G. Sydney Gazette.
CHAPTER I

'AN UNIVERSAL INSTRUMENT'

'No matter with what conscious or unconscious beliefs men may set forth, they will build a different city than their fathers or they themselves foresaw.'

Frankel: The Concept of Colonization.

It has long been recognized, though perhaps not in the words used by Sir Charles Lucas, that 'in colonising, in trading, ... Scotsmen gave to the British Commonwealth an invaluable element of initiative, strength and endurance.' Australia, whose colonising coincided with the evaporation of the Old Empire, drew to her shores far more than is generally realised, these persistent adventurers. One of the more outstanding was Robert Campbell, the merchant whose long liaison with Australia proved to their mutual advantage. Robert Campbell's story is largely the story of the first fifty years of Australian mercantile life, for his initiative created and maintained the first permanent channels of commerce in the Antipodes.

He came to Port Jackson from India in 1798 to investigate the possibilities of trade with the new colony and remained through many vicissitudes to become the 'Father of Australian Commerce'. It was not a title acquired easily, and a man with less acumen, resource and character than Campbell would never have survived the adversities of fortune which he endured with unshaken dignity. His own strength and endurance were to affect directly the development of the early colonial society, while his initiative first stirred an essentially gaol community to face the possibilities of commerce which converted them within fifty years to a free society.
At this time trade consisted essentially in a series of individual undertakings which were so often the outlet and salvation of men of little capital or connection, but of ambition and initiative, so much so that commerce was recognized as being 'an universal Instrument that offers itself to everyone, for the Improvement of his Fortune'. The comparative ease with which a man, not bred a merchant, could engage gradually in trade explains the jealous pride of the professional merchant instanced in the Merchants Directory which emphasised the need to distinguish between the terms 'Trader' and 'Merchant'. The author, approving an earlier definition of a merchant as being 'the Steward of the Kingdom's Stock, by way of commerce with other nations', continues, 'To this proper Acceptation of the Word Merchant it will be found necessary strictly to adhere, that we may not confound the Rank and Character of the British Merchant, with that of the Wholesale Dealer or Trader, an Error which we may be easily led into if we consult the common Directories and other printed lists of our Citizens, some of whom, prompted by vanity, give a small annual Gratification to the Printers, to be placed in the first Class of Citizens, when their Situation only entitles them to the Second'.

Outside Europe, it was only gradually that the activities of even the largest merchants acquired an inner cohesion which allowed the luxury of branch organizations. Campbell's period lies just at the watershed when largely individual, erratic trading was in the process of converting a miscellany of shipping lanes and capricious markets into the broad highways of commerce.

---

Steam was to be perhaps the greatest single factor making for
stability in what, at this time, was essentially a fascinating game
of chance in which only men with keen, meticulous minds and
phlegmatic temperaments could endure the constant strains of such
variables.\textsuperscript{1} Practically no factors of trade had changed since
Shakespeare wrote in reference to the merchant,

\begin{quote}
... had I such venture forth,
The better part of my affections would
Be with my hopes abroad. I should be still
Plucking the grass, to know where sits the wind;
Peering in maps for ports, and piers, and roads;
And every object that might make me fear
Misfortune to my ventures....
\end{quote}

So prosaic, indeed, were the actual terms of trade that it is easy
to underestimate the hazards faced, the bravery and endurance
demanded of these pioneers of commerce. Not for men like Campbell
were lives afflicted by the 'malady of sameness'. For sailing ships
were only the tools of merchants, who required a global view if they
were to survive. Success produced men like Kirkman Finlay, founder
of a great mercantile house, whose daily business it was to be
conversant with the vagaries of a world barely discovered, who could
nonchalantly produce letters from America from his morning mail, or
discuss his trade in Malta and the Bahamas and with the Spaniards
and Russians in almost the same breath as he could analyse the
state of industry in his native Glasgow.\textsuperscript{2}

The Scottish merchant of the time was a man to be reckoned with
in the commercial world. His traditional background so often
provided him with an extraordinary capitalistic business sense which

\textsuperscript{1} It was after the coming of steam, that significantly, the term
'merchant adventurer' ceased to have any currency.
\textsuperscript{2} See \textit{James Finlay & Company Limited}, pp.17-25.
when combined with a penetrating Calvinistic piety gave a merchant his two most valuable attributes - flexibility and dependability.\(^1\) They brought to their trading a zest and a pertinacity that made them a force to be reckoned with in politics as well. It is recorded that at the time of the appearance of Adam Smith's influential theory of 'The Wealth of Nations' the Glasgow merchants were as proud of the work as if they had written it themselves. Some of them 'said it was no wonder that Adam Smith had written such a book, as he had had the advantage of their society, in which the same doctrines were circulated with the punch every day.'\(^2\) Having come too late to develop a monopoly of their own, Scottish merchants had, of course, a vested interest in Free Trade, a gospel which changed the course of British history.

Obsession with the need to maintain the restrictions of the Navigation Laws and their actual administration lost the American colonies to Britain and caused a serious re-examination of the theory of colonies. Broadly it is true to say that trade in its more vicious form wrecked the Old Empire. The slow demise of mercantilism was complicated by the recognition that freedom of trade for, and with, colonies promoted new liberties and posed the even bigger question of political equality. Free trade and political equality began to be recognized as two aspects of one and the same fact. Breaches in the old system, though they injured no

\(^1\) The successful Scots merchant so often resembled the stolid Dutch burgher of popular conception, and similar Calvinist outlook (perhaps not entirely accidental in view of the strong links between those countries in the 18th century). They both had much in common with the ideal merchant type described by Weber.

\(^2\) Letter from Sir Thomas Munro to Kirkman Finlay, Madras, 15 August, 1825, quoted from G.R. Gleig's 'The Life of Sir Thomas Munro', in *James Finlay & Company Limited*, p.8.
interest, met violent opposition from the traditionalists. In the House of Commons debate on the suspension of the Navigation Laws in 1806 the Master of the Rolls said the proposed bill reduced to a dead letter all the body of laws 'made for the support of our navigation, the rule of our colonial system and everything that depends on both'. Increasingly frequent breaches in the Navigation Laws underlay a changing attitude towards colonies, so that Huskisson's first steps towards free trade enacted in 1825 and 1826 marked an enormous advance in both commercial and colonial policy. It was within this web that the merchant had to operate at the end of the 18th century, and none more so than Robert Campbell trading under the aegis of the formidable East India Company's monopoly, to a newly established British colony. His own activities span this period between the attrition of mercantilism and the gradual abolition of the Navigation Laws, from a restrictive colonial and commercial policy, through the gradual removal of the restrictions which prevented colonies from framing independent commercial policies; all of which was reflected so faithfully in the early administration of New South Wales.

Campbell's commercial activities in New South Wales exemplified the principles of private enterprise in a settlement (like so many other colonial territories) remarkable for governmental control but already in the grip of a trading monopoly. While his own part in the eventual modification of these conditions is of some importance, his activities have a wider historical significance because they are affected by the same factors as were influencing the general pattern of colonial development. Trading was only one facet of his

---

activities which ranged through being collector of naval and civil
taxes, banking, politics, pastoralism and philanthropy. His career
in Australia was a triumph of common sense. He was one of the few
of his generation who, bringing their ambition and initiative to
the colony, was neither broken, deranged nor embittered by his
experiences in New South Wales. Though the majority of his years
were lived in the 19th century (he died in 1846) Merchant Campbell
was an unmistakeable product of the 18th century, and his roots lay
in a society far removed from the new-minted values and behaviour
of the raw new land which eventually claimed his allegiance and his
children.

The variations of tradition and society which have always
differentiated the Scots from the English were much more marked in
the eighteenth century. In the latter half of the century, Scotland
was awakening from centuries-old barbarism. The Union with England,
grudgingly achieved in 1707, had had little effect for fifty years,
partly due to Scottish isolation but largely as a result of
prejudice. While they continued to resist English influence in
domestic affairs with relative success, the Scots soon exploited the
major concessions of being able to trade on equal terms with the
English in the colonies, from which they had been previously
excluded by the Navigation Acts. Although her independence was the
price consciously paid for these trading concessions, Scotland had
not made a bad bargain. The success of her merchants resuscitated

1 See M.H. Ellis, John Macarthur, pp. 528-9.
Scotland by the wealth and activity that a growing commerce brought in its train.

It also put an end to Scottish isolation. Poverty was alleviated by hope, competition contributed its stimulus, wealth encouraged a new fastidiousness in standards and manners and Scotland escaped from national lethargy. The process was complex and gradual, but by the end of the century new towns were developing out of villages fortunate to have discovered an industrial or trading potential. The merchants acquired a vital flexibility after their first painful efforts to sell woollen stockings to Barbary and tartan and blue bonnets to the Africans, and dealt much more successfully in tobacco, rum, and cotton from America and the West Indies. In a short time, a capacity for intrepid speculation and shrewd investment without reference to class or creed, was to appear in the nation.¹

¹ The history of Scottish investment promises to be a fascinating story should ever it be written. The willingness of Scottish solicitors to raise funds on behalf of overseas companies is one of the vital phenomena of the expansion of the new world in the nineteenth century. This was intimately concerned with the growth of banking - a system which Scots not only embraced with enthusiasm, but played a large part in originating. When Scottish banks were being established throughout the country areas, the local solicitor was often its agent, and at the same time borrowing agent for overseas companies - Australian, Eastern and far Eastern banks, and American cattle and land companies. The solicitor, traditional estate manager, was well versed in financial matters and the intricacies of loan raising, which had formed a major part of his activity since feudal times. Regarded as a 'man of business' professionally, out of respect for his financial activities which developed naturally into stockbroking in company and government securities, the Scottish solicitor therefore played a vital part in organizing domestic savings and channelling Scottish funds into foreign investment outlets. In the late 1880s some 40% of total Australian borrowing (about £5 million p.a.) came from this source alone. See J.D. Bailey, 'Australian Borrowing in Scotland in 19th Century', Economic History Review, 2nd Series vol.XII, 1959-1960; also D.S. Macmillan, 'The Scottish Australian Company, 1840-50', Scottish Historical Review, vol.XXXIX, No.127, April 1960.
Other factors besides trade played a part in this process, but Scotland, paradoxically, owed her salvation by trade to her poverty. That same poverty, touching, as it did, all classes of society, had not only limited the display of wealth but had restrained any tendency towards pretension between classes, thus retaining a remarkable degree of contact between all levels of society. In the early part of the eighteenth century, outlets for younger sons of good family were limited when there was little trade, meagre commerce and few industries. To join the army bordered perilously on disgrace, for as yet the Scots had discovered little enthusiasm for fighting the battles of the English. Law was one of the most respectable and attractive avenues. Sir Alexander Maxwell, drawing up instructions for the education of his son about 1728, said: 'I speak of Law as of the chief studie; for tho' he doe not incline to follow the profession of the law, yet it is so necessar to know for self preservation, a man is at the greatest losse to be ignorant of it.' The emphasis on self-preservation was not misplaced, for surviving Scottish records strengthen the impression that litigation was a national pastime. Those who wished to study medicine had to find the means to go to Leyden or Paris, while the Church was closed to the Episcopalian and rendered unattractive even to the Presbyterian by its austerity and fanaticism. Furthermore, the stauncher Jacobites scrupled to engage in any occupation which required them to take the oath of allegiance to the Hanoverian king. This closed to them the Bar, the army and every government post. The outlet most often turned to was trade, 'for in those days a gentleman's son felt it as natural to fall into trade as for a rich tradesman to rise out of it.'\(^1\) Apprentices to shopkeepers were

---

frequently men of high birth and social position, and the founders of many firms were the younger sons of earls, baronets or prominent landed proprietors.¹ Such a tradition meant that when colonial trade was opened to them the Scots suffered from fewer of the English social inhibitions concerning trade.

On the west coast of Scotland, at the mouth of the River Clyde, and couched in magnificent scenery, flourished the compact but vital port of Greenock. Situated on the confines of rugged and barbarous Argyllshire, stronghold of the Campbells - Scotland's greatest clan, Greenock in the eighteenth century served as an entrepot for overseas trade and as a first stage of their journey for the restless and dispossessed highlanders who were driven to seek a livelihood in some less grinding environment.² A mere hamlet of 1500 people at the beginning of the century, Greenock reflected the growth and transition that was typical of the period. By the 1780s it had acquired 18,000 inhabitants, a large proportion of whom were merchants engaged in the West Indian, and to a lesser extent, the East Indian trades, or captains, navigators and men whose livelihood was in some way connected with the sea. From the first harbour extension in 1751, her commercial importance as a rising west-coast seaport had been rapidly established. The inhabitants

¹ In 1678 the son of Sir Ludovic Gordon, the premier baronet of Scotland, finished his apprenticeship to R. Blackwood, Merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, learning 'his airt and trade of merchandizing', while Kerr of Boughtrigg, jeweller, and afterwards M.P., married the daughter of Lord Charles Kerr. It was not rare for those of good degree to serve apprenticeships to joiners and ship-carpenters. Sir Michael Malcolm, who married the daughter of Lord Bathurst, had been trained as a joiner in London.

² 'Towards the end of the century great numbers of Highlanders found their way to Glasgow and Greenock, driven from stress and poverty at home to increase poverty elsewhere.' Lettice's Tour Through London, London, 1794. See Graham, op.cit., p.257.
'had not confined themselves to the herring fishery and coasting traffic, but had been pushing their trade with indomitable energy, and had acquired a reputation for possessing enterprising merchants, skilful navigators, and fast sailing ships'. Their ships, though small, were considered a great advance on the ones which had preceded them.

It was to this thriving seaport (which by 1820 had added another 6,000 to its population) that John Campbell, writer, came in 1760, from the neighbouring but larger town of Paisley. After suitable negotiations with the Greenock Council, he became the first regularly appointed Town Clerk of Greenock: a post to which he was appointed for life. As the Council Minutes record, on May 18, 1760:

Mr. Watt informed the Magistrates and Council that he had a letter from John Campbell, writer in Paisley, signifying his agreeing to the Magistrates' and Councillors' proposal of his coming to reside here, to be Town Clerk, and Collector of the Tax upon Ale, at Whitsunday next, in consideration of their paying him the yearly sum of £15 sterling during his continuance in office, for his trouble in uplifting and collecting the Tax, and recording the Council's proceedings.

That Campbell of Ashfield was a man of character and ability is plain even without the testimony of his son William, who described him as a man of ability and industry who, at one period, 'attained to a situation of considerable affluence'. Before leaving Paisley, at the age of thirty-three, besides his own private practice as writer, or solicitor, he was Collector of the County Cess, Sheriff-Substitute and Clerk of the Presbytery of Paisley.  

---

1 G. Williamson, Old Greenock, p.159.  
2 Petition of William and John Campbells to the Lords of Council and Session, 26 January, 1802.  
Before he died in Greenock in 1797, his energy and ability must have been taxed to the utmost by the anomalous positions he acquired and discharged. Besides being Town Clerk and Collector of Impost, he became a town Trustee and Councillor, Bailie, Clerk to the Harbour Trust and Manager of the Post Office. At the same time he acted as Baron Bailie and Local Agent for both the Shaw Stewart and Cathcart families which, as they retained feudal interests in Greenock, must have required the utmost circumspection in any Town Councillor who handled their affairs.

John Campbell's consequence in the community was increased by his inheritance of the substantial lands of Lerignahunsheon, or Ashfield, from his grand-uncle, Duncan Campbell, of Ashfield. This property not only supplemented John Campbell's income, but by Scottish usage allowed him to assume the name of his land as a title, thus elevating him to the numerous ranks of the Scottish squirearchy. The land, in a particularly remote and inaccessible part of western Argyle, was never occupied by John Campbell, who leased it to a Neill Campbell, whose family, from long tenure, wrongly became known as 'of Ashfield', also. John Campbell found it more convenient to live in his substantial new house in Greenock from where he could more easily control his multifarious concerns,

---

1 Greenock New Parish Kirk: List of Burials.
2 Petition: op.cit.
which doubtless included investment speculations and activities which required the service of a sloop 'Lively'.

John Campbell and his wife, Agnes Paterson (fifth lawful daughter to Robert Paterson, Town Clerk of Kilmarnock), had ten children of whom four survived infancy. The eldest son, William (born 1758), was to follow in his father's footsteps as a writer and, after 1790, Town Clerk in conjunction with his father. Initially, however, with his father's backing he engaged in trade under the firm of William Campbell & Company. He was followed by the only surviving daughter, Annabella. John, the second son, also turned to trade and became a partner in the firm of Campbell Clarke & Company engaged in the lucrative East Indian trade. This was an alluring and highly satisfactory outlet for a second son, and eventually John found a place in the Company for his younger brother, Robert.

Robert, the youngest surviving son, whose importance and affluence were to exceed those of the rest of the family, apparently spent his first twenty-seven years of life in Greenock. According to the Middle Greenock Birth Registers, he was born there on April 28, 1769. Robert was a typical product of his place and time. In spite of his father's highland inheritance, Robert's environment and background was essentially urban. His father was a Town Clerk, and his mother the daughter of a Town Clerk. His maternal grandfather

---

1 Petition, op.cit., p.3.
2 The names of all the children may be traced in the Registers (Middle Greenock Births and Greenock Borough Records). Further details are recorded on a leaf of the Campbell family Bible. See H. Campbell, 'The Campbells of Duntroon', in The Genealogist, 1911, vol.27, p.127.
3 Petition, op.cit., p.1.
was likewise a Town Clerk, and his paternal grandfather was conceivably a highlander by birth, but was trained to the profession of Minister at Ardnamurchan. Even his elder brother, William, became a Town Clerk. In the light of this background it can be seen that the capacity for municipal affairs, which Robert displayed in New South Wales later, was no mere accident.

Owing to his father's position in the town, it is most probable that Robert and his brothers were educated at the Grammar School, which was maintained by the Magistrates for the 'common good' of the burgh. Education in Scotland has a long and involved history. However, in 1696 the Scots Parliament had anew enacted that a schoolmaster should be appointed for every parish, 'a commodious house' should be provided for a school, and that a salary be contributed to equally by tenants and heritors (or hereditary landholders). As Graham has commented, 'Never was there a wiser law, and never was a law more studiously disregarded'.

Greenock, although it contrived to support a parish school until 1752, had early taken steps to establish the much more comprehensive Grammar School. By the 1780s it had more than three hundred pupils divided into four classes. Although the English master in 1772 was guaranteed a quite magnificent salary of £60 sterling by the magistrates, his quarters were not too commodious. At this time the school house was an old loft in the centre of the town, and an inventory taken the following year shows that it was equipped with 'One chimney, one fender, one pair of tongs, ten long furms and three

Graham, op.cit., p.420.
Williamson, op.cit., p.159.
small furms, two moveable writing desks in frames, a coall bakey and brush'.

Grammar, mathematics and French masters were also subsidised by the Magistrates, as well as elementary school teachers and a female teacher of needlework. The general term 'mathematics' at this time covered writing, arithmetic, geography and navigation, while under the mastership of the poetaster John Wilson the classics were given unusual prominence. It was said that in Wilson's time 'the people of Greenock gave their sons a more liberal education than was afterwards common, the classics being latterly to a large extent ignored in the town and adventure schools'. For the period of Robert Campbell's boyhood, at least, his townsmen seem to have eased the grounds for Leyden's criticism that 'the inhabitants of Greenock were more remarkable for opulence and commercial spirit than for their attention to literature and science'.

At least, Robert had the opportunity to learn geography, navigation, bookkeeping and clear English usage - all the rudiments of the superior education which a merchant of the times was expected to possess. It is not impossible that he added a less formal elementary knowledge of cargoes, seamen and ships from the circumstance of living in a busy port.

Apart from having occasionally witnessed deeds connected with his father's legal affairs, Robert last appears in the civil life.

---

1 Ibid., p.166.
2 Ibid., p.161.
3 Leyden, Memoirs; see Williamson, op.cit., p.161.
4 May 18, 1787: a bond by John Campbell of Ashfield, writer in Greenock, in favour of Sir James Campbell of Ardinglass is witnessed by the said Ashfield's eldest and youngest sons (explicitly so
of Greenock in 1794, when he subscribed his own name and that of his brother, William, to a list of citizens prepared to form a citizen defence force to be known as the Loyal Greenock Volunteers. This petition originated four years before the Volunteer System was sanctioned by Parliament in 1798 as a result of the threatened invasion by Napoleon. Greenock's earlier action was due to her commercial position. Since the late 1750s, American and French privateers had begun to infest the English Channel and the coast of Scotland and Ireland, harassing the commerce of Greenock and the Clyde. Robert Campbell seems to have been denied the thrill of participation in anything more exciting than the preliminary discussion at the Corps' formation, although William had been included in an earlier enrolment in 1782.¹

The occupation of Robert's early years, however remains a mystery. It is likely that, along with William, he aided his father in his varied concerns and so gained a useful knowledge of general business matters and legal usages. A petition of 1802 by his two elder brothers (written by William) states that all three sons 'were bred merchant', that 'Robert carried on business by himself', and continues:

> It unfortunately happened, that all of them were unsuccessful; and in order to support their credit, their father was under the necessity of coming under very heavy engagements on their account, so much so, that in the year 1788, his advances and engagements for them amounted to £13,000 Sterling, which threw his own affairs into very considerable disorder.²

It seems unlikely that a large part of this debt had been incurred by Robert's dealings as he was barely nineteen years of age. Nevertheless, in order to satisfy some pressing demands on William Campbell & Company, in 1788 old Ashfield 'had been obliged to make a temporary use of the funds of his constituents, to the extent of above L.2400 Sterling'.

To raise this sum to avoid dismissal from his offices, Ashfield turned to his Argyleshire estate, already burdened with two heritable debts amounting to £3,000. The bulk of these debts had been raised jointly by Ashfield and William before 1788. In return for an advance of £2,436 Ashfield made over the estate, his house (valued at £1,270 - probably Scots) and sloop to two intimate friends, James Wilson, writer in Paisley and William Paterson writer in Kilmarnock, on the private understanding that he should be able to redeem them on return of the sum borrowed. Campbell of Ashfield died in 1797 without having redeemed these debts and in June 1799 the house in Greenock was sold by the representatives of Wilson and Paterson (both dead) for £1,655 Scots and the estate was advertised for sale at £4,608 sterling.

According to the petition of the brothers, John who had since acquired 'a considerable fortune' in India desired to retain the estate for his family. William therefore contrived to postpone the

1 Ibid.
2 Argyll Sasines: Land Register, vol.XII, folios 456, 959.
3 Campbell's wife was Paterson's aunt.
4 Disposition and conveyance by the said John Campbell of Ashfield, in favour of Wm. Paterson of Kameshill and James Wilson, writer in Paisley, dated 16 April 1789, Poltalloch Estate Inventory, p.92, See Ashfield, No.6; also Petition, op.cit., pp.2-3.
5 Petition, op.cit., p.4.
sale of the estate several times by legal appeals. The last traceable appeal (the Petition of 1802) mentioned John Campbell's anxiety to buy the estate for which he would have earlier remitted money had he not intended returning to Scotland himself, and quoted in support a letter from John to his sister stating 'I intend to take my passage for Europe early in October, along with my friend, Captain William Stewart. I have wrote William relative to everything'. William was apparently unsuccessful in his efforts for by 1803 the estate had passed entirely out of the interest of the Campbells.  

It was shortly before his father's death that Robert took passage to Calcutta in 1797 to join his brother John in the East Indian trading of Campbell Clarke & Company. His background was such as to leave him with an appreciation of merchanting and a knowledge of its rudiments, if not its finer points. Behind him, in Greenock, lay the greatest contrast that nature or art could offer to the exotic confusion of the East. The magic bridge was trade.

---

1 Ibid., p.10.
2 *Argyll Sasines: Land Register, vol.XII, folios 1488, 1802.*
CHAPTER II

CAMPBELL CLARKE & COMPANY - CALCUTTA MERCHANTS

India was the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. It lured Campbell's generation no less than the one for whom Kipling described Calcutta, one hundred years later.

Me the Sea-captain loved, the River built,
Wealth sought and Kings adventures life to hold,
Hail England! I am Asia - Power on Silt,
Death in my hands, but Gold!

Death, indeed, was the rule rather than the exception but the few Europeans who survived were often able to found the fortunes of their house on the endeavours of a few years. All hoped to emulate the Nabob - the man who returned to England after having shaken the pagoda tree.

In spite of the understandable affection lavished on Calcutta by the sea-captain, by the late eighteenth century trade had become incidental to its existence, not vital. At this period Fort William (the officially favoured designation) was essentially a fort and garrison, as well as the seat of the Governor-General and his administration. At one and the same time it was 'the key to prosperity' and the 'padlock of Bengal'. Since 1765 the city had grown up round the fort and had divided itself into White and Black

---

1 The memoirs of William Hickey who survived in this society for a number of years are appallingly monotonous in their recital of deaths. Of the year 1790 he comments imperturbably 'The breaking up of the rains this season was attended with much fatal illness, and a number of the European inhabitants of Calcutta were carried off; in the month of September alone there were upwards of seventy funerals'. Memoirs of William Hickey, vol.IV, p.4.

2 C.N. Parkinson, Trade in Eastern Seas, p.32.
areas. By the 1790s it was an established settlement, under an English civil government, having a Mayor and Aldermen and a Supreme Court with Judges nominated by the King. Calcutta was more than 100 miles inland up the Hoogly - a branch of the Ganges - where the river was particularly treacherous to navigate, combining shallow water, violent currents and bad anchorage. The East India Company lost £3,000 a year in anchors and cables and it was not unknown for vessels to lose five anchors in three weeks, but beside the potential treasures to be reaped this was a small outlay. Contrasting with the drab approach by river, the first impression of Calcutta was one of magnificence. A distinct air of costliness and elegance testified to the 'opulence and power of the conquerors of India and the masters of the Ganges'. Under the influence of its grandeur, Grandpré referred to Calcutta as the 'capital of the east, the metropolis of the English empire in Asia and the finest colony in the world', and his contemporaries found no occasion to quibble at this description.

Although all the conventions of English society were promoted in Calcutta on a regal scale, the society itself operated under the discipline of a garrison. India was the preserve of the East India Company, responsible for all administration, and operating from the three presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. These areas were the concern of the Company and not the Crown. Ceylon alone, which was acquired in 1795, was a Crown colony. Trade, the Company's original raison d'être had become submerged in the necessities of administration and defence. The Company now was as greatly concerned with preventing colonization as monopolising trade, and

\[1\] Ibid.
consequently rarely issued licences to civilians to proceed to India, other than merchants, lawyers, and women destined for the marriage market. ¹ None were allowed to proceed to India without a licence from the East India Company, and all civilians remained on the understanding that they would be ordered back to England if their conduct displeased in any way. ²

Although military and strategic considerations were acquiring prominence by the end of the eighteenth century, Calcutta remained the main centre of the East India Company and the prime trading port of India – or indeed of the East. The Company, having enough shrewdness to realise that generosity would preserve its monopoly more securely than rigid exclusion, left most of the carrying trade of the East in private hands, under licence.

The activities of these private merchants was known as the Country Trade. It was far more extensive from Calcutta than on the other side of India, and Calcutta ships were more than twice as numerous even if, on an average, they were somewhat smaller and lighter than Bombay vessels. In Calcutta, trade was also to a far greater extent in European hands, the effect, possibly of the number and wealth of the Company's servants who were always glad to speculate a little on their own account, or at least invest their

¹ By 1805 India was strongly garrisoned. Of 31,000 Europeans, 22,000 were soldiers and another 2,000 civil servants. There were few women, and seamen formed the bulk of the remaining 7,000.

² In 1798 such was proclaimed to be the likely fate of those who profaned the Sabbath; the Government having discovered to its scandal 'that several places in the vicinity of Calcutta had become the ordinary resort of disorderly persons where horse racing and gaming prevail'. (Calcutta Gazette) In 1804 all those neglecting to attend parades of militia were threatened with withdrawal of their licences, (Calcutta Gazette).
capital at Oriental rates of interest.\footnote{See C.N. Parkinson, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.343-4.} Two distinct types of ship had been developed for the needs of the two main avenues of commercial interest in India, the Rice and Opium, or West and East trades. Trade to the West was principally concerned with supplying Madras regularly with rice from Bengal. As little or nothing could be returned in exchange for this rice special shipping and navigation techniques had to be employed to counteract the one-sidedness of the trade. Small speedy ships (usually under 400 tons) suitable alike for loading a heavy cargo and for sailing in ballast, with a shallow enough draught to ascend the Hoogly were developed. Such a ship, carrying four cargoes a year could be expected to yield a clear annual profit of £9,000. Mercantile activity to the East was mainly concerned with the illicit opium trade in Canton\footnote{The Company raised the opium in India and auctioned the harvest, leaving the actual carrying and disposal to the private merchants. From 1793 the opium trade was steadily increasing, more than doubling itself in 1799, and steadying down after 1805, when the annual export came to about six million rupees.} or poaching on the Dutch spice preserves in the Moluccas. This was a trade, in some instances not very far removed from 'mere buccaneering', which demanded speedy, heavily armed ships. The special characteristics of these ships emphasises the essentially frontier nature of the Indian trade to the East. As the profits were higher, so were the risks. Naturally, some of the formalities of trade were loosened to suit the circumstances, resulting in a more speculative, less orthodox approach than was common even in European businesses. One notable effect was that the junior executives of Indian houses were constantly faced with wracking decisions and enormous responsi-
bilities which very often had little direct connection with the mechanics of buying and selling.

To maintain the Country Trade the Company allowed a small number of merchants to proceed to its domains yearly. The annual number seems to have averaged about three, but they rarely remained long in the country, usually contriving to make their fortune and retire within three to five years. They operated separately or in loose and kaleidoscopic associations. Giving a pivot of stability to their ephemeral activities were a number of branch houses of old and powerful London firms which at this period were consolidating themselves into the great East India Agency Houses, 'which, despite bewildering changes of names consequent on changes of partners and amalgamations persisted - some for nearly half a century'. From modest beginnings they engaged in composite trading, financial, and shipping business with upcountry connections. Most of them maintained connections in Canton. Their leading representatives were the Fairlie and Palmer Houses, both of which had indirect interests in the tentative Indian trade with Australia.  

1 M. Greenberg, British Trade and the opening of China, p.35.
2 In Bengal, particularly, they concentrated on indigo manufacture which was the main pillar of their prosperity and the cause of their partial collapse in 1829-33. See Greenberg, p.34.
3 The former was founded by William Fairlie and John Fergusson who came to Calcutta in the 1780s. They owned nine ships, all over 400 tons, and must have been one of the largest firms in the world. David Reid was a partner in the 1790s before settling at Canton. This firm was known successively as Fairlie Fergusson & Co., Fairlie Gilmore & Co., Fergusson Clark & Co. It had an intimate relation with the London House, originally David Scott & Co., which became Fairlie Bonham & Co. in 1812 and in 1832 Fairlie, Clark Innes & Co. (Its partners were men of influence; Scott and Bonham were members of parliament. The former was also a Director of the East India Co.) Palmers founded by John Palmer who came to Calcutta in the 1780s, their London house being variously known as Palmer & Horsley, Palmer Mackillop & Co., of different addresses.
By 1803 there were twenty-nine Agency Houses listed in India.\(^1\) In 1811 there were only twenty, but by 1818 the number had risen again to twenty-four. The standing and financial vulnerability of these businesses varied, however, for very few were destined to survive, and even fewer to become established houses. 'Many were mere camp-followers of the British forces in the East - outfitters establishments, passengers agents, purveyors and the like. The others were small fry in the commercial world, retired officers of the Company's marine, generally operating from the Jerusalem Coffee House, striving to turn their maritime connections into regular mercantile houses', writes Greenberg.\(^2\)

A striking feature of any list of these businesses is the preponderance of Scottish names, for comparatively few of these East Indian merchants were English.\(^3\) By about 1813 there were roughly 14 Scots, 10 English and five foreign names amongst the list of merchants at Calcutta (also 12 Armenian, six Portuguese and 21 native firms).\(^4\) It was becoming a notable characteristic of British trade in the East that it was being largely developed by family and clan groups. It was 'not unimportant that in this period the Eastern trade was so largely developed by Scotsmen, with family connections in every port East of the Cape, not to speak of

---

\(^1\) *East India Register*: India List 1803.

\(^2\) Greenberg, p.35.

\(^3\) e.g. Rickards, Mackintosh & Co., Matheson & Co., Fletcher Alexander & Co., Gregson, Melville & Knight, James Scott and Co., Mackintyre & Co., and all the ramifications of Fairlie Fergusson & Co. mentioned earlier. Outside Bengal there were the smaller firms: A. Adamson, J. Leckie, Ritchie Steuart & Co., Burns MacVicar & Co., Tulloch Brodie & Co. of Bombay.

\(^4\) Parkinson, *op. cit.*, p.343.
relatives in the neighbourhood of Lombard Street'.

Perhaps it was only their numerical dominance that was responsible for the visible cohesion of the Scots, but a distinct preference for their own race is apparent in their business practice. Their partners, if not actually members of their family were Scots, and so were the captains of the ships they employed or hired, their up-country and overseas agents were of the same race, and inevitably so were their creditors. Campbell Clark & Co. followed this pattern faithfully. Their partners were relations, the captains of their ships bore the names Stewart, Mackey, Robson, McLardie; their agents Wilson and the Birnies of London joined them in business underwritten by Fairlie Fergusson & Co. and Gilmore & Co. of Calcutta.

In general they were shrewd, able and well-educated, some few like James Matheson, being graduates of Scots universities. What they lacked in aristocratic connections they supplied in the dependability that obtained them the respect and credit on which they built their businesses. For such men 'the ties of kinship were a cohesive force'. The strength and loyalty of the family was channelled into business and recruits for the commercial houses were usually drawn from relations at home in Scotland, as in the case of the Campbell brothers. In an acutely class-conscious society these Scots enjoyed an advantage in that their varied native accents always effectually prevented the English from 'placing' them socially. As Northcote Parkinson points out, this detail is the

---

1 Greenberg, p.38.

2 When James Matheson was setting up a third nephew as a Calcutta agent he approved a connection with Charles Lyall, who had brothers in London and Bombay firms because 'I consider them a thriving and united family'. Greenberg, p.38.
reverse of trivial, for 'merchants of European birth were essentially camp-followers of the military. They depended for their success on their reception in official society ... The shipping magnate who dined with the Chief Secretary to the Government had an immense advantage over the shipping magnate who did not.'

'The private merchant community' says Greenberg, 'was part of a wider social group of remarkable strength and ability, well-fitted to wage battle against the Honourable but dotard East India Company'. It was always open season on the Company, but the Scots, particularly accepted the challenge with enthusiasm. 'The active and foraging men of commerce looked on the Great Eastern market which was barred to them, with envious and indignant eyes. Contemporary opinion considered the monopoly a classic case of a "conspiracy against the public", to be attacked accordingly.' In January 1813, the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce added their petition to both Houses of Parliament upon the question of the renewal of the East India Company's monopoly. Indeed, a year beforehand, the merchants, traders and manufacturers of Greenock, though professing themselves 'far from yielding to an unmanly despondency' drew up a petition for opening the trade to India to counteract the privations suffered by lack of trade with the European continent.

The campaign against the Company's monopoly grew steadily throughout the 1790s and the agitation was the subject of investi-

1 Parkinson, op.cit., p.334.
2 Greenberg, pp.37-38.
3 James Finlay & Co. Ltd., pp.9-10.
4 See Williamson, Old Greenock, pp.140-141.
gation by both the Company and the British Government in the first years of the nineteenth century. The Company had already made some concessions. A clandestine trade with India started by British private merchants through Danish or Portuguese ships or foreign agencies at Ostend and Flushing had reached high proportions by the end of the eighteenth century. As a result of continuous agitation for free trade to India, the Charter Act of 1793 required the Company to reserve annually 3000 tons for British private trade in its outward and homeward ships, but this remedy was not conspicuously successful. The existence of a parallel foreign trade in India did nothing to quell the campaign for an end of the Company's monopoly. The trading of a French and a Spanish Company had been authorized by treaties in 1786, and in 1794 a similar agreement had been made with the United States of America for direct trade with India, provided it was not combined with a circuitous trade to Europe. Whether the Americans violated the agreement or not, their trade had reached proportions sufficient to alarm the Directors of the Company before the pact lapsed in 1806. The next breach in the sanctity of the Company's monopoly was made in 1795 when 27 private ships were allowed to proceed to England with cargoes of rice (and possibly some profitable extras) to trade on their own account. Adam Smith's theories were providing useful ammunition for the commercial interests. Until 1800, the private traders must have felt fairly sanguine of success considering the purely commercial factors as they were known in India. By 1801 it was evident that the issue would be lost for political reasons.

Too many competitive interests conflicted within the yielding membrane of the Company's monopoly, changing its shape but not its substance. In spite of its dominating mercantile position, the
Company was losing some authority by the diffusion of its powers. Its very size defeated its purpose, making its ultimate reversion to the Crown a distinct possibility. This possibility was strengthened by the Company's acquisition of a huge annual debt which in no way seemed to alarm it. An air of indifference had set in— to quote Parkinson, 'The East India Company was an abstraction, a figment of the mind, and what it should earn or lose was nobody's concern'. Because of the close connection between the Company's service and the country trade (for seamen) and investment, rivalry between the Company and private traders was not accompanied with much acrimony in India. 'It was in England that the Company's monopoly was most sternly upheld'.

The political implications of the Company's position could no longer be ignored with impunity in a still mercantilist age. Dundas and his fellow politicians were gradually encroaching on the Company. In a letter to the Chairman of the East India Company Dundas wrote: 'I am prepared explicitly to declare, that although the first formation of an East India Company proceeded upon purely commercial considerations, the magnitude and importance to which the East India Company has progressively advanced, is now so interwoven with the political interests of the Empire, as to create upon my mind a firm conviction, that the maintenance of the monopoly of the East India Company is even more important to the political interests of the State, than it is to the commercial interests of the

---

2 Ibid., p. 340.
3 Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville (1742-1811), President of Board of Control 1793-1801 and Secretary of War 1794-1801.
Company. To this end Dundas felt that the best answer to criticism of the monopoly would be to show the Company as always considerate without 'unnecessary adherence to points not essential for its existence'. Such was the policy that allowed a succession of trading concessions to private interests for the next thirty years, until the Company itself ceased to exist as a commercial entity.

The mercantile house that Robert Campbell came to India to join was still in the process of establishing itself during this uncertain period. The details of John's arrival in India are unknown, but Campbell and Clarke of Theatre Street, Calcutta, was established in 1790 as a House of Agency. John, therefore, had had many years experience of the Indian merchant's world before his brother arrived. These were the difficult years, during which the business was slowly consolidated, charting an ever-surer course as it avoided the shoals and eddies which wrecked less-stable competitors. It was not till two new partners were added in 1798 that the House became Campbell, Clarke & Co.

Echoes of their business survive from their advertisements in the Calcutta Gazette and help to reconstruct their activities. In

1 Dundas to Chairman of East India Company, 21 March, 1801. The Trade of India, p.88.
2 Ibid., p.89.
3 He was still in Scotland in April 1789. Petition, op.cit., p.3.
4 The Bengal Directory and Almanack, 1797 and 1798.
1794 they gave notice that 'Messrs Campbell & Clark take the liberty of acquainting their Friends and the Public, that they have removed to the adjoining House, known by the name of Mr Barwell's where they will continue to carry on the Commission and Wine Business as heretofore...'

By 1794 they had a regular notice in the Gazette for wines and spirits, usually with the rider that orders would be duly attended to, and that boats would be dispatched regularly twice a month. As a return cargo from the coastal stations they occasionally imported a consignment of long cloth (nellore and izarees), muslins and handkerchiefs—cheap goods, requiring little outlay and easily disposed of. From 1796 this trade in assorted cloths 'from 60 to 100 Rupees per Piece' became a regular feature of their return cargoes.

Less frequently there arrived a ship from China, such as the Amelia in 1796 which brought Campbell & Clarke 'A Consignment of the very best Hyson Teas; in Chests and Caddy Boxes of different sizes completely finished, with locks and keys; and a quantity of fine broad Brown Nankeen; Which will be disposed of on moderate terms, for Ready Money.' Rather more frequently they advertised Hyson Tea at 150 rupees per chest and China Sugar Candy at 25 rupees per tub.

Their main and regular concern, however, was the wine and spirits trade. Madeira wine was imported from London, one shipment

---

1 C.G., 3 April 1794. The advertisement itself was dated 31 March 1793, which might well pre-date the change, but is more likely the result of a clerical or printing error.

2 C.G., 27 August 1795, 26 May 1796.

3 C.G., 20 October 1796.

4 C.G., 28 January 1796, 16 February 1797.

5 Their agents for this commodity being the undoubtly Scots firm of Newton, Gordon & Murdoch.
of which, in 1796, they warranted 'to be of a superior quality to any exported from the Island Madeira this season, and equal in quality to that shipped by them in the year 1789, which was so much approved of here.' Part of this particular consignment of wine was sent on to their agents Cullen, Willcock & Campbell at Mirzapore so that the 'Friends' of Campbell & Clarke at Benares, Chunar, and the Upper Stations might benefit from it also. A pleading reminder voiced the hope that 'From the age of this Wine, and the benefit it has received by the hot winds, it is presumed the price will be considered reasonable.'

An important adjunct of Campbell & Clarke's wine trade was the Howrah Distillery, opposite the old Fort Ghaut, which they owned, and from which they dispensed orders for Bengal rum and arrack. This was an extensive property occupying about seventeen Biggha of ground, boasting at least twelve 'large Puckah Bomb-proof Godowns', or warehouses, which were rented out occasionally as being 'well calculated for the holding of cotton, sugar, indigo, piece goods, etc.' On the same site was a substantial dwelling house occupied by the agent in residence, Mr Charles Hook, who was later to become a partner in the firm. Beside the bomb-proof warehouses

1 C.G., 10 September 1795. Mention here of the year 1789 pre-dates their establishment in 1790, but the wine may well have been part of their first shipment.
2 C.G., 28 July 1796.
3 C.G., 9 June 1796.
4 A biggha equalled about 1/3rd of an acre.
5 C.G., 9 June 1796. Five of these Godowns were let to the East India Company for 12 months at the monthly rent of 180 Sicca Rupees – C.G., 12 June 1800.
6 C.G., 9 June 1796.
or stores, there was also 'a large range of Lascars Houses, with a variety of other Buildings'. The distillery was badly destroyed by fire in 1798. The Calcutta Gazette, 'with great concern', mentioned 'the heavy loss sustained by fire on last Monday night, on the Premises and Distillery at Howrah, belonging to Messrs Campbell, Clarke & Co., for want of engines, the fire which broke out at eleven o'clock on Monday night was not subdued till Tuesday at noon'. Advertisements for the products of the distillery ceased for almost eight months presumably while the property was being rebuilt. The new, improved establishment was announced to be 'capable of producing ten thousand Gallons of Spirits monthly'.

In 1800, when the co-partnership of Campbell & Clarke was dissolved, an attempt was made to let or sell the distillery, with or without its stills.

Campbell, Clarke & Co. also conducted a shipping agency, and arrangements for freight or passenger accommodation for England or the coastal stations could be made at Theatre Street. By 1796 the business was well-established and important in Calcutta. Its advertisements appeared frequently and its credit was apparently good. As early as 1794 John Campbell had been one of the commissioners in a Calcutta Lottery 'for a Benevolent and Charitable Purpose' which was to dispose of 10,000 tickets at two gold mohurs each (32 Sicca Rupees), so that he was presumably well-known in

---

1 C.G., 26 April 1798.
2 C.G., 12 June 1800.
3 Ibid. There were seven European stills with a capacity of about 1,000 gallons each, and one slightly smaller.
4 C.G., 31 July 1794, 7 August 1794.
Calcutta commercial society. In July 1798 Campbell, Clarke & Co. had been able to provide £100 for a 'Voluntary Patriotic Contribution'. It was not an outstanding sum by comparison with others in the list of subscribers, but was, nevertheless, a substantial offering.¹

All the directories of the period cite Robert Campbell's arrival in Calcutta as late 1797.² William Clarke, a young relative of the other partner had arrived in Calcutta in 1796.³ On 4 January, 1798 Campbell and Clarke informed the public that Mr William Clarke and Mr Robert Campbell, junior, were admitted partners in the House which in future would be known as Campbell, Clarke & Co.⁴ In July 1799 the copartnership of Campbell & Clarke was dissolved. John and William Clarke gave up their shares and interest to the Campbells and the Wine Commission and Agency Business remained to the new firm of Campbell & Co.⁵

¹ C.G., 26 April 1798.
² See Bengal Directories and Almanacks.
³ The Bengal Directory and Almanack 1797 and 1798.
⁴ C.G., 4 January 1798.
⁵ C.G., 4 July 1799. The Clarkes continued 'to act as Agents and to supply Wines and Goods of every description, that may be required from Calcutta to their friends at a distance from the Presidency'. Their subsequent history provides a study in the kaleidoscopic commercial associations referred to earlier. They shortly after became Clarkes & Maclean and on the death of William Clarke in 1800 were reduced to Clarke & Maclean. In 1803 this partnership expired and all claims were settled by Maclean, 'the only Partner in India', of the firm which subsequently became Allan Maclean's. This gentleman went into partnership with Hugh Wilson and it was to this same Maclean and Wilson that Campbell & Co. relinquished their stock, and wine business in 1805.
But Robert Campbell, after only a few months in India, had already left for New South Wales in the Hunter (at this time the firm's only ship) in April 1798,\(^1\) with hopes of developing a trading connection on the needs of the colony at Botany Bay. His other concern was to wind up business resulting from the wreck, off the Australian coast, of the Sydney Cove sent by Campbell, Clarke & Co. in 1796. It was the beginning of an almost regular run for the Hunter, which returned to Calcutta, via New Zealand, in February 1799.\(^2\) In 1801 Robert Campbell married in New South Wales, though he was still described in the Bengal Kalendar and Register for 1801 as resident in Calcutta. From 1801 he was a resident merchant, and representative in Port Jackson of Campbell & Co. From 1800 the New South Wales venture existed both independently of, and at the same time in conjunction with, the Calcutta partnership. During the next ten years the Calcutta branch, in pioneering the development of their Australian interest added another dimension to the trade of India and virtually called into being the trade of Australia.

Campbell, Clarke & Co. were not the first merchants from India to be attracted by this unknown market, but they were the first to persevere successfully. From the establishment of the first colony at Sydney Cove in 1788 its main links were with India. These links grew progressively stronger as the settlement strove to free itself

\(^1\) C.G., 1 March 1798, gives 25 February as his departure date.
\(^2\) C.G., 7 February 1799.
from want and the fear of abandonment. Bengal and Batavia were both possible replenishing points, but Bengal was British and prosperous, while Batavia belonged to the rival Dutch and was without parallel for an unhealthy and 'unsalubrious climate' which decimated ships' crews. The first Governor of New South Wales had had occasion to send ships for relief to Calcutta when the English supply ships failed to appear in time to save the colony from starvation. When news of the loss of the Guardian storeship off the Cape of Good Hope in 1789 reached Calcutta a subscription list was got up to freight a ship with stores for New South Wales. The outbreak of hostilities with the French unfortunately diverted attention from this charitable relief.

The colony at Botany Bay figured spasmodically in the affairs of Calcutta, which for the first 20 years played the part of general store to the penal establishment. Escaped convicts who had 'clandestinely established themselves in Calcutta' were occasionally required by proclamation to remove themselves, while others likely to be toying with the same idea were warned that they would be apprehended and returned whence they came. A few ships brought gossip as well as escaping convicts, and the Calcutta Gazette occasionally issued a 'progress report' on the state of New South Wales. Apart from East Indiamen, the first ships carrying convicts to the penal settlement were either whalers investigating prospects in the Pacific, or speculators taking advantage of a profitable government contract to try their luck further in the mysterious preserves of the East India Company.¹ Most of the convict

¹ Such were the transports Queen, Atlantic, Active, Albemarle, and Admiral Barrington which brought convicts in 1791. After discharging their government contracts they were to continue to Bombay, by consent of the East India Company, where they were to load with
transports that went to New South Wales called at Calcutta on their return to England and the news they brought was assiduously collected by the mercantile community there.

The Indian merchants were not slow to realise their importance for the new colony or to investigate the new avenues of trade that it suggested. The first was the firm of Lambert, Ross & Biddulph who secured permission from Lord Cornwallis to send a cargo adapted to the special needs of the settlement. They proposed to provide a cargo of grain and provisions at a stipulated price, carrying the freight and risk on their own account, and were anxious to point out that in future they could supply articles at a cheaper rate than they could be sent from England. Their proposal was conveyed to Governor Phillip by the Third Fleet and when Phillip sent the Atlantic to Bengal for provisions in October 1791 he sent letters with the naval agent to Lambert, Ross & Biddulph, meaning to give them the preference. They sent rice, soojee and dholl and Indian cotton for England, on private account. The cotton was to be loaded under the inspection of the Company's servants at Bombay and sold in England at the Company's sales, subject to the usual charges (with the duty excepted). It was strictly laid down that these ships were in no way to interfere with any other part of the Company's exclusive commerce and their licences prohibited the carrying of any other articles except the stores and provisions put on board by the government. In spite of this categorical prohibition the ships carried a very large quantity of iron, steel and copper to sell at a foreign settlement in India with the proceeds of which they would purchase the homeward-bound investment of cotton. See Collins, p.182.

1 Collins, op.cit., p.168. Their memorial to Lord Sydney was dated 19 August 1790 and can be found in H.R.N.S.W., I, 2, p.600.
2 Ibid., p.586.
3 Collins, op.cit., p.183. H.R.N.S.W., I, 2, pp.604-609, 679. The naval agent, Bowen, arrived in Calcutta on 4 February, but it was not till 27 March that a contract was finalised with Lambert, Ross & Biddulph and Bowen was free to leave on 28 March. The reason for the delay was an administrative tangle. The Secretary of State had since desired Cornwallis to authorize the forwarding of supplies
cured pork (as an experiment) with samples of ghee, sugar and molasses. In addition there were a bull and two cows of the Bengal breed, some sheep and goats and 250 gallons of Bengal rum for the officers of the colony. Some seeds, plants and copies of the Calcutta papers completed the cargo, for which they received £7538.14s.4d.

When the Atlantic arrived back at the colony the inhabitants, though existing under famine conditions, were not impressed by their first Indian shipment. The flour had become sour, the pease boiled hard and would not break up, the rice was full of husks and of a poor quality, and eight casks of the pork had become putrid and not fit for eating. Even the badly-needed cattle were pronounced to be 'of so diminutive a species, that unless the breed could be considerably improved by that already in the country, very little benefit was for a length of time to be expected from their importation.' The result of the experiment 'excited a general hope' that New South Wales would not have to depend on India for her supplies, and the arrival of the English store ships was looked for twice as anxiously. Collins wrote that 'This cargo might be termed an experiment, to which it was true we were driven by necessity; and it had become the universal and earnest wish that no cause might

to N.S.W., but at the time of Bowen's arrival Cornwallis was absent with the army and his council invited tenders for the cargo. As no competition was offered the contract reverted to Lambert, Ross & Biddulph.

1 Description of cargo. Collins, p.217.
2 Collins, op.cit., pp.227-8. They were paid only for that part of the cargo landed in merchantable condition.
3 20 June, 1792.
4 Collins, op.cit., p.218.
ever again induce us to try it.' Unfortunately, they omitted to engage the sympathy of the Colonial Secretary. At the end of 1792 the Governor of Sydney was notified that all future transport of convicts and supplies was to be by East India Company ships, and all urgent supplies in future were to be had from Fort William.

Calcutta interest was not confined to Lambert, Ross & Biddulph. The ship *Shah Hormuzear* (400 tons) arrived at Port Jackson in February 1793. She was owned and commanded by Mr Matthew Wright Bampton 'who had embarked some property on a private speculation for this country', sailing from Bombay the previous September with a cargo of provisions and stock for the settlement. Forced by a leak to return to Bengal, a fresh cargo had been loaded at the advice of the master of the *Pitt*, lately from New South Wales, who had told Bampton what was most needed there. He sailed with one bull, 24 cows, 220 sheep, 130 goats, five horses, six asses, beef, flour, rice, wheat, grain paddy and sugar, wine, flat iron and copper for the bottom of a sloop went out in the *Pitt*, and a large quantity of spirits and some canvas. Although it was a short voyage of less than eight weeks in good weather, all the cattle, half the sheep and some others of the livestock died. This cargo had a better reception than its predecessor, for it was felt to be of the best quality and reasonably priced. Nor had recent

---

1 Ibid., p.228.

2 The interest of this firm seems to have waned fairly soon. At the end of 1798 William Hickey notes the departure of his friend Mr Anthony Lambert who 'left us in order to enjoy a very handsome fortune he had acquired with honour to himself as a British merchant, in his native land'. John Prinsep the London merchant who showed some interest in the Australian trade was apparently a connection of Lambert. See Memoirs of William Hickey, vol.IV, pp.209, 225.

supplies from England been plentiful enough to justify the rejection of cargoes brought on speculation, so that a cautious policy of encouragement was engendered by the reflection that if the settlement found itself in distress again it might wish in vain for provisions from Bengal.\(^1\) The surviving livestock were bought by the officers, and the rest of the cargo, except the spirits and canvas, the government purchased for £9,603.5s.6d.\(^2\)

The Captain of the *Sugar Cane* which left Port Jackson on 13 October 1793 brought information to Calcutta about the low state of food supplies in that colony and of a contract the acting-governor (Grose) had made with Captain Bampton of the *Shah Hormuzeir* of Bombay to return from India to the settlement by January with a cargo of provisions and livestock.\(^3\) However, by March the *Shah Hormuzeir* had only arrived on the Malabar Coast. The Calcutta Gazette said of this delay that though it 'may occasion some inconvenience to the settlement ... no real distress is to be apprehended from it. For as they (N.S.W.) have abundance of grain and vegetables, both the produce of the Island, besides Poultry and a great variety of fish, other articles of provisions become rather a matter of luxury than of absolute necessity.'\(^4\) This observation was more comforting than accurate. Had it not been for stores


\(^4\) *C.G.*, 20 March 1794.
purchased from the Shah Hormuzeir and two American ships, the colony at that time would have had to endure further reduction of rations. When, at the end of June the Britannia returned from the Cape of Good Hope with a cargo of supplies, and an ominous lack of information about any ships in England being prepared for New South Wales, Lieutenant Governor Grose was forced to charter her to proceed to India for salt provisions or sugar, rice and dholl. By this time there were only 14 weeks' salt provisions in the colony.1

The return of the Britannia and of Mr Bampton were still being awaited at Port Jackson when the tiny brig Arthur (95 tons) sailed in from Bengal in March 1794. She brought a small cargo of beef, pork, sugar, Bengal rum and some coarse callicoes. As was becoming established practice the government took the salt provisions for £307.16s. and the rest of the cargo was purchased by the civil and military officers of the colony.2 When the Arthur had left from Calcutta there had been no accounts of the arrival of Mr Bampton in any port in India. Although he had a cargo for Batavia he had not arrived there either.3 In December news came from India with the arrival of the Experiment. This snow carried spirits, provisions, piece-goods and sugar as a speculation suggested by the agent for the Sugar Cane.

1 Collins, p. 307.
2 The Arthur made another trip from Calcutta in January 1796. Emboldened by its previous success it returned with a similar cargo, but of greater value. See Collins, p. 447.
3 On leaving Sydney it had been Bampton's intention to explore a route through the Torres Straits between New Guinea and Northern Australia. He arrived in Batavia with a valuable cargo of sandalwood from Timor, months late, after having lost some people and a boat to the hostile natives in the Straits. To continue his journey to Bengal Bampton still had to run the gauntlet of the pirate infested Straits of Malacca and of French privateers on the coast of Sumatra and Bay of Bengal.
The unfortunate Mr Bampton was still struggling against adversity to try and fulfil his contract obligations. The previous July he had sent a large ship, the Neptune, freighted with cattle, on her way to Port Jackson, but she was lost in the river Hoogly, sailing against the monsoon.\(^1\) The snow Fancy (170 tons) finally arrived from Bombay, after a three months' passage, short of water and fuel, loaded with rice, dholl and seed wheat in part fulfilment of the contract.\(^2\) The Endeavour (800 tons) arrived from Bombay at the end of May under the command of Mr Bampton himself, after an eleven week passage, carrying the last of the contract requirements. Cattle were her main freight. One hundred and thirty had been embarked and only one died, the morning before the ship's arrival at Sydney Cove. These were the first cattle to survive the sea passage so well and arrive in a strikingly healthy condition. They had been carefully stowed on the ship, well fed and kept clean by keepers engaged specially for the purpose. There were forty draft cattle and sixty breeding cows with several calves. Their arrival caused great excitement in the colony which soon sobered down when on landing the draught cattle they were found to be aged, though healthy, and apparently, in some cases, 'toothless, old and blind'.\(^3\)

---

1 Collins, p.402.
2 Collins, p.379.
3 Collins, p.412. The Endeavour and Fancy sailed for India in September intending to touch at Norfolk Island and New Zealand (Collins, p.429) but Mr Bampton's trials were not yet over. The Endeavour got to Dusky Bay only with difficulty and by this time was so leaky that with 'the advice and consent of his officers and people' she was run on shore and scuttled. (Collins, p.460). There the remains of a boat constructed by the Britannia was christened the Providence and used to return some of the crew to Norfolk Island. Mr Bampton finally sailed from there for China on 31 January 1796. (Collins, p.461).
Mr Bampton was the merchant most inclined to take the Port Jackson market seriously and, had he not been pursued by repeated adversities, may well have pioneered the Australian route before Campbell & Co. Though the Indian merchants were not prepared to abandon the possibilities of the New South Wales market without a thorough trial their greatest drawback was the lack of a return cargo which, at first, they tried to supply with timber. The Fancy's subsequent destination was kept secret in the colony, but at the end of three months she returned from Dusky Bay in New Zealand where she had been cutting spars,¹ 'fit for any use that the East India Company's ships might require'.² In addition, the natives had been found friendly and willing to barter their flax. The Experiment left the colony with a cargo of 60 large logs of cedar taken from the Hawkesbury and some New South Wales mahogany. This timber, valued at £100 per 100 trees, was to be bartered for sugar and spirits in India. Opinion in New South Wales was extremely sceptical of these endeavours, and Collins commented (one feels, with raised eyebrows) that 'Whether cedar and mahogany were or were not to be readily procured at Bengal ought to have been well known to this gentleman before he put himself to the trouble, delay and expense of procuring such a quantity; but it was here generally looked upon as a speculation that would not produce him much profit'.³

¹ As had been conjectured by the inhabitants of Sydney, who had noted her powerful complement of men, heavy armaments and the fact that she carried a greater number of cross-cut saws on board than she needed for repairs. Collins, p.391.
² Collins, p.410. The Fancy had acquired 240 trees, between 60 to 100 feet long.
³ Collins, p.412.
The periods of want followed by glut that arose from the erratic arrivals of chance merchantmen, with the subsequent opportunities created for profiteers, impressed the colony of New South Wales with the need for a public store. This was one of the sophistications that there was time to consider once the colony had begun to find its feet. The store was envisaged as being similar, especially in liberality, to the East India Company's one on St Helena where the Company's servants could purchase goods at a ten per cent profit on their prime cost. It was recognized that a greater profit would be necessary in New South Wales because of the greater distance from markets but, there, the settlers were prepared to regard even a fifty per cent profit as equally liberal 'for at present they pay never less than one hundred and frequently one thousand per cent on what they have occasion to purchase'.

Governor Hunter's support for such an institution, which might prevent the small settlers being exploited, had received official sanction by May 1798. Two cargoes of necessities were sent by the Barwell and Buffalo to be distributed at purchase cost, free of any freight charge, in an attempt to 'prevent Monopoly or Accumulation by any particular persons'. The Store was authorised to receive grain or livestock in payment. This laudable scheme lapsed

---

1 Collins, p.500.
3 Ibid., p.110.
4 The first arrived October 1797 and the second in July 1798.
entirely during Hunter's administration through his failure to specify the articles needed for future consignments.¹

It seemed that the settlement's only hope lay in finding some private merchant who would recognize the advantages to be had, especially if he could get the government to assist in the freight. However, there was no doubt in the settlers' minds that this enterprising merchant must be an Englishman for, 'the inhabitants', wrote Collins, 'would gladly prefer the manufactures of their own country to the sweepings of the Indian bazars'.² Collins was always specifically aggrieved about the 'sweepings of the Indian bazars' yet, at the end of 1796, when a measure of security and freedom from famine was blessing New South Wales for the first time, he wrote that 'In the houses of individuals were to be found most of the comforts, and not a few of the luxuries of life. For these the island was indebted to the communications it had had with India, and other parts of the world.'³ After eight years, then, the little colony felt itself ready to embrace the benefits of a regular commerce and it was not to be long before her needs were to be met in part, by Campbell, Clarke & Co.

There remains the problem of Campbell, Clarke & Co.'s motive in turning to this new trade. Robert Campbell later stated that his company had been attracted by the possibility of establishing a branch in Sydney, and particularly with exploiting the sealing in the eastern seas. Although all mercantile speculations of this time survived only by virtue of initiative, flexibility and a high

¹ Ibid., pp.239-40, p.387.
² Ibid., p.500.
³ Collins, p.496.
degree of audacity, some of the characteristics of the country trade were almost identical with the special demands of the New South Wales' trade. Substantial but speedy ships were needed, and having little possibility of securing a return cargo, everything was staked on the export cargo and the speed of passage. Therefore, the means were ready at hand. Perhaps the prevailing state of Indian trade encouraged adventurousness. For a number of reasons, partly the results of war with France, the volume of private trading from India, both British and Foreign, dropped rapidly from 1795 to 1799. Merchants feeling the pinch were constantly on the search for markets in areas outside the influence of the East India Company and where they could perhaps be free also from competition by the Americans who were carrying on 'a highly profitable and deeply irritating' trade. A private merchant like John Campbell, with a redundant new partner would be particularly interested in other avenues of trade. He might find further stimulus in the unavoidable fact that the vociferous campaign carried on over these years for the curtailing of the Company's monopoly was producing no visible results.

Perhaps their interest in New South Wales was whetted by the arrival of Captain Storey of the Sovereign whose shipping business Campbell & Clarke handled. He had sailed from Port Jackson in December 1795 and arrived in Calcutta in May 1796. On his authority, the Calcutta Gazette reported optimistically on the state of the settlement and on the abundance of grain and livestock whose

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imports (to India)</th>
<th>1795-6</th>
<th>Lakhs*</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>Exports (to London)</th>
<th>84</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1796-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798-9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Rs. 100,000
increase was expected to soon permit the settlers to rely entirely on their own produce. It was stated that the settlement was not in want of any article, except salt provision; nor was that needed as an article of necessity, but in order to prevent encroaching on their live stock. In a viciously competitive business it was not unknown for erroneous accounts to be circulated deliberately. Perhaps Captain Storey privately gave his agents a more enticing account of trading opportunities in the remote settlement, for, a few months later (November 1796) Campbell Clarke & Co. despatched the ship Sydney Cove with a venture of general merchandise and 7,000 gallons of spirits, for Port Jackson.

The name of the ship was a nice gesture which perhaps hinted at the hope of some permanence of commercial intercourse. William Clarke, who had just arrived in Calcutta but was not yet a partner, travelled with the ship as supercargo. However, the Sydney Cove ran into a gale while rounding the south cape of Tasmania. She sprang leaks while gale driven and remained afloat only long enough to be beached on Preservation Island, one of the smaller islands of the Furneaux Group in Bass Strait, where the crew were all safely landed. This was February 1797. A few weeks later a longboat with seventeen of the crew set out for help. In March they were wrecked on Ninety-Mile Beach on the Australian mainland, from where they set out to travel overland to Port Jackson. After sixty-two days only three survivors, 'scarcely (sic) alive', reached the settlement, having walked nearly 300 miles. Governor Hunter immediately sent

---

1 C.G., 12 May 1796.
2 H.R.A., I, 2, pp.82, 709.
off the colonial schooner Francis and a private boat of ten tons, the Eliza, to Preservation Island. The captain of the Sydney Cove and part of the crew came away in the Francis and some Lascar seamen were taken in the Eliza. Both vessels took also as much cargo as could be stowed, leaving six men from the Sydney Cove with the remainder, on the island. The Francis returned to Port Jackson on 6 July, but the Eliza disappeared.

The Indian House apparently was sufficiently undaunted by this disaster to send another speculation. On board the Hunter as supercargo when it left Calcutta was the new junior partner Robert Campbell, charged with the considerable responsibility of deciding what the commercial possibilities of New South Wales might offer to Campbell, Clarke & Company. The Hunter (300 tons), according to the Calcutta Gazette, left 'with a valuable cargo for New South Wales, which, we understand, came to a very advantageous market, the Colony being at the time of her arrival, in great want of stores and provisions'.

1 30 May, 1797.
3 The fact that the Australian venture continued to be promoted after the Clarkes withdrew their interest from the business suggests that perhaps this scheme owed its origin to John Campbell.
CHAPTER III

'PRICES THAT ARE TOO INDELICATE TO REPEAT'

On 10 June 1798 the snow Hunter arrived at Port Jackson from Bengal. Moving through Sydney Heads between wooded headlands and deep bays to the even more sheltered Sydney Cove, dotted with a few sloops and bark canoes with natives fishing, Robert perhaps contrasted its serene beauty with the muddy Hoogly. Nevertheless, the little settlement, 'this ultima Thule of civilization' that Alexander Berry called it much later - must have promised little to his questing eye. There was little in Sydney to impress a stranger from 'the finest colony in the world' in this receptacle for those rejected by their own society, who were yet expected to support a primitive existence in an isolated continent. Sydney, sprouting amongst stumps and dead trees, still had more the appearance of a camp than a town. The majority of its houses were thatched, with walls mostly of wattle and plaster, white washed within and without, the majority lacking glazed windows. The huts of the New South Wales Corps, the military superintendents of this novel penitentiary, occupied a large area. The main thoroughfares, Pitt and George Street, could be distinguished by a few weatherboard shops. Eighteen months later than Campbell's first arrival, George Suttor, with the keen eyes of a new settler, noted that the 'old Government House had then a very picturesque appearance, also Colonel Paterson's house in Charlotte Square, and there was a small barracks

1 H.R.A., I, 2, pp.216 and 719.
in George Street, and the dirty old gaol and male Orphan's School; there was also a small dock yard and a small vessel or two building'. At the time of Campbell's arrival there were just under 5,000 persons in the ten year old New South Wales. Only slightly more than 10% of this number were military or civil officers or free settlers. Roughly 30% of the inhabitants were transported convicts working out their sentences, while the remainder were emancipists still under the jurisdiction of a military authority. Sydney with a population of 2,500 was the port and administrative centre. It shared activity with Parramatta, 18 miles up the Hawkesbury River, with its outlying agricultural areas worked by emancipist and ex-soldier small settlers. Responsible for the functioning of this experiment in colonisation was a military or naval Governor, dependent for the enforcement of authority on the approximately 1,000 strong New South Wales Corps, and relying for instructions not already covered in his Commission, on widely-spaced despatches from the distant Secretary of State for the Colonies. The one thread of continuity in these despatches, penned by frequently changing officials was the insistent demand for reduction of government expenditure, which inhibited any tendency to constructive policy making in the colonial governors.

The Hunter's arrival had coincided with one of those recurring periods of general want in the colony. According to one recent arrival, the colony at 'no period since the first establishment required supplies so much as this; for they were reduced to merely pork, beef, bread, and water; and of these but a scanty supply; excepting a few individuals, who had, remaining from former imports,

1 Memoirs of George Sutter, p. 40.
some rum, tea, sugar, dry goods, etc. and were in consequence amassing abundant riches.¹ Such supplies were at a premium and previous to the Hunter's arrival 'rum was selling at four guineas per gallon, tea four guineas per lb., sugar of an inferior quality, six shillings per lb., a leaf of tobacco for six pence, and other goods in the same exorbitant proportion'.² These prices, however, were not much above the ones quoted in the settlers petitions of 1798 as being current prices - spirits at £3 a gallon, tea 32-40s. lb., sugar 4-5s. lb., tobacco 12-18s. lb., soap 3-3s.6d. lb. and shoes 16s. a pair.³

For obvious reasons, therefore, Sydney in the 1790s had been a speculator's paradise. Besides a constant scarcity of luxuries and even of necessaries, there was always a ready market for wine and spirits, which had little to do with their scarcity. Amongst the settlers 'money was of so little value, that the purchaser had been often known (instead of asking) to name himself a price for the article he wanted, fixing it at as high again would otherwise have been required of him.'⁴ Naturally, advantage was taken of such extravagance by those who came to trade, whether they disposed of their cargo to the government or to the settlement at large. 'The masters of merchantmen, who generally made it their business immediately on their arrival to learn the prices of commodities in the colony, finding them so extravagently high as before related,

² Ibid.
³ Field of Mars petition, Hunter to Portland, 2 March 1798, H.R.A., I, 2, p.137.
⁴ Collins, p.333.
thought it not their concern to reduce them to anything like a fair equitable value, but by asking themselves what must be considered a high price, after every proper allowance for risk, insurance and loss, kept up the extravagant nominal value which everything bore in the colony.' Thus observed David Collins.¹

But the speculator was allowed to take such advantage mainly because of the internal dislocation of the colony. Money, or specie, was of little value because of its virtual non-existence in the colony. A chronic shortage of coin, unprovided for at the establishment of the settlement, had been aggravated by the visits of trading ships. The soldiers of the Corps were paid in copper coin of small value, but for internal convenience the inhabitants circulated promissory notes amongst themselves. Such notes, which often carried a nominal value in terms of grain, which had become a form of currency, were naturally refused by visiting captains. The lack of any regular access to a recognized currency bedevilled the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement and for many years lay at the base of most of the problems that even established merchants had to face.² The worst effects were seen in relation to the purchase of cargoes. A petition to the Governor in 1800 from the small settlers, touching on this aspect stated 'cargoes are bought up by a few individuals who, in order to engross the whole, will give an extravagant price, which ultimately tends to their advantage' as such goods were then retailed seldom at less than

¹ Ibid., p.334. Governor King in 1800 observed that the prices asked by the masters of visiting ships were seldom less than 150% on the English price. H.R.A., I, 2, p.613.
² See S.J. Butlin, Foundations of the Australian Monetary System, Chapter 2.
100% profit and frequently at 200%. The civil and military officers, originally to protect themselves from exploitation, had banded together and on the arrival of a vessel would enter into an engagement with each other not to give more than a certain sum for every article. As the officers were paid in negotiable Treasury bills or could draw on London credit they had command of the colony's purchasing power. The captain of any visiting ship, therefore, rarely had any alternative but to accept their offer. The officers alone could issue bills from 1s. to £100 and seldom dealt in specie. With these bills they would purchase a cargo. The captain would return the bills to the Commissary who made each issuer pay the nominated amount into his hands and then issued to the captain or trader a bill drawn on the Treasury (at 90 days' sight) which alone were negotiable at all English settlements. Thus freed of the competition of the supplier, the officers became the retailers of all necessities. During the very early years of the colony's establishment a steady 500% profit was not unknown.

'By this trade' observed George Bond 'several, who on their landing had no property, have realised a fortune of 20 or 30 thousand pounds'. In the course of their retailing activities, grain was accepted in payment, which was collected by the privates and

---

1 H.R.A. I, 2, p.442. Evidence given before the Select Committee on Transportation in 1812 overwhelmingly supported these estimates.
2 See H.R.N.S.W., III, pp.405-6, and Macarthur Papers, Vol.12, p.34.
3 See G. Bond, A Brief Account of the Colony of Port Jackson in New South Wales, p.8.
4 Ibid. The officers had the added advantages of free convict labour and a minimum of 100 acre land grants, plus an assured price of 10s. per bushel of wheat, and 1s. per lb. for pork delivered to the government store.
delivered to the store. The methods employed were described by the Rev. Richard Johnson who took no hand in these affairs because he thought them 'unbecoming of me as a Minister, and beneath me as a gentleman'. But others did not make such fine distinctions. In Sydney in the nineties 'Little other conversation is heard but buying, selling, bartering, etc. Many of our officers have turned merchants, shopkeepers and wholesale and retail traders in spirituous Liquors - A convict can go and purchase a Bottle, a Pint of Rum from an officer and gentleman. Some, not quite so open, employ their wash women or others in this way - and in this way many are making their fortunes - spirits, or what shall I call it, a mixture of - or adulterated with water, little better than the sailor's grog sold for 40 shillings a gallon'.

Johnson was more particularly concerned with the effect the spirit trade had on those emancipists who had become settlers. By 1800 there were just under 400 smallholders in the settlement, forming a distinct and independent group whose common interest was their dependence on subsistence farming. The careful and industrious amongst them did well but the majority had drunk their crops even before they ripened. He thought that the people at the Hawkesbury, where the soil was richly fertile, 'might do well, particularly were they to act with Prudence and Industry - but owing to their Improvidence and Idleness etc., few out of about 100 settlers are worth sixpence'.

2 The 1800 Muster Book records only 387 small holders, but Governor King estimated the number at 402. See H.R.A., I, 2, p.617.
Extortionate trading, whether of spirits or general goods, was blamed for the visible failure of the small holder.¹

The arrival of the Hunter coincided with Governor Hunter's first attempts to suppress the monopolistic practices that had been developing in the colony which had become a source of frustration to the small settlers, who progressed merely from debt to dispossession of their land and the livelihood it could otherwise offer. The Governor ordered that no part of the Hunter's cargo was to be disposed of until he had heard from the settlers in the various districts what money they could raise, so that all 'may have an opportunity of purchasing whatever their circumstances can afford'. But their assets were to be calculated upon Government notes and not on the credit of their crops. They were also required to 'fix upon some capable person to manage their purchase, and into whose hands they can deposit Their money'.² However, the officers managed in part to evade this new regulation. As justification it was represented to the Governor that 'several misapprehensions' had taken place through the appointment of 'improper persons' as agents. Therefore on 25 June 1798, a further order notified the colony that

The inhabitants are hereby informed that the Governor having been assured by the officers that they will most readily stand forward in behalf of the whole colony, and purchase from ships calling here whatever goods or comforts they may have for sale, and that every persons having money to purchase may claim their proportion of such purchase without the assistance of any other agent, which will be the means of their receiving the articles at a much lower rate. This being the case, every

¹ For an examination of this question see B.H. Fletcher, 'The Development of Small Scale Farming in New South Wales 1787 to 1803'. M.A. thesis, Sydney University, 1962.
person is desired to keep the possession of their own money until they are apprised by public notice that a cargo has been bought, the officers having undertaken the trouble of officiating as agents for the general benefit of the whole colony.¹

Campbell many years later, confirmed that he had had no option but to dispose of the Hunter's first cargo to the officer combine.² The Macarthur Papers record under the date of 1 September 1798, when John Macarthur was acting paymaster, bills paid to Robert Campbell to the value of £7,050, which money was presumably for cargo purchased from the Hunter.³ What is not clear is whether the goods were passed on at their 'wholesale' price or whether the officers retained the usual profit margin to compensate for their trouble. The latter seems almost certain, for a settlers' petition later claimed exorbitant retail prices for goods thus purchased from the Hunter's cargo, viz. rum bought at 8s. a gallon sold between 20s. and 60s. a gallon, tea at 10s. a pound sold from 30s. to 80s. a pound, and even for £8 sterling a pound, while sugar at 8d. a pound brought 1s. 4d. to 3s. a pound. Wearing apparel brought profits in the same proportions.⁴

Campbell’s instructions from Bengal had been to attempt to conclude a contract for supplying New South Wales and Norfolk Island with 'necessaries' on Government Account, or to get permission to build warehouses for the sale of any merchandise that might be allowed to enter the colony. Campbell, Clarke & Co. was also

² Evidence of R. Campbell, Select Committee on Transportation, 1812, p.68.
³ Macarthur Papers, vol.7, Bill Book 1792-1798. There were six bills listed for £500, £1,050, £1,800, £1,000, £1,200, £1,500 respectively.
⁴ See Petition of settlers of Parramatta and adjacent districts ... 1 February 1800. H.R.A., I, 2, p.442.
interested to know if it might derive advantages from carrying on
the seal fishery on the coast and adjacent islands. They were also
aware that the Governor General in Fort William had made certain
proposals for sending convicts from Bengal. Campbell offered to
transmit the reply from New South Wales by the Hunter, and it is
not unlikely that Campbell, Clarke & Co. were ready to offer their
services if convicts were to be transported from India.\(^1\) After his
arrival Robert Campbell addressed several memorials on these
subjects to the Governor, Hunter, who considered the establishment
of a resident merchant a policy matter for the consideration of
'His Majesty's Ministers in England'. The result of their
deliberations had not been received by the time Campbell and the
Hunter left Sydney again for Bengal.\(^2\)

There was plenty to occupy Campbell between June and September
1798 while he remained in Sydney. Guy Hamilton, the unfortunate
captain of the Sydney Cove, died\(^3\) a few days after Campbell reached
Sydney. Hamilton had used every exertion to salvage the cargo from
the wreck and had remained in Sydney to act as agent for the under­
writers. The salvaged cargo viz:

\[
\begin{align*}
2 & \text{casks of Brandy} \\
105 & \text{casks of Bengal rum} \\
3 & \text{pipes Madeira} \\
12 & \text{boxes of Soap and Candles} \\
2 & \text{barrels of Tar} \\
2 & \text{casks vinegar} \\
12 & \text{cases gin and brandy} \\
1 & \text{mare} \\
2 & \text{boxes wax candles} \\
2 & \text{cheests tea} \\
1 & \text{keg tobacco} \\
2 & \text{bales tobacco} \\
3 & \text{cheests chinaware} \\
1 & \text{buggy} \\
1 & \text{organ}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{1}\) H.R.A., I, 2, p.549.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., p.548.
\(^{3}\) 20 June 1798.
'and a large quantity of cloths which has been washed and scoured and some ship (stores?),' had been deposited in the Government Store to be sold for the underwriters. Reading the Protest for the ship lodged by Hamilton on 1 August 1797, did Campbell note that the Lascars, suffering from the cold, had refused to pump even though 'they had been well-supplied with warm Blancotts brought from Bengal for that purpose'?1

Though still awaiting some pronouncement from authority regarding his trading in Port Jackson, Campbell became the purchaser of the lease of a house and garden originally granted to John Baughan2 on the edge of Sydney Cove on the Dawes Point side, where he took up residence and commenced arrangements to build a private wharf. On 4 June 1799 Campbell's agent purchased from Captain Waterhouse the adjoining lease comprising two acres, two quarters and 16 roods, divided by a road 60 feet wide leading to Dawes Fort.3 The two leases together cost £700 and on them Campbell intended establishing an agency house to conduct the business from India and perhaps, if Campbell Clarke & Co. could persuade their connections in London, also the consignment of ships arriving annually from London.4 Such a permanent establishment would give the Indian house a tremendous advantage over competitors, allowing as it did for the storage of cargo, its long term disposal and the collection of debts, all facilities which were denied to the itinerant captains of such vessels as called at Port Jackson. It

1 S.C.P. Miscellaneous Bundle 25. Documents 1 and 11.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
would also allow the opportunity for collecting an export cargo if this could be found.

But Campbell had to return to India and needed a trustworthy agent until his return to New South Wales. This need was supplied in a picturesque but perhaps not wholly fortunate manner. The arrival of the *Hunter* had attracted the attention of an indigent missionary, William Smith, who had arrived in Sydney the previous month after an unsuccessful and dangerous attempt to convert the Tahitians. Realising that his prospects were gloomy, Smith attempted to persuade the Captain of the *Hunter* to give him a passage to India whence he hoped to make his way back to England.¹ This request was twice sharply refused by the Captain. With the urgency of despair Smith applied a third time when Robert Campbell was in the company of his captain. Campbell displayed an obvious interest in Smith's request and, with a different disposition from the captain, interrogated Smith closely regarding his former employment in Europe, his character and qualifications, and finally invited him to breakfast with him at his house the following morning. Smith tells his own story:

> Being now introduced from short allowance to the abundant variety of an East India breakfast, though in Port Jackson, was no small gratification. Thus from the meanest fare I was entertained with the parade and luxury of the eastern style of living. In the course of our conversation at breakfast Mr Campbell informed me that he had sold a large portion of the cargo of the *Hunter* to the officers of the colony, and therefore he was disposed to enter into an engagement with me to remain on board the ship, to keep the accounts during the delivery of the cargo.²

---

¹ William Smith was by occupation a linen-draper, and was 21 years of age when he embarked on board the London Missionary Society ship *Duff* in 1796.
Smith remained in this office while the cargo was discharged 'with expressions of approbation' from his employer. According to Smith 'from the excellent sales Mr C (sic) had made he was encouraged to proceed direct to Calcutta for another investment'. As about £2,000 of the cargo remained unsold (chiefly dry goods, sugars and spirits) it was arranged that Smith was to remain as agent in Campbell's absence to sell this remainder and collect outstanding debts. The Hunter left Port Jackson in June, bound for Bengal via New Zealand where it was intended to ship a cargo of spars for the Calcutta market. Campbell himself left in another ship the Barwell which sailed from Sydney in August 1798. He departed, supplying Smith with a power of attorney and 'expressing his intention of returning again to the colony in about nine months'.

It was nearly seventeen months before the return of the Hunter to Port Jackson on 14 February 1800. While Campbell was absent Smith, as he ingenuously put it 'made many good sales, and some bad ones'. A particular misfortune recorded by Smith was the burglary of the house and recently-built store. The thieves, who were later found drunk on rum, took goods valued by Smith at almost £300. The sudden apprehension which descended on Smith at the return of Campbell he explained by perturbation at the losses from this robbery, but Smith's subsequent conduct hardly suggests general trustworthiness. Describing the local excitement at the approach of

---

1. Ibid., p.131.
2. Ibid.
the Hunter. Smith discloses that 'Bustle and confusion followed the receipt of this intelligence on my part, as the house was not in the most comfortable condition for his [Campbell's] reception'. On going on board the ship to greet his employer, Smith was kindly received by Campbell, introduced to the captain and officers, but questioned closely in Campbell's cabin about his affairs and the state of the Sydney market for East India produce. Smith gathered that Campbell had received some hints from the pilot about the state of his affairs, though Campbell forbore to press this matter. Campbell, much to the relief of his agent, decided to stay on board the ship for another day before taking possession of his house, and Smith spent his afternoon and evening cleaning it and putting it in order. Notwithstanding, when Campbell and his captain entered the house they were assailed by the smell of 'some Spanish liquor', accidentally spilled, which resisted several scrubblings. Chagrined Smith notes 'This accident was unpleasant, as the house, from that circumstance, was more like a grog-shop than the residence of an East India merchant'.

From the beginning, Campbell's second visit was unpromising and fraught with complications. He immediately began the sale of the Hunter's cargo, but found he could not sell at such great advantage as he had the first, owing to a temporary but serious depression

1 Ibid., p. 168.
2 William Smith, p. 169.
3 13,336 gallons spirits, 727 gallons wine.
   147,600 lb. sugar, 76 chests tea, 30 boxes candles.
   27 boxes soap, 31 boxes chinaware, 4 bags coffee.
   17,000 lb. tobacco, 200 bags rice.
   53 bales and trunks containing muslins, 53 coils white rope.
   30 bales gunny bags.
in the settlement. The *Hunter* was still in the Cove when George Suttor arrived in November of the same year and he noted that the colony had recently suffered much from the want of provisions and that 'notwithstanding the bright, sunny clime there was a general gloom over the affairs of the Colony'. ¹ The universal complaint was lack of money, aggravated by the fact that the Government Store was closed against wheat – the Government being the only good market which could alleviate the scarcity of money by providing reliable bills. ² The gloom was deepened by non-economic factors – bush-rangers, hostile natives, defective police, petty litigation – all underlining the obvious fact that the government was not working efficiently because of the 'great difference and conflict' between naval Governor King and the military officers. ³ All this was reflected in trading conditions, particularly the lack of money. Petitions of 1800 from the settlers still inveighing against the 'monopolists' indicated that the cost of imported merchandise remained their greatest grievance, which they suggested could be alleviated by a government store. ⁴

It is not clear whether Campbell declined to trade with the officer combine or vice versa. But it seems that he began dispersing this cargo amongst the smaller settlers according to their needs, and on credit – at least of their harvests, for within the next year he received nearly £465 in bills from the Store for

¹ Memoirs of George Suttor, p.42.
² Wheat, though at this time dirt cheap, was to be both scarce and dear before the end of the year.
³ See Memoirs of George Suttor, pp.42-44.
grain and animal food which (as it formed no part of the Hunter's cargo) was presumably paid to Campbell in settlement by his purchasers.¹ Campbell's acceptance of grain as payment and readiness to allow 'extensive Credit' was later gratefully remembered by the smallholders.²

There was still the problem of Campbell's position as a resident merchant to be pronounced on officially. Campbell's applications to Hunter had brought no decision by the time of his return to Sydney, when a change of Governorship was impending from Hunter to King. By June 1800 as the Hunter was intended to sail again soon for Bengal, Campbell endeavoured to have the position clarified. In a memorial to Lieutenant-Governor King³ he reiterated the object of his visit and activities since June 1798 and asked again whether Campbell Clarke & Co. might import supplies and if so, how they might dispose of them - whether they might retail to the colony in general or whether they would be obliged to dispose of them to the Government. Permission to engage in such transactions would require one of the partners to reside in New South Wales with official sanction to build for both domestic and mercantile purposes. Lieutenant-Governor King's reply⁴ assured Campbell that he considered it 'equally my duty as well as inclination to afford every proper countenance and protection to the liberal and fair-dealing merchant'. While awaiting a decision from the Home government, King saw no reason why Campbell should not be allowed to import

² C.O., 201/41, p.32.
³ Dated Sydney, 13 June 1800.
⁴ Dated 15 June 1800.
merchandise, if on landing he complied with the regulations to be established on Governor Hunter's departure, in which 'the interest of the fair-dealing merchant, and rescuing the settlers and other inhabitants from the oppressive monopolies that have hitherto existed here will be equally the object of my attention'. ¹ However, he issued a special warning in regard to spirits, 'any quantity beyond what may be permitted for the domestic purposes alone of the officers and a few deserving industrious settlers will, by His Majesty's commands, be absolutely prohibited from being landed or sold'. ² The Bengal Government's proposal to send convicts having been forwarded to England, King could offer no opinion, but asserted his readiness to co-operate with the Bengal Government in any matter of public concern. ³

Thus simply did Australia's first merchant arrive, and no murmur ever emanated from the English Government to reverse King's permission. Though a generous reception from the Governor was necessary to Campbell's decision to remain, Campbell & Co.'s eventual establishment was probably decided as much by complications as by profits, because during the ensuing years Campbell occasionally indicated some indecision about the eventual length of his residence in New South Wales.

¹ In October 1800 settlers were allowed for the first time to trade directly with ships themselves, and King attempted a measure of price fixing, decreeing that only a 20% retail profit on goods would in future be permitted and recognized legally in the recovery of debts. H.R.A., I, 2, p.622.
² King calculated that about 2,000 gallons for New South Wales and 500 gallons for Norfolk Island would be the maximum likely to be allowed ashore from any vessel, but even this amount was to be subject to alteration according to the number of vessels that might arrive with spirits for sale.
The first complication Campbell had to disentangle was the affairs of Smith 'my dishonest Attorney'. The robbery, one suspects, was being used by Smith (who seems to have been a convivial fellow) to hide a multitude of sins. In his account of sales and remaining stock Smith charged about half the loss from the robbery on himself, intending to cover this charge by his commission which he set at fifteen per cent. When confronted with this Mr Campbell appeared highly offended and expressed his determination to resist the claim in public court' and further, 'peremptorily rejected' Smith's subsequent suggestion that they should settle the matter amicably by arbitration.¹ To determine the commission Smith was entitled to claim 'and to substantiate the great loss our Concern had sustained by his conduct,'² Campbell took the matter to court.³ The Court,⁴ after having investigated the accounts submitted, allowed Smith £185.6s.0d., (being 5% on £3706.1s.2½d.⁵ and taking into account an allowance claimed for housekeeping expenses amounting to £311.17s.1d.) as full compensation for his services as agent. A further sum of £130.9s. (being a charge of

¹ Smith, aware that '15% may appear exhorbitant to many' apparently based his claim modestly on the fact that the captain of a vessel trading to Norfolk Island had previously been allowed a claim for 30% by the court; he also referred to the 'immense profits arising on the sale of goods ... the expense of clothing, provision and etc., and the length of time my employer was absent'. See William Smith, p.170.
³ Wednesday, 6 August 1800.
⁴ Judge Advocate Richard Dore, Captain Edward Abbott and John Harris.
⁵ This amount of £3706, presumably being the value of further goods from the Hunter sold by Smith, when added to the £7,050 received from the officers brings Campbell's receipts for the first cargo to over £10,000.
one guinea a day commission on various sums of money) being deemed 'exorbitant and inadmissible' by the Court it was ordered to be deducted from £185.6s., leaving Smith a balance of only £54.17s.1

This judgment was endorsed two days later with a delightful little embarrassed note to the effect that on the further application of Campbell 'producing a general statement of his Accounts pending in this Cause and it appearing that some Items had escaped the Investigation of the Court on complicated sums the Court have reconsidered their verdict and therefore allow the Defendant (Smith) the sum of £185.6s. for his Services to the Plaintiff during his Absence from the Colony but deem the charge of one guinea per day exorbitant and inadmissible.'2 The Law in New South Wales may have been inefficient, but one cannot claim it was unreasonable.

Smith however, in view of his debts, was greatly cast down by this meagre relief and appealed to the Governor who differed from the Court, 'by an allowance considerably in my (Smith's) favour'. Smith, nevertheless, was confined to gaol for debt by Campbell - 'an inexorable creditor who showed a determined resolution to confine his poor debtor till the utmost farthing was paid'. Smith himself showed a like determination, but to avoid the legal consequences of his activities.3 He seems to have been fortunate in

2 Ibid.
3 The vicissitudes of Smith's imprisonment and escape - if his own account can be relied upon - throw an interesting light on the state of law and order (not to mention ethics) in the colony at this time. Campbell, hearing that the Provost Marshall was keeping Smith in his house, influenced the Governor to have Smith sent to gaol where he seems to have contrived to enjoy every facility of freedom for three weeks in his comfortable cell until he was conveniently offered a passage in the ship Plumo going to the Cape of Good Hope. As his friends could not effect 'an accommodation' with Campbell,
his friends for he contrived to escape for several weeks before being captured and returned to prison. There he was visited by Campbell who, Smith tells us, was weak enough to manifest 'a small share of triumph' at his recapture. Contriving to be set at liberty for the avowed purpose of bringing his 'unpleasant concerns to a close', Smith met Campbell so often in his walks (which may have appeared to be for pleasure as much as business) that Campbell finally confronted the Governor with the argument that if it was His Excellency's pleasure that Smith should be set at liberty, then Campbell had an undoubted right to demand the payment of Smith's debt, (which he was determined to retrieve) from the Governor. So Smith went back to prison; but a subscription was begun by the captain of the Royal Admiral who gave £50, his fellow missionaries who gave £30, officers of the ship £22, the remainder being collected from the colonists within two days.¹ Campbell gave his receipt for the amount and the fortunate Smith sailed from Port Jackson in December 1800, as purser of the Royal Admiral, bound for the East Indies.²

Campbell's unequivocal lack of charity in regard to Smith's plight was no doubt reinforced by the discovery that Smith had

---

Smith felt justified in escaping. Suspected by Campbell and others of being concerned with the owners of the Plumo in the purchase and fitting out of that ship, Smith was watched over by a constable whom along with others, he obviously bribed sufficient to make his escape, in the course of which he 'ran with the greatest velocity through the town', passing on his way a guard house, the gaoler, a concourse of people at an auction and several people who knew of his confinement who requested him to walk, but whose advice he perhaps wisely disregarded. See William Smith, pp. 172-174.

¹ Ibid., pp. 200-203.
² Ibid., p. 224.
neglected to collect important outstanding debts, and that instead of remitting to India the Government Bills he had received in payment of debts, and promoting the sale of the remaining cargo, 'he paid or exchanged them for Colonial Bills to answer his own purpose'. This course involved Campbell Clarke & Co. more heavily in colonial affairs for, instead of allowing them an immediate transferable profit they were saddled with promissory notes whose collection was as expensive as their value was unreliable.

One of the complications which ensued from this action of Smith's first introduced Campbell in an advantageous situation to John Palmer, the Commissary — one of the men who could be of most use to him in the colony and with whom he was to have a life-long association. Palmer had left New South Wales for England in September 1796, on leave of absence, appointing John Stogdell his agent in all his concerns in the colony except that of his public office of Commissary. Palmer returned in November 1800, but before affairs could be settled between them Stogdell met an accidental death.

---


2. John Palmer (1760-1833) the Commissary General of New South Wales arrived with the First Fleet in 1788 as purser of H.M.S. Sirius. When the ship was wrecked on Norfolk Island Palmer was then appointed Commissary. Before coming to New South Wales he had served in America during the War of Independence with H.M.S. Richmond. Captured at Chesapeake Bay he became a prisoner of war and married an American, Susan Stillwell. He returned to England from New South Wales on leave of absence in 1796 and returned in 1800 with his wife and children. He was absent from the colony again between 1810 and 1814, as a direct result of the Bligh Rebellion. When he returned it was as Assistant Commissary.

3. Though Stogdell's affairs are impossible to detach from Palmer's, he bought much land in his own name. Distinct from Palmer's property listed in the Muster Book of 1800, Stogdell appears as owning 328 acres of grain, 140 pigs, 450 sheep, 16 oxen and 13 horses, which made him, therefore, one of the most substantial smallholders in the colony. For these details I am indebted to B.H. Fletcher's thesis, *op. cit.*, p.205.
death. As the exact legal capacity of Stogdell was apparently never defined their affairs became inextricably entwined. To follow the consequences it is necessary to focus on Stogdell's affairs which, in this instance, provide an illuminating example of the way business was carried out in the colony, and in particular, how a merchant like Campbell was forced to operate within the limitations of a primitive economy.

John Stogdell was a considerable purchaser of the Hunter's first cargo; the majority of his purchases, as recorded in the following account, obviously being destined for the retail trade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1798 Aug 31 | 505 pieces White Baftas @ 21s. | 505      | £530. 5. 0
|           | 1200 shirts @ 5s.   | 1200     | 300. 0. 0
|           | 6 dozen of Madeira @ 84s. | 6        | 25. 4. 0
| Sept 1    | 88 fine shirts @ 9s. | 88       | 39.12. 0
|           | 17 do.              |          | 7.13. 0

£902.14. 0

On settling, a balance of £430 remained, on which Campbell agreed to give six months' credit, receiving a promissory note for the amount which Campbell noted 'will appear from my Account Current with my Partners on accounting with them for the sales of the Cargo'. This debt was one of those to be collected by Smith on the due date. When Campbell returned it was to find that Smith, contrary to his instructions, had accepted further colonial bills, or promissory notes, from Stogdell instead of the capital. Campbell's own account of the sequel shows how tentative and experimental his policy had to be.

1 S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 15, Document 2.
I was much chagrined and more at a loss how to act from the settlers at the Hawkesbury having suffered by Floods or otherways, and after deliberating on what I should do I conceived it more prudent not to distress Stogdell, I had no friend to direct me and equally a stranger to the custom of the Colony in Law proceedings; therefore I afforded him my support to crop his Farms at the Hawkesbury, without which they must have remained in an uncultivated State as he had no other means of providing for his relief.¹

As a result, by 14 April 1800 Stogdell was indebted to Campbell Clarke & Co. for £1756.18s.4d. Campbell received a Promissory Note on demand for £1360.18s.4d., retaining another Note for £346 issued by Stogdell to the captain of another ship and acquired by Smith, and striking out an item for £50 for goods not delivered, made up the debt.

It was only when Campbell took Smith to Court that it became public that he was such a large creditor of Stogdell. Campbell, feeling the need of a security to indemnify him for allowing Stogdell's bills to stand until the latter could turn his grain into the Public Store,² began refusing any more of Stogdell's circulating bills that might be offered in the course of general business. This severely injured the standing of Stogdell's bills and ruined his credit, which affected him so greatly that he approached Campbell, declaring he could produce enough from his country properties to doubly discharge the sum he owed. Should this not prove sufficient he was even prepared to sell Woollamoola (John Palmer's property). He succeeded in interesting Campbell to the extent that the latter

¹ S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 15, Document 2. Robert Campbell Esq. to Court, 30 September 1803.
² The periods for establishing solvency in the colony were severely limited. Governor King noted that 'The time for sale of property and receipt of Debts due are in this Colony only in the Months of December, January and February this is for Grain on account of the Harvest and if this time slips, nothing can be done all the year.' King Papers: vol.7, p.10.
set out for the Hawkesbury at the end of August 1800, accompanied 
by Thomas Jamieson and Captain Kent (of the ship Buffalo), to see 
'such extensive Property so much boasted of'. Having just 
investigated Stogdell's control of Palmer's affairs, Campbell 
decided that Stogdell had no power to purchase on Palmer's account 
or dispose of any of his property, except the stock. This meant 
that the only security Stogdell could offer in his own name was 
grain from his Hawkesbury farms and some cattle, which latter 
Campbell refused because 'the uncertainty of my stay here induced 
me to decline receiving them in part of my claim'. But the grain 
was another matter, as Campbell regretted.

The Stacks of Wheat had such an appearance of 
grandeur that I readily believed his calculation of 
8-10,000 bushels might be correct, being no Farmer, 
but if I had not invariably and without distinction 
shewn a degree of lenity where I conceived it 
deserving this false appearance might easily have 
been detected and the visionary ideas of Stogdell's 
wealth in Wheat Shaves would have vanished ... 

Lulled a little by the appearance of the wheat and Stogdell's 
assurances that he was indebted only to Major Foveaux and Mr Balmain, 
'except his circulating Notes which were but trifling', Campbell 
accepted various mortgages on Stogdell's farms. As he explained 
later (shining with a rectitude which Governor Macquarie, at least, 
would have understood),

I must have been satisfied with outward 
appearances otherways I never would have condescended 
to allow him the privilege of postponing for so long 
a period the payment of his Debt as the 6 August 1801 
before I could sell or enter into the possession of 
the Property he had it in his power to secure me on, 
and if I had given any directions for drawing the 
Security I would certainly have stated the sum with

1 S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 15, Document 2. 
the usual correctness I flatter myself I have observed in settling and managing other Accounts in this Colony to the Amount of very near a hundred thousand Pounds Sterling as these Books now produced will testify, more gratifying to me on this day than ever, and a proud testimony of the confidence placed in my integrity not only by our own House Campbell & Co., but that of a more respectable and longer established one Fairlie, Gilmore & Co. of Calcutta.¹

The occasion for this burst of eloquence anticipated the end of Stogdell's affairs. On the above occasion Campbell was giving evidence in a case brought against John Palmer by Simeon Lord for the mishandling of letters of administration Palmer acquired over Stogdell's estate.² Stogdell had been far more deeply indebted than he had revealed to Campbell. Palmer, on his return, claimed a debt of £8,553.11s.5d.³ This amount was sufficiently large to negate the claims of other creditors who claimed they were not admitted to a thorough investigation of Stogdell's affairs and challenged their exclusion. The crux of the matter lay in the powers conferred previously on Stogdell by Palmer. Campbell admitted he had gone to see Palmer in November 1800, before Stogdell's death, concerning the latter's debts and the title deeds that Campbell held. In effect, all Stogdell's property was charged by assignment to Campbell as security for the £1750, with interest at ten per cent.⁴ Palmer had acquired letters of administration until this amount should be paid off but could not act while the property was still legally Campbell's. Between them they agreed on an immediate sale which could not be considered beneficial to the estate. At the

¹ Ibid.
² Stogdell died in March 1801.
³ S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 15, Document 2.
⁴ The total amounted to £1864.4s.8d.
sale Campbell was purchaser of nearly all the lots put up for auction. They were immediately transferred to Palmer who carried out all subsequent business in connection with them. When questioned about this transaction Campbell replied shortly 'I got possession of the title deeds — this is the only answer I choose (sic) to give'.

The effect of this transaction, besides excluding the other creditors, possibly saved Palmer debts incurred on his behalf by Stogdell, and preserved for him some valuable property without the actual exchange of moneys. The affair is complicated and Campbell doubtless had cause to bless any experience he gained in such tortuous matters in the office of his father, the solicitor, in Greenock. Its financial provisions are far less important than the fact that by this smooth co-operation Campbell must have stood well in the eyes of John Palmer. And John Palmer the Commissary was the road to salvation for a merchant, being the largest buyer of goods for the public store, issuer of government contracts, and sole distributor of Treasury Bills. With the exception of Paymasters Bills (which were mostly limited in amount) the latter were the only valid form of payment for those wishing to transfer money from the colony.

1 Campbell's assignment had been for six farms and premises at the Hawkesbury, ten horses and ten head of horned cattle and goats, for which he had returned Stogdell's promissory notes.


3 Viz. Campbell's letter to India, 4 July 1801 'as His Excellency by a new regulation will not draw on London but quarterly I will not have it in my power to make any Remittances till 5 October except Paymasters Bills'. See S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 15, Document 2.
Though his salary was but £365 per annum it was recognized that a Commissary had everything in his favour to improve his financial affairs. It was George Bond who noticed 'The situation of commissary is, through the practices they pursue, very lucrative'.

Control of the Commissariat in New South Wales made John Palmer, in effect, the colony's banker. The original functions of an army commissariat had been extended to deal expediently with the needs of the convict population as well. It issued rations and provided capital advances in the form of stock and equipment. As a result of these offices it became the chief market for colonial produce, paid for in Store receipts which became 'a kind of generally circulating government note issue'. These receipts were consolidated regularly for bills of exchange on the British Treasury. Practically every financial transaction in the colony impinged on the Commissariat at some point. The situation of Commissary had a particular attraction in that it allowed access to government funds for short periods. A cool head and a shrewd business sense allowed a Commissary the short term use of extensive capital on the profits of which he could establish a private income.

Perhaps 'Little Jack' Palmer was as glad of Campbell's friendship as the latter was glad to have it. Palmer had irons in many fires but he must have known his good fortune would not last for ever. His position, as well as his opportunities for greater speculation, would be reinforced by an association with Campbell. Such a consideration might have encouraged the Commissary to receive Campbell as an ally rather than a competitor, especially as the

1 G. Bond, _op.cit._, p.9.
2 Butlin, _op.cit._, p.5.
Colonial Secretary and the War Office showed signs of taking a firm line against officer-trading. Palmer's own knowledge of the colony and its customs were useful to the merchant. Campbell's association with Palmer was doubtless a recommendation to the tight and jealous society in which he had to move, and a useful source of information as to the inclinations of the Governor. The alliance was cemented by Campbell's marriage to Palmer's sister Sophia at the end of 1801, on which event Lieutenant Rowley of the New South Wales Corps commented laconically, 'Bob Campbell his (sic) married to Palmer's sister and settled £200 a year on the morning of marriage in case of Death - a good trip to Botany'.

Beside his connection with Palmer there is little indication of the society he kept in his first years in Sydney. He seems to have achieved acceptance by the military society or at least avoided friction with them. To Rowley and Waterhouse he was already 'Bob' Campbell, not merchant Campbell, and the officers of the Corps later expressed their 'sense of approbation' as to his conduct 'as a Gentleman and a Merchant', than which praise they could presumably bestow none higher. What his acceptance owed to his own status and personality may have been reinforced by the knowledge on the part

Lord Portland had ordered an investigation in 1799 which was followed up by indignation on the part of the War Office that officers should engage in trade. Paterson, as a result was ordered to return from England to his regiment, investigate the situation, and make an example of anyone engaging in trading. See H.R.A., I, 2, p.340; H.R.N.S.W., III, pp.639-40, and IV, p.228.

For Marriage Settlement Draft see S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 30, Document 16.

Bonwick Transcripts, Biog., vol.4, p.1091. Lieutenant Rowley to Captain Waterhouse, 4 October 1801.

of the officers that the time had come for them to relinquish their own commercial activities. Campbell's regular shipments and fair trading lessened their own need to underwrite speculative risks and may have made his apparent competition more acceptable to many of them. Nevertheless, he was a man of trade and not an officer and his social occasions were perhaps limited, for he was doubtless heavily occupied with buying and selling, arrangement of credit and time-consuming quasi-legal matters. The rest of his life indicates that he was not primarily a social man. A power of attorney given to his brother John in Calcutta in 1798 acknowledged that, while he intended to reside in New South Wales for some time as a partner of the Calcutta concern, 'I propose establishing myself as a Merchant and to engage in various kinds of Traffic and Commerce on my own account.' - and these were critical years.

There are hints of a growing involvement in the colony's affairs and a wider acceptance of his permanency. His marriage doubtless contributed to this. The muster of 1802 notes that there are eight persons already in Campbell's 'family', or household, none of them supported by the Government Stores. Six horses, six horned cattle, six goats and three hogs formed the basis of his stock. Campbell's Wharf, later to become a famous landmark, was already building from his two leases on the Cove (which were conveniently close to the Public Store) when George Suttor arrived at the end of 1800. Campbell was still making improvements to the wharf frontage

---
1 S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 30, Document 2. (Note in margin.)
2 In July 1802 he was a member of the Vice-Admiralty Court sitting in judgement on the mutiny on the Hercules. H.R.A., I, 3, pp.536, 551.
3 Bonwick Transcripts, Box 88, p.35.
and imposing store in 1805 when a friend of Captain Waterhouse sent him two drawings of Sydney which 'contain the whole of the Town as it at present appears - I have been particular in having it from that point of view which shews Mr Campbell's House and Store to advantage as you know it is built on the spot which was formerly your garden and Shore no doubt you will think it a conspicuous ornament to the Cove'.

Meantime, however, Campbell had no store and in September 1801, with the approval of Governor King, he concluded an agreement with the Commissary for the use of such part of the Public Store as might not be wanted for public purposes to 'deposit his goods for their better Security and preservation'. For this he was to pay £50 annually to the Government in whatever goods and articles might be required (at five per cent, on the India price of the goods).

The first two years after Campbell's arrival saw the harbingers of change in the colonial commercial sphere, chief of which was a tempering of the periods of want and glut through less speculative shipments meant for a more stable market. A resident merchant was an advance, and soon Campbell was not the only one. William Tough arrived at Port Jackson on 2 June 1801 in the John and received permission from King to settle and establish an agency business for Chace, Chinnery & Co. of Madras. Gradually too, they were to be

---

1 In 1806 Campbell estimated (probably generously) the cost of his residence and storehouses at £6,000. Memorial of R. Campbell to Rt. Hon. Wm. Windham, 14 March 1806; C.O. 201/41, p.23.
4 This concern did not maintain its connection with New South Wales beyond January 1804 when Tough returned to India in the Harrington.
joined by enterprising emancipists such as Simeon Lord whose competition helped temper the old inflated conditions. By the judicious application of credit trade eased itself out of the slump of 1800, though real money remained scarce and Campbell experienced then, and for some time later, difficulty in making acceptable remittances to India. By the beginning of 1802, however, the market was glutted by continuous chance arrivals and for the first time the colony was overstocked with goods. Many had to be withdrawn, unsold, others were sacrificed at auction and a price cutting war ensued¹ to the delight of the inhabitants unused to being offered articles at English prime cost and even less.² These conditions set in at the end of 1801, for by October, Lieutenant Rowley observed that 'Stock has fallen near £100 per cent'.³ Some months later, Governor King, in a despatch to the Duke of Portland⁴ commented on the changing conditions: 'The quantities of articles brought here by adventurers, from all parts of the World must soon stop, as several Vessels have been obliged to take away the whole or most considerable parts of the Investments they brought on Speculation, and those which remain are selling at little above Prime Cost; such is the good Effect of the Articles sent by Government.'⁵

¹ Bass and Wentworth who were both involved in speculative cargoes were left with goods on their hands for several years after. Hayes to King, 28 September 1805, King Papers, Further Papers, vol.8, p.316 and Wentworth to Balmain n.d. 1802, Wentworth Papers, 1785-1808, p.99.
³ Bonwick Transcripts, vol.4, Biog., p.1091.
⁴ 1 March 1802.
King was a little optimistic in attributing any of these effects to the government store conducted by Palmer and selling articles at 20-30% above cost, against grain. Several ships had contributed to the stocking of the store during 1801, but the ensuing glut had negated its usefulness, for settlers were able to obtain goods for even less from the desperate masters of visiting vessels. Even if they paid the same amount the settlers were saved the trouble and delay of submitting their lists of intended purchases for the approval of the acting governor. The full operation of the government store commenced too late for, in coinciding virtually with the glut of 1801-2, it arrived on the scene just in time to convince the settlers that they could buy more cheaply from private instead of governmental sources.

While they could depend on Indian credit Campbell & Co. were shielded to some degree from these fluctuations by being able to maintain their permanent establishment at Port Jackson. Campbell & Co. were soon venturing heavily in the Australian trade. Governor King in one of his despatches mentioned that between 1800 and 1804 Campbell had been paid 'upwards of £16,000' by Government for articles he had supplied.\(^1\) Actually the figure was closer to £18,000, but £5,349 of it was receipts for local grain purchased by the Store, being paid to Campbell's account by individuals who were in debt to him.\(^2\) King also alluded to Campbell's 'great receipts from the New South Wales Corps and other inhabitants'.\(^3\) Certainly the Calcutta firm was not being timorous in its exports, for a statement of the property in Campbell & Company's Go-downs in Sydney

---

2. See Table *H.R.A.*, I, 5, p.209.
in August 1804 valued the goods at just over £50,000.¹ Half of this alone was sugar and some £6,000 worth of seal-skins and elephant oil awaiting re-export.² By comparison William Tough, as the representative of Chace Chinnery & Co., held £10,000 (not much more than the value of one large shipment) and 'Simeon Lord and others' possessed £15,000.³

Debts and their collection were always to loom large on the merchant's horizon. Their settlement was often a far more uncertain matter than the notes or securities indicated, and a creditor could never be over-cautious. One of the larger purchasers of goods from the Hunter's 1800 trip was George Crossley who spent £1700 on Campbell's wares. In settlement he gave bills on his London agent (with whom he held a bond for £300) Cox & Greenwood. This money Campbell never collected from Cox & Greenwood who refused payment; but Campbell was apparently satisfied that the agents had misapplied Crossley's money.⁴ Eight years later Campbell stated 'In the course of my business in New South Wales I have had bills protested to the amount of £10,000 of which sum £6,500 was upon bills of the Paymaster of the New South Wales Corps, drawn upon Cox & Greenwood.'⁵ Had Campbell known this earlier he probably would have changed his mind about trading in Sydney.

During the early years, however, he was not merely accepting long term debts but advancing goods, and in some cases money, to set

¹ See Table 1.
³ H.R.A., I, 5, pp.95, 105.
⁴ Evidence by R. Campbell, Court Martial of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, p.87.
⁵ Ibid.
small men on their feet. One such case was Thomas Raby who was indebted in 1801 to Campbell for £160.10s., plus a further £150 advanced to enable Raby to carry on his concerns, and therefore to increase chances of final payment. For this credit Raby mortgaged to Campbell three Hawkesbury farms (of 30, 30 and 200 acres) with their buildings, crops, livestock and boats, along with 'certain property and buildings in Sydney'. A first sum of £160 was due on 1 April 1802 and the second £150 not till 1 April 1805. Raby was one of many such cases. There was a dual advantage for Campbell in that while securing a first debt he created a market for goods on more generous terms than most of the officer-traders. In the search for a wider market he accepted copper coin in small sums as well as wheat receipts for the current quarter. Terms for some of Campbell's cargoes were advertised as six months' credit on purchases over £20 and 'storeable wheat received in payment at the Hawkesbury on giving such security as may be required.' A trader who visited Sydney in 1803 found the settlement in want of almost everything he carried but the market restrained because of former debts. 'The Government or the Buffalo had between them the majority of the settlement in their debt for former supplies and the house of Campbell had almost all the remainder. On account of these liabilities I soon found that the people were restrained from making large purchases from me for fear of bringing the law upon them for what they owed; ...'.

---

1 S.G., 5 March 1803.
2 See S.G., 3, 10, 16 July 1803, July 1804.
Governor King admitted that Campbell & Co. suffered from some disadvantages in comparison with the free speculative traders of the Pacific who were able to peddle their cargoes round the Orient by bartering one rich cargo for another. Nevertheless, he wrote to Campbell, 'But I conceive the advantages you derive on the Prices you receive, if not equal to your wishes, yet they are full as much as can be paid by the different descriptions of people in this Colony'. His concern seems to have been stimulated less for the general welfare than by personal reasons, for he hurries on: 'I would not have you conclude that I consider your Charges greater than what your Expenses and Risque may warrant, yet they certainly do come high when compared with the pay of Officers etc. in the Colony.'

King's objections on this head were a little lacking in perspective. By 1803 there was a visible change in trading conditions within the colony, goods of many kinds were more readily available and at prices that bore a more realistic relation to their prime cost. There were several factors contributing to this state of affairs, the government's experiment in maintaining a store, while not conspicuously successful, had not only provided the

---

Betsy from Madras. His efforts are illustrative of the type of problems the itinerant trader met in Sydney, but he overcame them with some initiative. 'In order to facilitate trade', he writes 'I gave three public entertainments in the colony which procured me considerable eclat and enabled me to make the personal acquaintance of the people most likely to deal.' One of his most helpful customers was Simeon Lord.

1 H.R.A., I, 4, pp.132-133. These prices must have come even higher when retailed at a commission, as was the usual practice. A shop would be set up and stocked and charge of it given on a commission - 7½% in the case of a person who retailed for Simeon Lord. A similar method was employed by Robert Campbell, Junior who maintained Edward Lamb in a shop in Hunter Street in 1811.
semblance of competition for visiting merchantmen but had provided a depot where they could leave unsold goods - a measure which would reduce competition amongst buyers. In some respect too, the availability of such goods weakened dependence on goods still being retailed by members of the old combine, making their profits less certain.¹ Yet, it seems that the most significant single factor operating at this period on the reduction of prices was the presence of Campbell & Company. The firm flattered themselves that 'no person can charge them with having extorted enormous Prices for the Merchandize they have from time to time exposed for sale, and which has been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the colony in general by putting a stop to the monopolies that were formerly carried on.'² Campbell & Co.'s consistently reasonable prices were the wonder of the colony, and a distinguishing feature of the business. They had been promised by Campbell when he first solicited Governor King for permission to take up residence in the colony, in which case he assured the Governor that he might 'depend on the business being conducted on the most liberal footing circumstance will admit'.³ Even if Campbell was influenced by the obvious advantage of underselling competitors, he adhered scrupulously to his earlier assurances. Testimonials which he carried from the colony at the end of 1804, in spite of their diversity of subscribers, were remarkably unanimous in commending what the officers of the colony were pleased to term 'the very

¹ See Lieutenant-Governor King to Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, 18 September 1800, H.R.A., I, 2, pp.544-5.
liberal and candid manner you have always acted in your Mercantile Transactions.¹

The non-commissioned officers added 'their Sincere Thanks for your Liberal Accommodation to them as a Merchant' which was responsible for their grateful sense of the benefits and comforts their families were thus enabled to enjoy.² But it was a memorial signed by over two hundred settlers³ in November 1804 that was most explicit about the advantages they had enjoyed from Campbell's residence in the settlement. Again, his liberality, honourable dealings and fair and reasonable prices were particularised. The settlers credited Campbell alone with having delivered them from 'a most execrable Monopoly' by regularly supplying goods of such low prices as saved them from 'any longer paying such exorbitant, and extortionate prices for those Necessary Articles of Life, we were of Necessity oblig'd to buy at any Rate - as well as preventing others the continuance of so Nefarious a practice before, preying on our very Vitals, to the Destruction of our Agricultural Concerns by involving us in Debt, so as to baffle every Effort of honesty or Industry.'⁴ Their gratitude for 'the extensive Credit' allowed them by Campbell which enabled them to consolidate their farming was mentioned, along with Campbell's readiness 'at a certain dis-

¹ 24 December 1804. C.O. 201/41, p.23. This testimonial was signed by Marsden, Palmer, Atkins, Thos. Jamison, Savage, Johnston, Abbott, Wilson, Brabyn, Bayly, Moore, Rowley, Minchin, Harris, Draffin, Laycock, Blaxcell.
² 13 December 1804. C.O. 201/41, p.28.
³ The memorial stated that many more signatures were missing only because of the great distances involved in their collection and the short time available for the preparation of the document. C.O. 201/41, p.30.
⁴ 23 November, 1804. C.O. 201/41, p.32.
advantage, and risque' to accept their grain as a form of payment.¹

That they associated these benefits almost exclusively with
Campbell's business was illustrated when they mentioned a fear of
a relapse into 'the old Monopoly' in Campbell's absence. But they
ended on a note which can surely have been heard by few merchants,
and even fewer successful merchants: 'We speak with Gratitude for
your having revived our Drooping Spirits - and made us hope for
better days - It is worthy of you only, a single Individual, to
have befriended the Industrious Settler and Honest Man - But for
you, we had still been a prey to the Mercenary unsparing Hand of
Avarice and Extortion'.²

There was a simple spontaneity in the praise of the settlers
that was missing in Governor King's more formal admission of much
the same effects, in a letter he wrote to the merchant some time
earlier. 'I fully admit' he wrote 'the advantage the Inhabitants
of this Colony have derived since I have commanded here from your
Fair and equitable proceedings as a Merchant and I equally admit
that by those proceedings you have greatly assisted me in destroying
the ruinous extortions and degrading Monopolies that formerly
existed here.'³ About the same time a visiting naval captain⁴
observed of Campbell 'no man in the country deserves the protection
of the British Ministry more than this, who has by his liberal acts
lowered the price of every British article in the Colony and is

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ P.G. King to R. Campbell, 23 February 1803. C.O. 201/41, p.29.
⁴ Captain Colnett of H.M.S. Glatton.
still inclined to pursue that step.¹ The merchant, with commendable altruism, confided to the Governor that in spite of financial setbacks the Company's future plans were aimed at reducing the price of animal food, as they had the other necessaries of life, 'from Prices that are too indelicate to repeat'.²

¹ H.R.N.S.W., 5, p.213.
² Memorial of R. Campbell to Governor King, 3 March 1803. H.R.A., I, 4, p.132.
By far the largest single receipts that came to Campbell & Co., at this stage, were for contract cattle, sugar, and spirits for the use of the colony. It was in 1801 that Campbell signed his first contract with the Governor to import much-needed cattle to the colony, at such advantageous terms to the Government that even the Secretary of State for the Colonies was moved to extend his 'perfect approbation'. Campbell asserted later that these contracts had been declined by other firms in India, and even allowing for the pessimistic regrets of a merchant the first contract was not notably profitable for Campbell & Co. Nevertheless the contracts became a regular feature of Campbell & Co.'s trade and provided them not only with a record of regular service but with a dependable staple for the trade which shielded them from the vagaries of the New South Wales market.

The imperative necessity for New South Wales to become agriculturally self-supporting had been dominant ever since Governor Phillip first marshalled his motley settlers on the shores of Sydney Cove. The dependence on a regular and sufficient food supply became an understandable obsession in the isolated and neglected settlement. Agriculture was promoted anxiously, and although the comparative success of the early experiments eased desperation, ten

1 See 'Account of Grain, Livestock, Merchandise, etc., purchased from Mr Robert Campbell by Government, between 28 September 1800 - 20 December 1804'. H.R.A., I, 5, p.209.
2 Lord Hobart to King, 30 January 1802, H.R.A., I, 3, p.370.
years later the position had not changed radically; supply ships were still lost, crops were destroyed by drought or flood and wandering stock multiplied but slowly. Existence was by no means out of jeopardy in 1798, or even ten years after that. Governor Phillip (who was always aware of the need for livestock) wrote, 'cattle as well as settlers are likewise much wanted, and till the Country is stocked with cattle the labour of clearing and cultivating the ground will be very great'.¹ By 1790, when some order was emerging in the settlement with ground cleared and shelters erected, Phillip was writing, 'the great point we now have to attain is the stocking the Country with Cattle.'² This marked quite an advance in the condition of the colony for when the _Sirius_ had been sent to the Cape of Good Hope in October 1788 for foodstuffs she was instructed not to bring back livestock which was less needful than food, and which besides could not be supported at Botany Bay, there being no feed available for cattle.³ At this stage the colony was entirely without cattle. The First Fleet had landed two bulls and five cows (two belonging to Phillip, two to the government and one to the officers and men of the detachment) but these had strayed and been lost at the beginning of June 1788.⁴ In June 1792 the _Atlantic_ returned from Calcutta with two Bengal cows and a bull which were taken to the settlement at Parramatta to join sixteen cows and three

---

¹ Governor Phillip to Sir Joseph Banks, 24 March 1791. M.L. C213, pp.73-4.
² Phillip to Banks, 22 August 1790, loc.cit., p.66.
³ Phillip's _Voyage_, p.141.
⁴ These seven survived and made their way to the Cowpastures on the Nepean River where they and their progeny were found in November 1795. By this time their numbers had increased to over sixty. See Collins, p.436.
calves brought by the Gorgon, which then formed the colony's sole public stock of cattle.¹

The demand for cattle intensified as the colony established itself. An almost lyrical letter from Major Grose of the New South Wales Corps, published in the Gentleman's Magazine for February 1793, proclaimed that 'I find there is neither the scarcity that was represented to me, nor the barren sands I was taught to imagine I should see; the whole place is a garden, on which fruit and vegetables of every description grow in the greatest luxuriance. Nothing is wanting here but corn and black cattle.'² His opinion was reinforced by that of an American aboard the Halcyon who the following year 'on being shown some Indian corn of last year's growth gave it as his opinion, that we wanted nothing but large herds of grazing cattle to be a thriving, prosperous and great colony.'³ This opinion found great favour in the settlement for as Collins wrote 'We ourselves had long been impressed with an idea of the advantage that grazing cattle would give to the country ...'⁴

A major obstacle to stocking the colony with cattle was the long sea voyage from India or the Cape of Good Hope. On one voyage the Britannia lost nearly all the cattle embarked, for which the Master had given 20 dollars each at the Cape.² Sheep, horses, and hogs were discovered to stand the passage much better.

¹ L.F. Fitzhardinge (ed.), 'Sydney's First Four Years', p.248. Collins (p.251), writes that in December 1792 the public stock consisted of 3 bulls, 2 bull calves, 15 cows and 3 calves.
³ Collins, p.375.
⁴ Ibid., p.375.
⁵ Ibid., pp.295-6.
Many attempts were made to import cattle, as the following table shows; but the vicissitudes of the voyage had left hardly any credit balance. Of fifteen bulls, one hundred and nineteen cows and six calves purchased, only three bulls, twenty-eight cows and five calves had been landed in New South Wales by June 1793.

**Black Cattle purchased for, lost in passage to, and landed in N.S.W. June 1793.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Embarked</th>
<th>Purchased</th>
<th>Lost in passage</th>
<th>Landed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bulls</td>
<td>Cows</td>
<td>Calves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787 in Sirius and a transport</td>
<td>1 7 1 2 1 5 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789 Guardian</td>
<td>2 16 - 1 16 - - - -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791 Gorgon, Admiral Barrington</td>
<td>3 24 1 3 7 - - 17 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792 Atlantic, (Calcutta)</td>
<td>2 2 1 1 1 2 1 -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitt</td>
<td>- 2 - - 1 - - 1 -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Admiral</td>
<td>- 1 - - - - - 1 -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792 Shah Hormuzear, (India)</td>
<td>1 24 2 1 23 - - 1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daedalalus</td>
<td>6 12 - 6 12 - - - -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britannia</td>
<td>- 31 1 - 29 - - 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 See Collins, p.296.
Purchased 15 bulls, 119 cows, 6 calves
Lost in passage 12 bulls, 91 cows, 1 calf
Landed 3 bulls, 28 cows, 5 calves

Such a situation meant livestock prices were at a maximum. Most of the livestock in the country belonged to the military and civil officers, as distinct from the government, 'who kept up the price in order to create an interest in the preservation of it'.

An English cow in calf (brought by the Gorgon) was sold by an officer to another for £80, while a male calf sold for £15. A mare brought by the Britannia from the Cape was sold for £40 and though aged and defective, was sold twice in the course of a few days for the same sum. 'It must, however, be remarked', says Collins, 'that in these sales stock itself was generally the currency of the country, one kind of animal being commonly exchanged for another'.

When advice was received that the home administration intended to make arrangements to supply New South Wales with cattle from Bengal Collins observed that 'this became a favourite idea with every person in the colony, for the sheep, though small, were found to be very productive ... The climate was also found to agree well with the cattle of the buffalo species which had been received'.

This, in spite of the fact that two cows and a bull brought from Calcutta by the Atlantic in 1792 had been pronounced 'too diminutive to be of value'. Most of the cattle had been brought from the Cape

1 Collins, p.333. At the time of the 1800 Muster, John Macarthur had 100 head of cattle.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., 305.
of Good Hope, the only other Indian ones being a cow and two calves brought by Mr Bampton in the *Shah Hormuzear* in 1792.¹

In 1794 Bampton's ship *Arthur* brought news that the Government of Bengal had advertised for terms to freight a vessel for New South Wales with cattle and provisions but had been diverted by the current need for armaments.² The *Britannia*, hired by the officers of the New South Wales Corps to go to the Cape for stores and livestock returned in March 1795, having been absent just over six months. She had on board 30 horses, three fillies and twelve sheep, having lost ten horses on the way.³

Matters slowly improved. In 1796 the cattle lost in 1788 were discovered, though left undisturbed as a resource in case of further want. In 1796 the *Britannia*, on her fifth visit, brought from Bengal a mare, five cows and a calf on private account of the officers. Though Collins comments that they would not all together have been worth £50 at Smithfield the mare brought £100 and the cows £84.⁴ Although stock was increasing, prices showed no decline. The Commissary in September 1796 sold two Cape cows and a steer for £189 (stg.).⁵ By this month the colonial stock stood as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cattle in possession of:</th>
<th>Cow and Cow Calves</th>
<th>Bull and Bull Calves</th>
<th>Oxen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ He had embarked one bull, twenty-four cows and two calves.
² Collins, p.357.
³ Ibid., pp.382 and 409.
⁴ Ibid., p.475.
⁵ Ibid., p.495.
At the Cape in 1797, the Commissary (John Palmer) purchased 70 head of 'very fine young Cape cattle which were taken back to New South Wales in the Reliance and Supply'.

They met with bad weather however and only landed 39 of the black cattle. The Reliance and the Supply which came to the colony with Governor Hunter were specifically intended to be employed getting cattle for the colony. They were replaced by the Buffalo and the Porpoise, intended to take cattle from the Cape of Good Hope, but the Porpoise could carry only ten to fifteen cattle on each voyage.

It presumably did not take Robert Campbell very long to gather the facts relevant to the history of cattle importation to New South Wales - even if he did not come armed with them already from Calcutta, where the authorities had occasionally advertised for contracts. These, with the exception of Mr Bampton's persevering and unprofitable efforts, had been largely declined by Calcutta merchants because of the low profits, cul-de-sac market and attendant risks of handling livestock. Of all this Robert Campbell would have been keenly aware; but in those early days, hampered by lack of money and buyers, faced with the possible resentment of the officers whose profits his trading inevitably reduced, he may have been unduly tempted by the evidence of the eagerness of both govern-

---

1 It is Collins who gives this figure, p.538, but Hunter's account of livestock received by the two ships cites 66 cows received in the colony - 53 on account of government and 13 'on account of the officers of the ships in their own appartments'. H.R.A., I, 2, p.68. The ships, however, also carried cargo on account of some of the military officers.

2 Ibid., p.617.

3 Whose master was Raven - the ex-master of the Britannia.

4 Ibid., p.540.
ment and settlers for livestock and been impressed by the obvious practical need for cattle. His first contract with Acting Governor King to bring from Bengal 150 cows (no more than 2½ years old) at £28 per head, was signed on 10 March 1801. For any additional calves, Campbell was to receive eight guineas each, and the same rate for two male and four female asses. To the contract was added ten tons of sugar at £60 per ton. Subject to a bond of £1000, the cargo was to be delivered within twelve calendar months. Campbell also undertook not to import any other stock on his own account.

As King pointed out in a despatch to the Duke of Portland (10 March 1801) this was £7 a head cheaper than those contracted for by Major Grose in 1793, and £9 cheaper than those furnished by an earlier contract. King, writing later to the British Under Secretary, was anxious to justify this new expense. Of the contract with Campbell for cattle he wrote 'the price was so advantageous to Government and the terms (as none are to be received that are not healthy and good) so clear, that I hope that the unauthorised part of my conduct will be approved of, as there is no other certain way of becoming independent for animal food; and how long that belonging to Government would last, if expended, I have explained by my despatch.' The Governor was also careful to explain that though the crops looked good and the cattle and sheep were increasing, some rice he had also contracted for would be

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p.12.
4 P.G. King to Under Secretary King, 21 August 1801.
5 H.R.A., I, 3, p.244.
needed before the harvest. King felt that the cattle to be supplied by Campbell, when arrived, would be 'as many as can advantageously be taken care of'.¹ The government budget, that bete noir of colonial governors, would be further strained by the new and larger stock yards which would have to be constructed to accommodate Campbell's cattle, plus the natural increase expected from the Government cattle in the following year. King, however, tried to impress on the home authorities that it was still very necessary to continue supplying the colony with salt provisions to prevent killing this stock 'procured at so great expense' which would only have to be repeated if the colony was again reduced to necessity. Otherwise, he was hopeful that 'our present prospects are such that in a very few years this colony will be totally independent of the mother-country for meat'.²

Twelve months later, however, Campbell's cattle had not arrived.³ Losses from Hawkesbury floods reduced the colonial food supply but King had struggled on without supplementing it with provisions imported from India, the Cape or Batavia, though the Porpoise was sent to Tahiti for pork. It was not till 12 February 1803 that Campbell & Co.'s ship, the Castle of Good Hope, arrived after a twelve week passage from Calcutta.⁴ At nearly 1000 tons she was the largest ship to enter Port Jackson. With the exception of East Indiamen, few merchantmen this size sailed the seas. The tonnage of most Indian private vessels rarely exceeded 600 tons.

² Ibid.
⁴ S.G., 5 March 1803.
She carried a proportionately large cargo which mainly composed 307 Bengal cows, six horses and four asses, of good quality and in very good condition. During the voyage only twelve cows and one horse had been lost, for by pursuing a route through the Bass Strait, instead of round Tasmania, the voyage had been considerably shortened, to the advantage of the livestock.

An incident which occurred during the landing of the cattle from the Castle of Good Hope gives us one of our few glimpses of the temperament of Robert Campbell escaping from its usual swaddling of 'mercantile prudence'. The catalyst was John Jamieson, Superintendent of Government Stock, responsible for the acceptance or rejection of the cattle according to the Contract, which specified that they 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 in a fit of excessive zeal rejected ninety of the cattle, to the dismay and anger of Campbell to whom this represented 'a disastrous and unmerited Circumstance.' Whether Jamieson was merely being unusually punctilious in the carrying out of his duty by measuring the inferior Bengal cattle type against the preferred Cape or English breed, or whether his intransigence arose from a jealousy of this commanding fellow-countryman is hard to determine. The Governor described his Superintendent as 'a proud, touchy but honest Scotchman' — a

1 Campbell later maintained that the horses he imported were the best that could be purchased in India. Memorial of Robert Campbell to Rt. Hon. William Windham, 14 March 1806. C.O. 201/41, p.22.
3 Marginal note by King on Campbell's letter of 15 February 1803, ibid.
temperament not uncommon in his native land. Jamieson, however, apparently added to this combination some independence of outlook, for he capped his crime by refusing McAskill, the Scottish captain of the Castle of Good Hope, the title of 'Gentleman', and wounded Mr Campbell to his core by implying that he was 'a person of that description that wished to do Injustice to the Public'.\(^1\) Shaken out of his aloofness by these dual thrusts at his character and motives, Campbell penned an angry letter to the Governor complaining of Jamieson and his opinions, even though he acknowledged the latter to be 'too Contemptible invectives to merit any other notice'.\(^2\)

With a rare touch of sarcasm Campbell desired of the Governor that the ninety cows rejected by Jamieson, 'on account of their Youth as I understand', should be re-examined by 'such Gentlemen as you may think proper to decide on their present state',\(^3\) before their rejection was confirmed.

Was King amused by this heated squabble amongst three Scots of high pride and integrity? Though he did not question Jamieson's capability or his honesty he allowed for temperament and personally delivered to Jamieson what he described to Campbell as 'a severe Reprimand',\(^4\) for his part in the 'misunderstanding' that had arisen. King's reply of 16 February 1803 conveying this information to the ruffled merchant was sober, but surely written with a smile on his face. It is highly likely that the wilful rejection of his cows had stirred Campbell's blood as deeply as Jamieson's 'invectives' but it

---

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.

P.G. King to R. Campbell, 16 February 1803, H.R.A., I, 4, p.126.
was strangely contrary to his usual cool practice that he should surrender to the urge to dash off a letter to the Governor, stimulated by a few personal exchanges. One suspects, that had Jamieson been of any other nationality his opinions would have been ignored by Campbell and merely his incapacity enlarged upon.

The two 'Gentlemen' appointed by King (Thos. Laycock, Quarter Master of the New South Wales Corps and Thos. Rowley, Captain of the Loyal Sydney Association) retained a further thirty-two cows and four calves on behalf of the Government from the ninety originally rejected,\(^1\) so that it is not impossible that Jamieson had acted in a purely resentful mood though his motives can only be the subject of conjecture. On the other hand, the Governor had no desire to discourage the merchant to whom he wrote, 'it is by no means my wish that you should be a sufferer or the Public a loser (sic)',\(^2\) so that Laycock and Rowley may well have been instructed to be lenient in their requirements. Campbell, however, remained dissatisfied about the cattle rejected and requested a copy of Laycock and Rowley's report.\(^3\) Some weeks later in a memorial to King\(^4\) he wrote 'The 250 cows received by Government were in high condition, and the greatest part of those rejected by the Superintendent were in the humble opinion of your Memorialist equally Merchantable; None have died, nor are there any Symptoms of disease, time the best criterion will determine it, and it is unnecessary to enlarge on the painful Subject ...'\(^5\)

\(^1\) H.R.A., I, 4, pp.126-127.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^4\) 9 May 1803.
Two hundred and fifty cows, four calves, four asses and nine tons of sugar were received by the Government according to the contract of March 1801.¹ King was quite happy with the cargo. He wrote to Hobart in a despatch dated 9 May 1803 'The cows now arrived although of the Bengal breed, is a very desirable circumstance. Most of them are only two years old and are in calf. They will daily increase in numbers and yearly in size, our general breed of cattle being by no means small owing to the various crossings of the breed.'²

Campbell was not particularly jubilant about the result of his first contract though greatly aided by official leniency - King wrote 'This contract as far as it regards Mr Campbell, was of the most liberal nature, being bound by no penalty.'³ In a memorial to King dated 21 February 1803, he outlined his main grievances, all concerned with the losses he had suffered in the Castle of Good Hope venture. Having freighted the ship at a high rate, Campbell & Co. discovered that the number of cattle the ship could carry - even if all landed safe - would not defray half the expense.⁴ Freight had been 7,500 Sicca Rupees⁵ monthly, which covered the period from the reception of the cattle at Calcutta to the end of the return voyage (a period of ten months), which would cost £9,375. The number of cows and other stock received by the Government plus the ten tons of sugar contracted for had only yielded £7,667.4s. This left Campbell

¹ H.R.A., I, 4, pp.74-76.
² Ibid.
⁴ H.R.A., I, 5, pp.53-54.
⁵ Roughly 2s.6d. stg.
with a deficiency of £1,707.16s. to be paid to the captain of the Castle of Good Hope before his departure. In addition, the ship's limited period of hire, due soon to expire, had to be converted to demurrage unless it was to involve Campbell & Co. in 'still greater distress'.

It was as a result of this transaction that Campbell was tied more firmly to an Australian interest. The fifty-eight cows two calves and their additional increase rejected by government had to be accommodated, much to Campbell's distaste, for it absorbed more of his limited capital. It was to graze the rejected cattle that the merchant acquired his first substantial land - the estate of Canterbury which was knocked down to him for £525 at an auction held on 26 May 1803, 'which a number of the most respectable Inhabitants of the Colony attended'. The land, previously advertised in the Sydney Gazette as 'consisting of 900 acres pleasantly situate within six miles of Sydney and from its extent and vicinity to Town, it will become the most desirable and valuable Freehold in this Colony', sounded alluring, but later turned out to be very poor soil. Now the merchant who had declared himself 'no farmer' had to engage in rural activities. By purchasing 'Bulls of

1 H.R.A., I, 4, p.128. Campbell paid what he considered the 'immense Tax' of £320 in duty (at 5%) on the cargo brought in addition to the cows, sugar and rice for government. This sum was exclusive of the additional duty of 6d. levied on every package. H.R.A., I, 4, p.131.
3 This land had belonged to William Cox and was disposed of by his trustees (the Treasurer being Robert Campbell), to satisfy creditors. S.G., 10 April, 15 May 1803.
4 S.G., 29 May 1803.
5 15 May 1803.
best English breeds' he greatly improved the progeny of the
unattractive Bengal cattle. ¹ Over the next half-dozen years he
increased his land by purchase to 1,611 acres, on which he ran 640
head of cattle, 266 sheep and 20 horses.² From this almost
accidental beginning it was a comparatively easy transition to the
5,000 acres of 'Duntroon' and the thousands of acres that Campbell
held by the 1840s.

In spite of his dejection at the outcome of the first contract
Campbell was inclined to persevere. As he told the Governor, if
Campbell & Co.'s future plans were 'attended with the same success
in reducing the present price of Animal Food³ as their Mercantile
Establishment has done that of Sugar and Tea with many other
necessaries of life, from Prices that are too indelicate to repeat,
they have cause and will cheerfully (sic) rejoice at the present
pecuniary disappointment'.⁴ King, though he admitted the need for
further reserves of livestock wanted a different breed⁵ to the small
Bengal cows and told Campbell that no more of these would be
required, for he intended to make do with any further cattle brought

¹ R. Campbell's memorial to Rt. Hon. Lord Goderich, 13 October 1831.
Despatches from Governors of N.S.W., - Enclosures to Despatches
1830-31, p.1051.
² Return of land and stock furnished to Governor Macquarie, 28
January 1810. B.P. Sutro. Coll.
³ In May 1803 this was retailed at 2s.9d. for beef and 1s.8d. lb.
for mutton, though subject to fluctuation, falling when the govern­
ment issued a ration of fresh meat. H.R.A., I, 4, pp.76-77.
⁴ Memorial of Robert Campbell to Governor King, 3 March 1803.
⁵ Lord Hobart did not share King's objections to the Bengal cattle
but left it to him to decide whether to bring further supplies from
India or the Cape of Good Hope and suggested that King explore the
possibilities of a contract for such for Port Phillip with John
by the Buffalo 'and any other public or accidental conveyance'.

The small scrawny Indian cattle, descended from the buffalo breed, never found favour in the colony, for besides being 'confined in their frames' they were deemed 'the worst milkers in existence'.

On 1 March 1804 King informed Lord Camden that he had purchased seven cows and two calves, which had arrived on the Hunter, on the same terms as the others (£28 for cows and £10 for calves), though in a second letter of the same date he notified Camden of the arrival of the cows previously contracted for with Mr Campbell, 'with whom I have closed that contract and entered into no other'.

Meanwhile, however, the government's expansionist plans aided the merchant. On 26 February 1803 Lord Hobart had replied to King's despatch informing him of the original contract with Campbell, intimating that any cattle brought by Campbell after the arrival of Hobart's present despatch were to be forwarded to Port Phillip, instead of being landed at Port Jackson. Hobart thought the contract to supply Port Jackson should then be closed as there should be a sufficient supply of cattle by then, but he suggested King enter into a new agreement with Campbell to supply the Derwent settlement. So it was not long before Campbell again had a government contract. In a letter to King dated 16 April 1804 he offered to supply Port Phillip with 200 head of cattle (at £22

---

1 H.R.A., I, 4, pp.75-77.
2 It is an indication of the minute attention given to expenditure that Hobart, while approving this purchase thought the price of the calves high, but conceded 'as their age is not mentioned, I am not able to form a judgement of their probable value'. H.R.A., I, 4, p.35.
3 H.R.A., I, 4, p.482.
4 Ibid., p.46.
per head for cows and £5 each for calves) which he expected to arrive on the Lady Barlow from Calcutta, and which offer was accepted by the Governor¹ who considered it very advantageous by comparison with the 1801 contract, and sufficient to supply Lieutenant-Governor Collins at the Derwent with the means of obtaining animal food.

After a conversation with King on the subject of providing another cargo of cows, Campbell wrote to King on 19 May 1804 with proposals for a contract. He offered to ship, from any port in India, as many cows as could be brought in one ship and one voyage. The age of the cows was not to exceed three years, and they were to be valued at £25 per head and calves at £5 per head. The master of the ship was to stop at Elephant Bay on Kings Island, where he would find suspended in a bottle a letter with directions about what port in Bass Strait or Van Diemen's Land the cows were to be landed, and to whom they were to be delivered. If there should be no message the ship would proceed to Sydney.² At the same time Campbell solicited permission to import 4,000 gallons of spirits for the civil and military officers and the settlers, and another 1,000 gallons for the use of the Government at 8s. per gallon, excluding duty. King in agreeing to all these proposals invoked the permission implied in the Secretary of State's despatch of 26 February 1803.³

¹ H.R.A., I, 4, pp.614 and 621.
³ Ibid. At the same time King signed a contract with Wilson, master of Campbell & Co.'s ship the Mersey to ship cattle, on exactly the same terms, from Bencoolen or Point de Galle at Ceylon where there were cattle of a larger breed. H.R.A., I, 4, p.640.
On 16 June 1804 the Lady Barlow arrived from Calcutta with a speculative cargo of cows which Campbell & Co. hoped might be needed for some of the new settlements. It had been a very long and bad passage, in the course of which three hurricanes had been met, and of two hundred and thirteen cows embarked only one hundred and thirty-seven survived, out of which King purchased one hundred and one.¹

King, explaining his purchase to Lord Hobart, implied that bringing the cattle was a secondary object with Campbell, who aware that no individual could take them off his hands had offered them to the government at £22 a head if landed at the Derwent previous to the ship reaching Sydney, or £21 a head if the Lady Barlow came to Sydney first. King justified his acceptance of this offer because the cattle were £6 or £7 a head cheaper² than the contract price in 1801.³ It may well be that cattle seemed the most dependable cargo to freight in the Lady Barlow, for Campbell had already told King that he required this large ship to load seal skins and seal oil which he had been acquiring in large amounts and urgently needed to get to a market.

As was the case with the other ships, the Lady Barlow carried an additional cargo of nankeens, calicoes, various piece goods, teas, sugar, ironmongery and casks.⁴ She also carried a fine Arab horse of considerable value which unfortunately died just after the

¹ The thirty-seven remaining cows were retained by Campbell and in August 1804 were valued at £777. H.R.A., I, 4*, p.106.
⁴ S.G., 17 June 1804.
ship entered the Heads. The cattle brought by the Campbell & Co. ships, as well as a few which arrived in the government ship Buffalo, caused considerable interest in the colony, touched on by the Sydney Gazette when it stated, 'With relation to that important object in an infant but rapid-rising Colony, its breed of Cattle, great expectations are undoubtedly sanctioned by the very valuable additions recently made by Government to its breeding stock'.

After unloading her cargo the Lady Barlow was chartered by the government to make a short voyage to the Derwent carrying livestock and stores from Port Jackson. Campbell originally offered to hire the ship to the government for £1,000 but, when this was rejected, settled for £800 on condition that a stated rate would be paid if the ship was detained longer than seven days at Port Dalrymple. Justifying his original offer of £1,000, Campbell claimed the cost of the Lady Barlow as £13,500 along with which he itemised interest at ten per cent, which seems to indicate that Campbell & Co. were operating on credit in this venture at least, if not in all the others. Campbell set out the monthly sailing charges of such a vessel at £584.7s.6d.

Campbell & Co.'s ship the Sydney duly arrived at Port Dalrymple on 19 March 1805, with the cargo suggested in Campbell's letter of 19 May 1804 to King, which amounted to some six hundred and twelve

---

1. S.G., 24 June 1804. An Arabian horse brought by the Mersey and purchased by the Governor was acknowledged by the Gazette as 'one of the finest figures hitherto imported,' and caused equal interest with two horses brought in the Buffalo admired as 'a union of symmetry and strength but rarely to be met with'. See S.G., 17 June 1804.
2. S.G., 17 June 1804.
cows and ten calves. None of these cattle were rejected, and Lieutenant-Governor Paterson described them as much better in appearance and in every respect stronger cattle than those he had seen landed at Port Jackson. Paterson, responsible for setting up the new settlement at Port Dalrymple, was extremely pleased at receiving this livestock because there was an abundance of grazing. In spite of the colder climate at Port Dalrymple he was hopeful that in three years the new colony would be sufficiently self-supporting to be able to lessen the supplies from England. However, in spite of careful precautions to temper the change of food and climate the keen air soon affected the cattle and they began to die. After their removal from the close and confined air of a long voyage they had been housed in sheds, but after having weathered the winter and the spring only two hundred and fifty remained. King was not pessimistic in November 1805 because the cattle that remained were in good health and over half of them were in calf.

The Sydney had not limited her cargo to cattle, and the additions were much appreciated in Port Dalrymple. Paterson bought

---

1 They were landed on the north side of the port, which was the only convenient place supplying both water and grazing. They were afterwards divided into two herds and shipped in small craft to other places. H.R.A., III, 1, p.635.
3 Ibid.
4 The Sydney Gazette commenting on the effect of the low temperatures on the cattle imported to Port Dalrymple in the Sydney observed that the change of climate and food 'will so much retard the increase of cattle in that settlement, which there was so much reason to hope was secured by so early and so expensive a supply'. S.G., 8 September 1805.
also thirty-four ewes, 'some very fine Rice' and a small quantity of Bengal beef. Campbell & Co. had also thoughtfully provided 57 used blankets and 36 buckets for the cattle. Governor King's restriction on the importation of spirits had been ignored again at the Calcutta end and had presented Paterson with a slight problem. He wrote to King that 'The Spirits on board, ... I have also had landed, although the quantity rather exceeds the number of gallons limited by your Excellency, being six hundred and eight.'

For the Sydney's cargo Campbell & Co. received £15,950.15s.2d. in Treasury bills - a not unhandsome sum which must have come a long way to meeting their expenses. By 1805 the tide of their business had turned considerably, and they were by then well established in Sydney in a number of concerns.

A statement of Crown Stock increases, between 28 September 1800 and 12 August 1806, shows that practically all the cattle imported into the colony during this period were brought by Campbell & Co. The statement also shows the prices paid and the amount received by that House.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 September 1801</td>
<td>by Hunter</td>
<td>7 cattle at £28</td>
<td>£196. 0. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 calves at £10.10.0</td>
<td>21. 0. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 March 1803</td>
<td>by Castle of Good Hope</td>
<td>250 cattle at £28</td>
<td>7000. 0. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 calves at £8.8.0</td>
<td>33.12. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 June 1804</td>
<td>by Lady Barlow</td>
<td>101 cattle at £21</td>
<td>2121. 0. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 April 1805</td>
<td>by Sydney landed at</td>
<td>612 cattle at £25</td>
<td>15300. 0. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Port Dalrymple</td>
<td>10 calves at £5</td>
<td>50. 0. 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Lieutenant-Governor Paterson to Governor King, 5 April 1805, H.R.A., III, 1, p.635.
With this may be compared a memorandum made by Governor King, being an account of cattle purchased by the government to 1 June 1806.

From Mr R. Campbell

257 cows at £28 £7196

6 calves at £10 60

25 cows at £55 875

4 bulls at £28 112

Mr Davison

2 cows at £40 80

2 do. at £35 70

Mr Balmain

5 others at 146

do.

Mr R. Campbell

101 cows at £21 2121

Arrived from Calcutta in Buffalo

77 cows at £15 1155

do.

Sydney

612 cows at £25 15300

10 calves at £5 50

27165

In spite of discrepancies and omissions it can be seen that Campbell & Co. had almost a monopoly in the supply of cattle during King's period of office, for which they were paid close to £25,000. On the other hand, mortality amongst the cattle, the high cost of buying or freighting ships to carry them and the expense of feeding livestock had to be considered. Campbell wrote much later that 'I entered into extensive contracts with Government for supplying the settlements with breeding cattle from Bengal: these contracts had been previously declined by other Firms in India and, indeed, I had afterwards myself cause to regret that I had ever attempted an undertaking of such a nature: as there were no return cargoes to be

obtained the freight demanded was extremely high. The freights on the water alone which was shipped for the use of the cattle amounted to about £13 a ton. The mortality too amongst them was very great. More than 100 head died on board one ship the Lady Barlow and 200 in another the Sydney, and I had unluckily omitted to stipulate that in the event of death provided they were not occasioned by neglect some allowance should be made me by the Government.¹

Nevertheless, though the contracts were attended by many adverse consequences for Campbell & Co. there were some mitigating results. At least they had some sort of import staple for a year or two, which seemed to offer a calculable profit and an immediate payment which provided the main part of the capital for financing the ships they ran to New South Wales with other mixed cargoes, the profits from which are impossible to calculate accurately. They were able, too, to place themselves in official favour as a result of undertaking to supply this fragile commodity on notably reasonable terms² and to congratulate themselves on having supplied the basis of herds in the antipodean settlements to 'upwards of 2000 cows'³ with the result that New South Wales after years of near-starvation, sustained on the monotony of salt meat, was able to rejoice in the possession of cheaper meat than any other Crown colony.⁴ Not only did this supply relieve the governor of the

¹ R. Campbell to Rt. Hon. Lord Goderich, 13 October 1831. Despatches from Governors of N.S.W. Enclosures to Despatches 1830-1831, p.1051.
² e.g. See preceding memorandum where Davidson and Balmain were paid almost double rates, though their cattle may have been a more valuable breed.
⁴ Ibid.
constant threat of famine but the natural increase permitted an alleviation of a rigid diet, means of payment by barter for other commodities inside the colony, assistance, and the equivalent of capital in the form of livestock for the small settlers, improvement of the soil, but most important of all, the first chance to show an impressive profit by increase. King, admittedly, by some complicated calculations, set the Crown profit from cattle (between September 1800 and September 1805) at about £49,000, exclusive of half the cattle landed at Port Dalrymple, deaths, or cattle alienated to individuals from the government herds.¹ In addition, the Tasmanian herds originated in Campbell's shipments of Bengal cattle in 1804 and another large one in 1809. By the end of King's governorship in 1806, Campbell & Co. had played a unique part in making New South Wales a self-supporting colony instead of merely a ship refitting station. In making this substantial contribution where others had failed, the Calcutta house had partly realised Governor Phillip's aim and by providing the basic means for self-support had taken the colony another step towards economic independence.

CHAPTER V

'THE DISTRACTED STATE' - THE SPIRIT TRADE

It has been asserted that Robert Campbell's trade in spirits amounted to rum running. Such an interpretation rests on a misunderstanding of the circumstances of the spirit trade in New South Wales and of Campbell's own mercantile behaviour. The genesis of this argument lies in several complaints against Campbell & Co. made by Governor King in despatches to India and on the figures of the large importations of spirits attempted by the India House. While these facts remain incontrovertible, taken in their context they provide a different emphasis than when viewed in isolation. Campbell & Co. had attempted to alleviate what they considered certain ruin, likely to arise from the high costs of shipping their first load of cattle to Port Jackson, by providing articles for ports the ship would touch at on her return voyage. Governor King, aware that the contract was not too profitable for the merchants, and wishing to encourage them, had provided that they might also ship 4,000 gallons of spirits (though he had just prohibited the sale of spirits for the next three months), to compensate for any cattle that might die during the voyage. From this innocuous beginning Campbell & Co. were to involve themselves so deeply with the authorities over the vexed question of importing spirits to New South Wales that their position of commercial privilege both in Australia and India was endangered.

\[H.R.A., I, 5, pp.53-4.\]

109
Rum, and the complications it gave rise to in New South Wales, will always be one of the most controversial topics in early Australian history. For the first governors it was an unquenchable flood which trickled into every corner of their administration. Phillip had foreseen what might happen even before he left the colony in 1792. Though his attitude towards spirits was fairly liberal, Phillip had enforced a strict control over the distribution of spirits.¹

The arrival of the Third Fleet (with a complement of the New South Wales Corps) provided a warning experience. The town began to fill with strangers (officers and seamen from the transports) and spirits began to find their way among the convicts.² The Governor immediately authorised the seizure of all spirits landed without the required permit issued only by the judge advocate. Nevertheless, the arrival of the New South Wales Corps coincided with a noticeable change in the availability of spirits.³

The craving for spirits encouraged profiteering. Rum was retailed 'at a scandalous profit', and 'so long as the means for dissipation were procurable some of the settlers houses became nothing but drinking shops'. Phillip, perceiving the significance of these events, began to doubt the wisdom even of the regular rum issue, for in a despatch to Dundas in October 1792 he wrote 'The

¹ Convicts were allowed spirits only at the Governor's discretion (usually on special occasions or in sickness), and when spirits were in short supply the marines had priority.
² See Collins, p. 175.
³ When the Royal Admiral and Philadelphia arrived in October 1792 spirits, chiefly rum, and wine were landed in large quantities. Though the Governor issued a licence for the sale of port wine, spirits were circulated freely with resultant intoxication and debauchery, and the Governor's liberality was hopelessly abused.
permitting of spirits amongst the civil and military may be necessary but it will certainly be a great evil.' ¹

Major Grose who temporarily succeeded Phillip did nothing to inculcate a sense of public responsibility in his restive officers, and the rum trade was fairly launched. The officers had their legal rum issue and the settlers wanted spirits, so bartering was resorted to as a solution.² Grose did impose some nominal restrictions. In July 1793 notice was given that 'any convict detected in exchanging liquor with the soldiers for any article served out to them by their officers would immediately be punished and the articles taken away.'³ But this restriction applied to the soldiers only, not their officers. A further, 'now become a most necessary restriction', followed; any persons attempting to sell liquor without a licence 'might rely on its being seized and the houses of the offending parties pulled down'.⁴ The passion for liquor being indulged, grew. Labour was effective only when paid for in spirits, which from their scarcity sold at six shillings a bottle. Whether the inhabitants purchased goods or services, rum was an accepted

¹ H.R.N.S.W., I, Pt.2, p.656. In the same year Dundas had suggested that when cultivation had advanced a little further beer might be brewed in the colony. But there was no brewery by the time Phillip left.
² Phillip, on his last visit to Parramatta and Toongabbie, had distributed some ewes and goats from the government stocks to the few convict settlers, in an attempt to encourage them to consolidate their holdings. Soon after his departure these animals were bartered for spirits to the officers of the New South Wales Corps. Grose's first despatch as Lieutenant-Governor complained that the settlers were still selling their stock and therefore he was 'absolutely obliged to encourage and promote the purchase of them by the officers.'
³ Collins, p.300.
⁴ Ibid.
payment, boats, even, were built and 'Five and six gallons of spirits was the price.'

When Governor Hunter arrived in 1795 he found all Phillip's regulations abolished and 'the whole concerns ... taken into the hands of the military'. Hunter's efforts towards stemming the flow of the corrupting rum traffic as a first step towards restoring stability in the settlement were equally ineffectual. Still the officers continued to retail watered spirits ('little better than the sailor's grog') at forty shillings a gallon. The Reverend Richard Johnson wrote that 'A convict can go and purchase a Bottle, a Pint of Rum from an officer and gentleman. Some, not quite so open, employ their wash women or others in this way - and in this way many are making their fortunes'.

Free of Johnson's concern with the morality of the problem, the Colonial Office was concerned with its effects both on the colonial economy and the civil and military discipline, and its instructions to the governors on this head became unequivocal. King, who succeeded Hunter, knew that official approval for his regime would be determined by the degree to which he could control the rum traffic and its attendant evils.

Though more conscious than his predecessors of the benefit the colony (and consequently his own administration) would reap from a regular commerce, King could not allow this to flourish with the aid of rum without undermining his own reputation in the eyes of the English authorities. The error that King made, consciously or unconsciously, was to associate the rum traffic with the importation

1 Ibid., p.330.
2 Johnson to Jonathan Stonard, Esq., 11 August 1794, Some Letters of Rev. Richard Johnson B.A., Part II.
of spirits while the real evil lay in the mode of their uncontrolled distribution within the colony. King was taking the simplest way out when he prevented the merchants from supplying the colony with spirits, thus enabling him to avoid conflict with the officers who would buy or smuggle them – but it was slipshod administration. If anything, such a ban merely heightened the abuses contingent upon the distribution of spirits already in the colony by increasing the demand. Governor Bligh was more aware where the real evil lay when he wrote to Lord Minto, 'The art in representing this colony as injured by the importation of spirits exceeds all belief; its ruin has been owing to the monopoly and barter of it by certain individuals who received large portions allowed by permit from the Government without which permit the imposter could not dispose of the smallest quantity and a disgraceful barter it has been'.

Campbell & Co., in Calcutta showed no capacity to grasp this somewhat unusual situation in New South Wales. To the trader the need for restriction was puzzling when spirits generally formed the basic part of any Pacific cargo. Spirits were the one commodity of universal demand and, therefore, an infallible item of barter for a further cargo, particularly in Manilla and even Canton, though they were welcomed at any tropical settlement where they were always in short supply. However, the spirits situation was by no means peculiar to New South Wales and traders were used to irregularities in the administration of colonies and vagaries in their economies. The West Indies a hundred years previously had experienced the same economic growing pains as New South Wales, induced by the inevitable

---

1 Bligh to Earl of Minto, 15 August 1808. See J.R.A.H.S., vol.23, Pt.I 1937, p.27.
shortage of coin, so that debts, rates and taxes were paid and even expressed in terms of colonial produce. Here, the measures were sugar and rum, where in New South Wales they were grain and rum. In the same islands even the salaries of white employees, including doctors, were paid in over-valued rum, which wage they were expected to realise by barter.¹

When Campbell & Co.'s first cattle ship, the Castle of Good Hope arrived in Sydney Cove, beside a small general cargo² she was found to be carrying no less than 14,000 gallons of spirits (10,000 gallons more than stipulated by King) freighted by John Campbell in Calcutta. Robert, presented with this fait accompli on the part of his brother was obviously concerned to save the commercial situation and also turn the wrath of the Governor before it descended on Campbell & Co.'s representative in New South Wales. He requested permission to land the original 4,000 gallons of rum contracted for with the cattle and suggested that the excess 10,000 gallons be bonded on the usual terms in Campbell & Co.'s own warehouse, though he offered to relinquish the key to the Governor to relieve the anxiety and responsibility the management of so valuable a concern is attended with.³ King, moved no doubt, by the flagrant challenge to his authority that this shipment represented, insisted that even the authorised 4,000 gallons should

¹ As late as 1820 in the West Indies two plantation doctors struck against receiving their pay (about £35-40 p.a.) wholly in rum, valued at 3s.6d. a gallon, though realising only 1s.6d. But they settled for payment half in rum and half in cash. See Pares: West Indian Fortune, pp.135, 354.
² S.G., 5 March 1803. Campbell was still collecting payments for this cargo a year later. S.G., 29 January 1804.
³ H.R.A., I, 4, p.128.
go into the Public Bonded Store. As a concession, however, he was prepared to give directions that spirits for the use of the Colonial Vessels, Constables, Watchmen and King’s Ships might be purchased from Campbell before the departure of his ship – provided none cheaper arrived in the meantime. What remained was to sail with the Castle of Good Hope. The master of the Castle was given permission to dispose of his private investment of spirits – 150 gallons of brandy and 800 gallons of rum.

This was only the beginning of a long wrangle over the spirits during which Campbell attempted to wheedle further concessions out of the Governor, while King, torn between a desire to offend none and concede nothing, was forced to manoeuvre and temporise. Campbell had other reasons than mercantile ones for wishing to secure the additional spirits. Since February 1802 he had found himself in great need of spirits. Because of this lack he had had to advance cash to tradesmen and even purchase spirits from retailers at twenty shillings a gallon almost solely for the requirements of his domestic servants. He also had to find spirits to pay seamen he employed seal fishing, finding himself in further difficulties when the proprietor of the spirits had not only demanded a guinea a gallon, but required to be paid in almost unobtainable dollars. As a result of this spirituous poverty the buildings and improvements on Campbell & Co.’s land in the Cove had not been completed, and Campbell found himself unable to fulfil his original agreement with the contractors to pay a proportion in spirits. What particularly concerned Campbell was that opportunities for engaging

---

2 S.G., 19 March, 1803.
in other 'undertakings' might have to be passed by for lack of spirits to pay labourers, 'for no concern can sustain the present daily wages of 7s.6d. to the Mechanics and 4s. to the common workman'. The merchant reminded King that the original 4,000 gallons of rum (now landed and bonded) had been granted 'as an additional encouragement for the hazardous enterprise of importing cattle into this Colony' for, as Campbell carefully pointed out, he could not be accused of ever having himself retailed a gallon of spirits for money.

Pressed by the imminent departure of the Castle of Good Hope, Campbell returned to King's earlier proposal to allow him to supply the King's Ships, provided no cheaper spirits arrived beforehand. He offered his remaining spirits at seven shillings a gallon to both government and the officers if King would authorise an immediate sale, though he explained significantly that no other merchant could supply spirits at this price unless he held a three or four year contract. Any residue he requested to be allowed to land for his own private use (subject to bonding, or other restrictions the Governor might wish to impose). In pursuit of this permission he impressed on the Governor that if his ship had to go East in search of a further market for the excess spirits, this not only deprived the captain of a passage through the Bass Straits but

---

2 The 4,000 gallons were sold to the government for nine shillings a gallon (including duty) and distributed: 1,000 gallons to the civil officers (including superintendents and storekeepers), 1,000 gallons to the naval and military officers, 1,000 gallons to licensed people and the remaining 1,000 gallons to such persons to whom the Governor thought it proper to grant permits. See S.G., 5 March 1803.
3 This hint, if such it was, was ignored.
would involve his House in 'greater distress', because no price
could be expected from any eastward port to compensate for the
extended hire of the ship at a monthly freight of £1,000 sterling. 

King refused Campbell's request for the licensing of any
further spirits, but to soften the blow he permitted Campbell 300
gallons for his own domestic purposes, and gave permission for
spirits to be purchased for the King's Ships and Colonial Vessels. 
Undaunted, Campbell made two further requests to secure the landing
of the remainder of the Castle's cargo. These were both curtly
refused, notwithstanding Campbell's proposal that the spirits be
deposited in the Government Store while he enter into a bond to
export them or forfeit his bond if they should not be required for
the colony within twelve months. Campbell risked one more rather
forlorn hope. He wrote to King on 17 March, ostensibly to give
details of the disposal of rum, but particularly to point out that
the Castle of Good Hope would sail on the following Saturday.
However, if he had hoped that the Governor would relent at the
eleventh hour he was disappointed, and the Castle sailed with the
remainder of the rum still on board. Of the 14,000 gallon cargo
Campbell had been able to land 4,000 gallons plus 300 gallons for
his own domestic use. Another 880 gallons were purchased by the
Commissary for the King's Ships and colony for £308, and Campbell
also received £577.13s.6d. for spirits supplied to H.M. Porpoise. 

2 Ibid., p. 133.
5 King Papers, vol. 3, N.S.W. Commissariat Department. A bill of
March 1803 for £768.10s.1d. for 'provisions' for H.M. Buffalo may
have included spirits. Ibid.
More than half the spirits still remained on the *Castle of Good Hope*. King thought he had made his point. When the ship finally arrived back at Calcutta in November 1803, it carried a valuable cargo of teak timber procured at Pegu on the way from New South Wales. The rejected spirits were all disposed of at Malacca, Penang and Pegu. So perhaps the speculation was not quite as financially disastrous for Campbell & Co. as it had threatened.

King, puzzled to know how the 14,000 gallons of spirits had been shipped without the knowledge of the normally efficient East India Company officers, decided to curtail the activities of Campbell & Co. at their source by addressing a letter to Wellesley, the Governor-General of Bengal. He pointed out that he had hoped for relief after Wellesley's proclamation banning the export of spirits to New South Wales, and elaborated on the difficulty of preventing the smuggling in New South Wales of spirits officially rejected.

For this reason he requested the interference of the Governor-General of Bengal to prevent such quantities of spirits being again exported to Port Jackson. Having delivered this gentle rebuke King penned a despatch to Lord Hobart on the subject, enclosing a copy of his letter to the Governor-General of Bengal. Hobart approved King's

---

1 When she arrived at Norfolk Island on 4 April 1803 to put ashore three convicts who had escaped in her, the master apparently attempted to dispose of further spirits, which were refused by the Lieutenant-Governor because McAskill carried no letters of instruction from Botany Bay. *S.G.*, 24 April 1803.

2 *S.G.*, 15 April 1804.

3 *H.R.A.*, I, 5, p.54.

4 31 March 1803.

5 This proclamation was stimulated by the Duke of Portland's instructions to the Bengal Government in 1799.
measures to control spirits, particularly by keeping American ships away. King, in reply to the despatch conveying this approbation, commented on his hope that 'my sending away lately a quantity of spirits belonging to Mr Campbell that was shipped at Calcutta will prevent much of the importation from that quarter as the ships from England now bring little or none'. Now that supplies from England and America had been blocked, King's main fear was that Campbell's cargo would prove an inducement to Indian speculators, though he had refused Campbell permission to ever land more than 2,000 gallons of spirits from any one ship, in future. The Governor hoped that a brewery, finally being constructed, would help reduce the colonial demand for imported spirits.

Meanwhile King's letter to Wellesley had precipitated an enquiry in Bengal. The Board of Trade at Fort William established that the register of goods laden at the end of 1802 on the Castle of Good Hope did not include any spirits. The Collector of Customs then required an explanation from Campbell & Co. in Calcutta of the Castle of Good Hope's illicit cargo. The explanation was involved and evasive. It appeared that on the authority of the Governor of New South Wales they had obtained permission from the Governor-General in Council of Bengal to ship 4,000 gallons of spirits on the brig Fly, which left Calcutta in May 1802. When the Fly disappeared Campbell & Co. obtained permission to send the spirits on the Mersey which was to be sent to New South Wales with cattle and 'other

---

1 H.R.A., I, 4, p.486.
2 Ibid., p.75.
3 Ibid., p.486.
articles of use'. 1 The Mersey was to sail in December 1803, but before her departure the arrival of King's complaint about the Castle of Good Hope caused the authorities to insist on the re­
landing of the spirits on the Mersey. 2 But previous to the departure of the Castle of Good Hope from Calcutta in November 1802, Campbell & Co. had been refused permission to two requests 3 to ship 15,000 and 10,000 gallons of spirits respectively, to New South Wales, on the grounds that no export of spirits could be allowed.

The case against the Indian House was by no means dispelled by their response to these refusals. The Board's enquiry elicited that the excess spirits carried by the Castle of Good Hope had been exported through the Calcutta Customs House in a regular manner, for the ships Curtier, Anstruther and Aurora, with their duties duly paid. After this, Campbell & Co. had purchased these spirits and transferred them to the Castle of Good Hope in the Port of Calcutta without bothering the Collector of Customs for permission to trans­
ship cargo. 4

Campbell & Co.'s explanation of these events in their letter to the Board of Trade, dated 11 January 1804, was not enhanced by their assertion that no fraud was intended, nor by their undertaking to prove that not one gallon had been landed in New South Wales without the sanction of the Governor. Their provision of details in pursuit of this theme put a further burden on their story and eventually affected the credit of their Port Jackson agent. They

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., p.50.
3 September and October 1802.
4 Ibid., p.54.
asserted that when their ship had been at New South Wales their spirits had been much wanted, and that instead of 4,000 the Governor had taken upwards of 10,000 gallons on his own terms. They were informed that the need was so great that at one time double the price had been paid for New England rum shipped by Americans. ¹ However, they acknowledged themselves guilty of defiance of the regulations and piously offered 'no falsehood in Defence', depending wholly on the 'mercy of the Governor-General and the circumstances of the case to extenuate their offence'. ²

Having outlined their enquiry in a letter to Wellesley dated 6 March 1804 the Board pointed out that under the regulations Campbell & Co. were subject to a double duty penalty and a double commission on goods trans-shipped without permission. But, as there was no export duty on rum there could be no penalty in this case.³ Campbell & Co. were told, however, that their explanation was no justification of their conduct which was 'highly disapproved' by the Governor-General in Council. In a community where merchants were to an extreme degree dependent on governmental approbation for the advancement of their concerns, Campbell & Co. had badly damaged their credit in Calcutta. Neither was their position in New South Wales enhanced by the attitude they had adopted in their explanatory letter.

³ H.R.A., I, 5, pp.51-53. As a direct result of having uncovered this loophole the Bengal Government decided that a regulation should be passed prohibiting trans-shipping, without permission, of articles not liable to duty, after they had been entered for export at the Custom House. H.R.A., I, 5, p.51.
The results of the Indian enquiry and the main correspondence relative to it were transmitted to King by the Governor-General in Council of Bengal. King, sensitive to possible repercussions, immediately took exception to the statement of Campbell & Co. that 10,000 gallons of spirits had been accepted from the Castle of Good Hope. In an indignant letter Campbell was reminded that it was only after 'repeated solicitation' that King received into the Public Stores an additional 2,727 gallons besides the 4,095 previously contracted for, which amounted to 6,822 gallons in all - exclusive of 375 gallons allowed for Campbell & Co.'s own use. Furthermore, the letter reproached, 'It would have been correct in your partners to have stated the quantity that was supplied the Shipping'. King was further enraged by Campbell & Co.'s inference that the spirits had been disposed on his terms. He recapitulated that when the ship arrived he had been unable to find the original contract letter with Campbell's proposals to supply the spirits at seven shillings a gallon, and had accepted Campbell's assurance that the price had been eight shillings a gallon. Another matter that rankled was the (unfounded) charge that he had given double the price for American spirits. Robert Campbell was called upon by the Governor to explain on what authority his partners had made such 'erroneous assertions'.

Campbell's position was by no means enviable. The efforts he had used to dispose of the original cargo of spirits, sent with

little consideration by his Calcutta partners, had placed him under obligation to the Governor. The Calcutta House, in their anxiety to exonerate themselves had contrived to unnecessarily involve their New South Wales partner in their position by their irresponsible explanations. King felt that his consideration had been abused and Robert Campbell had neither been favoured with the co-operation nor the consideration of his Bengal partners. He was now called upon to retrieve a most difficult position. In attempting to do so he displayed not only 'a cool, mercantile prudence', but a commendable honesty and uprightness that contrasted happily with the attitude displayed by his partners.

Campbell did not attempt to shield the India House. He informed King¹ that he had never supplied Calcutta with records of sales of rum from the Castle of Good Hope or any information, other than the correspondence he had had previously with the Governor, authorizing the disposal of a certain quantity. It was, he wrote, not his practice to render an account until the whole cargo was disposed of. The Governor was offered a copy of the sales of the Castle's cargo, with all names and quantities, which Campbell was then making out. Nor had Campbell any idea on what authority his partners quoted the prices paid to the American ships for their spirits. In regard to the extra shilling charged for the spirits he explained that he himself had no copy of the contract letter of 5 March 1801 and in reply to the enquiry about the price had answered from memory. He offered to refund the overcharge to those who have paid their account, should the Governor think proper.²

¹ 19 June 1804.
King was slightly mollified by Campbell's explanation. While not admitting any appreciation of Campbell's position, he accepted that the blame lay with the business in Calcutta. As Campbell furnished no returns to Calcutta, however, he was of the opinion that 'yr House is very reprehensible in pledging their word for the authenticity of a Statement made by them to the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council of Bengal'. King also advised Campbell to return the overcharge on the spirits.¹

While the Bengal enquiry was proceeding the Mersey had left Calcutta, arriving at Port Jackson in April 1804 with a mixed cargo consigned to Campbell.² Though the spirits Campbell & Co. had originally been permitted to lade in Calcutta had had to be relanded,³ she had been allowed to bring some port and madeira wine which Campbell sold in Sydney at the Calcutta price (750 Sicca Rupees per pipe) with ten per cent for insurance only added.⁴ The Mersey returned to Bengal with a cargo of timber⁵ taking the pioneer's passage through the Torres Straits in Flinder's route, because, if successful 'the intercourse between these settlements and India will be much facilitated, both in time and consequent expence', as the Sydney Gazette wrote on her departure.⁶ The Mersey, however, was lost in the Torres Straits.⁷

¹ Ibid.
² S.G., 15 April 1804.
⁴ For the wines, Campbell, instead of extending the usual six months' credit, would accept only specie or government bills. S.G., 22 April 1804.
⁵ 66 spars and 74 logs of she-oak.
⁶ S.G., 27 May 1804.
Campbell's next contract to import cattle to New South Wales (May 1804), however, allowed him to bring another 4,000 gallons of spirits for the civil and military officers and the settlers, as well as an additional 1,000 gallons for the use of the government of Van Diemen's Land (this time at eight shillings a gallon, exclusive of duty and port charges). King added a cautionary rider that 'if a greater quantity is shipp'd than the said Five Thousand Gallons authorised by this Agreement it is & shall be considered as forfeited',¹ for he was determined that the restrictions on the importation of spirits must continue.² The thin end of the wedge was employed by John Campbell in carrying out this contract. In spite of King's proviso, when the cattle arrived at Port Jackson in the Sydney they were accompanied by 8,000 gallons of spirits, which Campbell & Co. had somehow contrived to ship from Calcutta. King, however, allowed it all to be landed and bonded, though he regretted this leniency later.³

The situation, which was unfavourable enough for Campbell & Co. after King received reports of the Bengal investigation, was hopelessly aggravated by an incident which showed John Campbell to be completely impenitent. The Fair American (300 tons), under American colours but manned by Englishmen, arrived in Port Jackson on 26 May 1804 from Manilla.⁴ She carried 7,203 gallons of spirits

² King to Lord Hobart, 14 August 1804. H.R.A., I, 5, p.15.
⁴ S.G., 27 May 1804.
consigned to Robert Campbell. The *Fair American* had been cleared for China, though her commander and supercargo had been instructed to proceed to the Phillipine Islands and collect cattle for New South Wales. Thirty-seven cattle had been embarked but only two survived. King was incensed by this fresh manifestation of Campbell & Co.'s defiance of his regulations. He was convinced that the cattle were merely a pretext for introducing the spirits into the colony, and that using the sanction of the American flag was intended to defeat the Bengal proclamation. He immediately ordered the master to leave the port after having landed the dry goods which were also consigned to Campbell. However, he was defeated by the captain (Patrickson) reporting that his ship was too rotten to proceed to sea, which, after a survey had been carried out, proved to be true. Campbell had the spirits on the *Fair American* transferred to the hulk of the *Supply* while the former ship was undergoing repairs. Professing himself concerned only for the captain's losses (the loss of thirty-five head of cattle, leakage of spirits, and expense of repairing his ship), Campbell requested that King would permit the sale of the spirits, and that some rum might be reserved for the outfit and repair of the ship.

Knowing that it would be well-nigh impossible to prevent the spirits being smuggled, King had to relax his restrictions and

---

1 H.R.A., I, 5, p.16.
2 Robert Campbell to King, 28 June 1804. H.R.A., I, 5, p.59; S.G., 3 June 1804.
3 King to Hobart, 14 August 1804. H.R.A., I, 5, p.16.
4 They were offered at eight shillings a gallon for rum, ten shillings a cask for gin, or £6 a case, exclusive of duty.
attempt to head off the danger by allowing some 3,120 gallons of rum and gin to be distributed in the usual manner, subject to his proclamation forbidding more than a 50% retail profit. But he informed Campbell that nothing but the bad state of the ship would have persuaded him to allow a ship carrying improperly introduced spirits to remain in port. About 1,000 gallons of rum were needed to cover the cost of repairs. Allowing for the usual leakage of about 5%, 1,175 gallons of rum and 1,945 gallons of gin remained. Campbell urged King to reconsider the price of the spirits because it was impossible to make a profit of 50% on the prices set by King, as these were calculated on the invoice price which excluded freight, insurance and other charges.

King, therefore, had the matter of the Fair American in his mind when he wrote his next despatch to Lord Hobart, invoking emphatic support for his proclamations in regard to spirits. The papers received from Bengal were forwarded so that Lord Hobart could see for himself the 'interest the Governor-General took in tracing

---

1 The Sydney Gazette advertised the distribution of the Fair American's spirits 'in consequence of the peculiar circumstances which have been represented to the Governor' as 1,175 gallons of Bengal rum (at 8s. a gallon) and 1,945 gallons of gin (at 10s. a gallon) along with 2,000 gallons of spirits landed from the Experiment. From these amounts the civil and military officers were to draw 40 gallons each and the Commanding Officer of the New South Wales Corps was apportioned 400 gallons to be distributed to the non-commissioned officers 'as he thinks fit'; the superintendents had 10 gallons each, licensed people only 40 gallons and the residue of 1,500 gallons was reserved for those who would receive permits on application to the Governor. S.G., 27 May 1804.


4 14 August 1804.
illicit conduct in direct contradiction to His Excellency's proclamation and in defiance of King's colonial regulations. King did not spare Campbell & Co., though he did make some distinction in Robert Campbell's case, drawing Lord Hobart's attention to the fact that 'In extenuation of his dereliction the partners in Mr Campbell's house in Bengal pleaded untruths, which are confirmed as such by their partner Mr Robert Campbell here'. He went on to emphasise that this deplorable conduct of Campbell & Co., in the face of the encouragement they received 'but ill accords with the duty a merchant enjoying the protection of a government owes to the local regulations for ensuring the prosperity of the society he lives in and by whom he lives'.

It was nearly six months later that the Eagle arrived from Ceylon with a cargo consigned to Robert Campbell. She carried over 16,000 gallons of spirits loaded at Colombo in order to evade Wellesley's proclamation prohibiting the sending of spirits to New South Wales from any of the East India Company's presidencies and settlements. She arrived, however, some time after Robert had left New South Wales in the Lady Barlow for England.

By colonial regulations only ships under 100 tons were allowed to trade in New South Wales. At the end of 1804 Robert Campbell had bought the Dutch prize ship Swift, (250 tons) which he renamed

2 5 April 1805.
3 Ceylon had been acquired by the British (from the Dutch) in 1795 and was a crown possession, whereas the Company had entire rights of administration in India.
Sophia. Although her tonnage exceeded that allowed by the regulations King gave Campbell leave to retain the ship in the colony for six months after her purchase (to be employed in the fishery) until she could be sent to a port where she could be sold. But previous to January 1805 the Myrtle from Calcutta had arrived with more spirits unauthorized either by King or the Bengal authorities. The master of the Sophia purchased about 1,500 gallons of spirits from Myrtle before it left. King was aghast at this gross violation of his indulgence and the King's Mark was put on the Sophia and her illicit cargo while he decided what to do. He was extremely pained by these fresh attempts by Campbell & Co. to force spirits on the colony and blamed his earlier tolerance. The spirits on the Eagle and Sophia he decided should be returned to Campbell & Co. in Calcutta, 'as the only means of preventing the unwarrantable and illicit conduct of that House'. The Sophia was to take in all some 17,500 gallons. King was further scandalised that before the ships

1 H.R.A., I, 5, p.429. The Swift had arrived at Port Jackson on 17 November 1804, in company with her captor the British whaling ship Policy. The Policy had taken the Swift on its way from Batavia to Amboyna carrying a cargo chiefly of beef, clothing, Cape wine and arrack, for the Dutch garrison at Amboyna, for which she had been chartered by the Dutch East India Co. Her captain and twelve men were allowed to leave at the Moluccas, but the mate and another twelve remained as prisoners of war. S.G., 18 November 1804.

2 Campbell chartered her to the government, and she sailed in January 1805 for Hobart with 30 female prisoners and provisions, much of which had to be jettisoned in the course of a gale. S.G., 13 January, 30 October 1805. She returned to Sydney on the 21 April, having returned via King's Island where she took on a cargo of seal oil. S.G., 13 January, 21 April 1805.


4 King to Camden, 30 April 1805; H.R.A., I, 5, p.429.

5 Ibid., pp.429-430.
left 'some Persons more interested for Messrs Campbell & their own Avarice than for the Public & Individual Prosperity of the Inhabitants, unknown to me or as it is said to any Magistrate took every improper & illegal measure to invite the settlers to request those Spirits being landed.' This circumstance he used as an illustration of the difficulties he was struggling against in the colony when he wrote again to Wellesley on 31 May 1805. He recited the misdemeanours of Campbell & Co., the advent of the Myrtle which had managed to evade the Bengal authorities and the fact that more than 23,000 gallons of illicit spirits had been brought to the colony. He observed that the steps taken over the Castle of Good Hope seemed only to have excited other means of evasion. Again he urged the Bengal government to enforce strictly the ban on the export of spirits. By the Eagle he sent an explanatory letter to Cooke, the Under-Secretary to the Bengal government recapitulating the circumstances of the return of the cargo. Another letter was sent to the Governor of Ceylon, concerning the Eagle, and entreatyng the prohibition of spirituous liquors from Colombo to New South Wales by authority of the Governor, which King assured the Governor, would be 'highly gratifying to His Majesty's Ministers'.

2 Ibid.  
3 12 June 1805.  
5 31 May 1805.  
The situation had not been improved by the receipt of a letter from Lieutenant-Governor Paterson at Port Dalrymple concerning the arrival of the Sydney from Calcutta with cattle and the 5,000 gallons of spirits authorized in the contract. Paterson wrote 'The Spirits on board ... I have also had landed, although the quantity rather exceeds the number of gallons limited by Your Excellency, being six hundred & eight'.

The Governor, while fully aware of the advantages in having a regular merchant like Campbell in the colony was beginning to despair at the 'unjustifiable perseverance of his House at Calcutta in forcing quantities of spirits on this Colony'. Robert Campbell himself had left for England in the Lady Barlow early in 1805, hoping to extend his commercial interests by there disposing of valuable seal skins and whale oil collected in the colony. Therefore, he was not at hand for King to remonstrate further with, although King probably appreciated by now that the main source of the trouble was at Calcutta. Perhaps feeling that from the previous incidents he could not fully rely on the prohibitive measures of the Bengal authorities he turned to Lord Camden and suggested that some more efficient steps be taken with Robert Campbell personally, before he left England 'to prevent a conduct that, however much it may add to his and his partner's Interest, will infallibly be the Destruction of this Colony.' For the second half of the same year King's efforts were much more successful. The House of Campbell & Co.

---

1 5 April 1805.
2 H.R.A., III, 1, p.635.
4 King to Lord Camden, 30 April 1805, H.R.A., I, 5, p.430.
between June and December disposed of only 582 gallons of rum for £232.16s.¹

In spite of the India House's most imprudent promotion of the spirit trade with New South Wales, they were not the only entrepreneurs in this field. American ships were equally persistent though usually carrying smaller cargoes limited by the size of the ship. Many of these were sent away by King, who did succeed in visibly reducing the import of spirits to the colony. During 1801 nearly 60,000 gallons of spirits were imported in ships of which almost 40,000 gallons were landed, but for the following three years a dozen ships visited the colony carrying 37,000 gallons of which only 23,000 gallons were landed officially.² Five of these ships came from India but only one (the Castle of Good Hope) belonged to Campbell & Co. The Castle of Good Hope landed 8,000 gallons and carried 6,000 gallons away.³ Though this was a high proportion of the total for the three years it must be remembered that the Castle was a large ship (1,000 tons) and the largest one to enter Sydney Cove. The Fair American landed another 3,000 gallons in 1804 at the same time as 2,000 gallons were accepted from the Experiment. During 1805 over 30,000 gallons of spirits were landed in the colony.⁴ It was during this year that Campbell & Co.'s most blatant efforts to force spirits on New South Wales occurred with the Myrtle and Eagle, both of which arrived after Robert Campbell's departure.

² Smuggling was a last resort but a frequent one.
³ See Appendix.
As a result of King's representations Campbell & Co. were apparently ordered to leave India. Governor Bligh in consequence of finding Robert Campbell in 1806 'the only private pillar which supported the honest people of the Colony', and considering him 'just and humane and a gentleman like merchant' interceded on behalf of the Calcutta house. Bligh also observed that 'from circumstances during Governor King's time respecting spirits being sent here by Mr Campbell's House in India, there had been some incorrectness and they were prevented from landing it while other vessels received the indulgence'. Owing to Bligh's somewhat ambiguous phrasing, it is not completely clear whether he referred to 'incorrectness' on the part of the merchants or the administration, but there are certainly slender grounds for considering whether Campbell & Co. were penalised unfairly in this respect. Their predominance in this trade has to be considered alongside their general activities. As they were the largest single importers of any commodities it is not surprising that they stood out in relation to spirits, especially as they employed considerably larger ships than most other speculative merchants. The volume of their spirits trade has to be contrasted with other arrivals, which indicate that they were not alone in loading spirits for Port Jackson. Furthermore, they were by no means the only merchants bringing spirits from India in large quantities though King seems

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 See Appendix C.
to have singled out Campbell & Co. alone for mention in despatches. As his object was the restraint of all spirits being shipped from India he may well have felt that Campbell & Co. provided a perfect example of his argument, especially in their successful evasion of the Bengal restrictions. But the effect on the Indian business of King's attitude and policy was to have far-reaching consequences.

It is difficult to determine why the Calcutta house showed such anxiety for quick profit at the cost of losing their standing in the eyes of the Calcutta and Sydney authorities, built up by fair trading and some painful losses. Perhaps the latter had left them too short of capital. Their position in New South Wales may have been established, but their profits, with the exception of those from the cattle contracts (which were barely adequate for the outlay involved) were not. Trade was spasmodic and coin elusive. Until 1804 no profitable return trade had been established and though Robert Campbell was an extensive creditor, few debts had been realised. It is perhaps significant that the rather frenzied concentration on spirits is noticeable only in 1804-5, and not continuously from 1800. This rather suggests that desperation for capital was forcing John Campbell into taking risks on the cargoes of spirits in the hope of quick returns. Not only did this policy result in official disapproval but the loss resulting from the expenses of ships and spirits returned to India must have added to the burdens on the Calcutta business.

In Calcutta, considerable emphasis and capital had been sunk in the Australian trade. After Robert's first departure in the Hunter for Sydney the Calcutta concern continued to flourish and expand and was apparently doing quite well up to 1801. A spate of advertisements followed the dissolution of the Clarke partnership,
settling down to four or six advertisements in every issue of the Calcutta Gazette, often on the front page. A number of coastal vessels frequently carried freight for them, almost solely spirits and wines.

Before 1800 they were not listed as owning any ships, but by 1801 they were the managing owners of the Clyde (120 tons),¹ and owners of the Hunter (300 tons)² as well as the Trimmer (120 tons).³ By 1805 they still had the Hunter, had added the Calcutta built Eagle (120 tons) and two very large ships, the Lady Barlow (500 tons, Rangoon built) and the Sydney (750 tons - Java built). This compares interestingly with the nine ships owned by Palmers, the predominant India House in Bengal.

In September 1804 'The Good Brig Clyde' was offered for sale by public auction, still apparently in seaworthy condition and Campbell & Co. replaced her with another ship of the same name, but of 375 tons burthen, which was launched at Howrah on 19 December.⁴ Under the command of Captain Anthony Burnside she freighted for Penang and the west coast of Sumatra when not running to Colombo or Bombay. The Clyde in 1800 was carrying freight 'to the different Settlements on the West Coast of Sumatra, as far to the Southward as Port Marlbro', while the Hunter plied between Madras, Calcutta and Port Jackson, with deviations to New Zealand, to Penang, Amboyna, Malacca.

¹ Commander A. Burnside, English built.
² Commander William Anderson, Java built. Anderson was admitted to partnership in the firm in 1805.
³ Commander Alexander Foggo, Pegu built. She was offered for sale in 1807: see C.G., 5 October 1807.
⁴ C.G., 27 December 1804.
⁵ C.G., 19 December 1805.
and Manilla on occasion, with contract freights.\(^1\) The Trimmer made runs up the Indian coast to Bussorah, Bushire and Muscat\(^2\) and at least one run to Port Jackson and Amboyna in 1801.\(^3\) There is an indication that Campbell & Co. were prepared to corner the market in New South Wales for her captain reported that when he sailed from Botany Bay, 'the settlement was in the most flourishing state - plenty of all kinds of provisions, of the best quality, and cattle of every species numerous' - a description which it is impossible to reconcile with the official accounts of an impoverished colony.\(^4\)

The wine trade of every description was still pursued, brandy, beer, ale, port, claret, rum, champagne and gin being imported and despatched monthly by boat to the Upper Stations.\(^5\) However, at the end of 1804 Campbell & Co. (at their godowns) auctioned off various lots of Madeira wine. It was sold at fixed prices to the highest bidder. It may well be that this was a bid to realise as much as possible before they resigned their wine business to Allan Maclean & Hugh Wilson at the beginning of the next year.\(^6\) The advertisement to this effect appeared in the Gazette for 10 January 1805, but the notice was dated 31 December 1804. In their acknowledgment in the same issue Maclean & Wilson solicited 'a continuance of that patronage and support, so liberally afforded' to Campbell & Co. and to Maclean separately, 'which it shall be their constant study to

\(^1\) C.G., 6 November 1800, 20 November 1800, 24 March 1803.
\(^2\) C.G., 3 June 1802.
\(^3\) C.G., 15 October 1801. She arrived in Port Jackson with merchandise 18 December 1800 and departed in ballast for Calcutta on 10 or 28 March 1801. H.R.A., I, 3, pp.127, 129.
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^5\) C.G., 21 April 1803.
\(^6\) C.G., 4 October 1804.
merit'. Having purchased Campbell & Co.'s stock Maclean & Wilson felt they now had 'the choicest and most extensive stock of Old Madeira Wines in India', so that all the indications are that Campbell & Co.'s interest in the wine business was extensive. Therefore, it is difficult to see why the trade was resigned. Was it perhaps to supply capital for the New South Wales interest, or at the suggestion of the Governor-General in Council?

On the first day of 1805 Charles Hook and Captain William Anderson were admitted partners to the firm which had been converted to a House of Agency now known as Campbells, Hook & Co.¹ Anderson must have been lost at sea some time during 1806 for notice was given in January 1807 that John Campbell was one of the Executors of his last Will and Testament.² The ships the firm owned in 1806 were the Eagle, the Hunter, the Lady Barlow and the Sydney. All these were employed taking cargoes to Port Jackson. In the same year the Sydney was lost at sea. In 1807 the brig Duchess of York³ (180 tons - Calcutta built) and the Vulcan (391 tons - Java built)⁴ were added, only the former plying to New South Wales,⁵ for the Vulcan was lost in 1806 on her way to China.⁶

¹ C.G., 10 January 1805.
² C.G., 29 January 1807.
³ She may have been the 'schooner of 200 tons carrying 16 guns, 20 pounders, intended as a tender to Her Majesty's ship "Romney" ... named the "Duchess of York"," which was launched from the marine yard of Messrs Hudson, Bacon & Co. of Calcutta on 7 January 1802. See C.G. Extraordinary 7 January 1802.
⁴ Captain Christopher Perkins.
⁵ Calcutta Annual Directories.
⁶ Calcutta Annual Directory and Kalendar 1808-9. At the end of October the Vulcan was dismasted in a violent typhoon. Seven Lascars were killed and the captain and second officer severely wounded by falling masts. She lingered off a reef on the coast
The years between 1800 and 1805 were Campbell & Co.'s heyday. With the extension of their partnership in 1805 came little extension of business, which by then was firmly concerned with New South Wales or Pacific trade; the very trade which the East India Company was theoretically concerned to limit. From 1800, trade from India operated under peculiar difficulties as the military situation in Europe reflected itself in naval skirmishes on the main trade routes. Between 1793 and 1801, seven Indiamen were captured. Campbell, Hook & Co. had their new ship Eagle taken in 1809.

Whether for these external reasons, which affected all Indian trade, or whether for purely internal reasons, there was an obvious decline in the activities of the Calcutta House from 1806. This, however, is the year from which Robert Campbell's interests in New South Wales begin to expand independently of the Calcutta branch. The new focus on New South Wales as the centre of Campbell's business interests may merely be a reflection of the discovery of new export commodities, an improved internal economy and a more complex and independent society natural to the growth of the developing colony. But perhaps it was also a natural inclination of Luconia in danger of foundering, for four days but the crew was taken off by the Trafalgar and landed at Macao on 7 November — C.G., 1 January 1807, 15 January 1807.

The outbreak of war with France was brought home by the presence of French privateers and ships of war in the Bay of Bengal. With incredible optimism the British Government despatched one ship to protect the trade of Calcutta. It arrived in the River Hoogly at end of December 1799. To combat attack from marauders the East India Company's ships usually sailed in heavily armed convoys to which the occasional coastal trader might attach his ship; but there were still considerable losses.

1 Ibid., p.150.
2 The Calcutta Directory and Almanack 1810.
on Robert Campbell's part, given its first impulse by the problems his Calcutta partners presented him with in the shipments of spirits and the failure of those partners to show appreciation of the peculiar difficulties a 'respectable' merchant had to contend with in New South Wales, which was to loosen the Calcutta connection in the successful search for independent Australian avenues of development.
SEALING GROUNDS
OF THE
EARLY 19TH CENTURY
CHAPTER VI

SEALING

I have only to offer my Opinion, being perfectly Acquainted with the Commerce of Oil, Furs & Fishery, they are not only Considered & Known to be a great Source of Wealth & Commerce, but add to the Nursery of Seamen.

Captain James Colnett.

The difficulty of finding some return cargo to balance the cost of sending an investment of goods to New South Wales was a problem that discouraged mercantile speculation to that place far more than the restrictive monopoly of the East India Company. Fluctuation in the number of vessels visiting Port Jackson in the early years was only matched by the variation in the outward cargoes, emphasising again the experimental and speculative character of the beginnings of Australian trade. A merchant such as Campbell was faced with the probability that he would have to pay the return hire of a vessel carrying only ballast. In 1803 Campbell pointed out to King that Indian ships were in a very different position from those coming from England, Rio de Janeiro or the Cape of Good Hope, as the latter usually were transporting convicts and provisions which defrayed the expense of the voyage and allowed the profit on their investments as clear gain during their detention in New South Wales. If disappointed in the Sydney market they could proceed to Amboyna and the other Indian ports 'as their great object is the ship being chartered by the East India Company to load teas and other goods to Europe'. Americans and other foreigners could likewise treat New Holland as a calling-in port rather than a destination. But
Campbell & Co. were still being obliged to pay freight until their ships returned to Bengal because they could find no return cargo.¹ It had been a preoccupation with the early Governors, and King in particular, to establish some export commodity. Native timber, which first drew the attention of the India merchants, though useful, was not a valuable enough staple. Campbell had tried Hunter River coal. A trial shipment of 100 tons (obtained by barter from the Commissary at £3 a ton) had been sent to Calcutta on the Hunter in November 1801,² but this had not met with a market and had subjected Campbell & Co. to heavy loss.³

It was the rise of the Pacific whaling and sealing, more or less as a direct result of the loss of the whaling grounds off South America (because of the Anglo-Spanish War of 1796), which led to new possibilities of trade in New South Wales. Whaling because of the expense, technical knowledge, and capital investment it involved, remained largely an extra-colonial business mainly carried on by British and American interests. Sealing, however, because of the small capital and risks involved, was the most lucrative field for colonial activity in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It early showed every sign of developing into the long-sought Australian export staple which, by stemming the drain on colonial specie and eliminating barter, alone could advance the colony's commerce. Therefore, the colony regarded its fishery with as much anxiety and indulgence as it later reserved for wool. Commenting in 1804 on the rise of the new industry, the Sydney Gazette explained:

¹ Memorial to King, 3 March 1803, H.R.A., I, 4, pp. 130-131.
³ Ibid., p. 131.
The importance of a trade that in the space of a few years is found capable of giving employment to so many people upon a single firm must appear obvious; and its estimation increases when we contemplate the solid resources that may one day be derived from a branch of commerce in its very infancy so distant from contemptible. 1

Between 1800 and 1806 the efforts of the new industry were by no means negligible, as the following figures indicate. 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importation</th>
<th>Sperm Oil</th>
<th>Black Oil</th>
<th>Seal Skins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Vessels</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>711½ tons</td>
<td>118,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Whalers and Sealers</td>
<td>2,831½ tons</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>14,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exportation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Vessels</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>520½</td>
<td>98,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Whalers and Sealers</td>
<td>2,756½ tons</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>14,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of reliable statistics available for this industry has tended to reduce its obvious importance in the colonial commercial life. 3 Though any results can only be inaccurate, it is interesting to attempt to calculate the annual income on seal skins alone, exported from the colony for the five years between 1800 and 1806 (it is assumed that the number collected in 1800 was negligible). Using the combined total for colonial and British vessels given above (98,280 and 14,750) as roughly 113,000, and allowing an average price of 10s. a skin (anything between 4s.9d. and 25s. seems to have been paid for different quality skins) the value of the skins for this period averages £56,500, which gives an even rougher average

1 S.G., 22 July 1804.
2 Naval Officer's return of oil and seal skins imported into and exported from, New South Wales from November 1800 to 19 August 1806. H.R.A., I, 5, p.769.
3 Vide R.M. Hartwell, 'Australia's First Trade Cycle', R.A.H.S.J., vol.42, Pt.2, 1956: 'Our knowledge of the fisheries is less than our knowledge of wool', p.57 and, 'though it is not possible to estimate the contribution made by the fisheries to the boom before 1826', p.58.
annual yield of £11,300. But even an estimate of £10,000 a year for skins alone culled from the seal islands, compares very favourably with the £26,431 yielded by the fisheries in 1826, and is some indication of the scale of the fisheries contribution to the colonial economy even in its earliest years. The late 1820s saw an increased capital embarked in whaling so that by 1828 the value of the fisheries reached £26,431, doubling itself in the following year to £54,975. In fact, for the first few years of the 1830s the fisheries yielded more export income than did wool which had predominated for the previous decade.¹

Campbell, Clarke & Co. had apparently been shrewd enough to calculate the possible usefulness of sealing as a return investment even before they embarked on their long trading association with New South Wales. In his memorial to King of 20 September 1800, Robert Campbell stated that two years previously it was the intention of the Calcutta house not only to supply the colony, but also to carry on the seal fishery on the coast and adjacent islands.² It is a matter for speculation whether this owed anything to some earlier coincidences. The supercargo on the ill-fated Sydney Cove, beached on Preservation Island in the Furneaux Group, had been William Clark, one of the partners of the India house. It was Clark who had made a fire with coals on the mainland³ and who reported its presence on his arrival at Sydney, as well as the existence of fur seals at Preservation Island. In September 1797 Clark embarked for India via China, on the Britannia, leaving behind the captain of the ship, Guy

¹ Hartwell, ibid., p.57.
³ This was the Coalcliffe later named by Bass.
Hamilton. Hamilton accompanied Flinders in the Francis on an exploratory trip to Preservation Island in February 1798 during which they found and named Seal Island. The Bass Straits islands were to be a source of seals for many years.¹

Campbell & Co. lost no time in prosecuting this useful arm of trade. Robert Campbell claimed later to have 'given the first impulse to our fisheries',² and for several years certainly occupied a special position in regard to the sealing industry. Colonists who engaged in sealing were unable to do more than collect the skins and oil; their disposal was dependent on a second party with capital or access to export avenues, as there was little local use for the products of the fishery. Colonists sold their skins either to licensed British ships or to American traders. The latter, unaffected by the Honourable Company’s monopoly which hindered both British and colonial activity, disposed of the skins in the Canton market. Colonists could not dispose of their skins on their own terms, however, for in the absence of an alternative market they were not only dependent on visiting ships accepting skins as cargoes, but were obliged to accept the terms offered by the masters of these ships. These factors alone involved sufficient uncertainty to prevent full colonial exploitation of the sealing fields. In addition, the absence of an established colonial market exposed

¹ The first speculator to exploit this area was Charles Bishop of the Nautilus who established a boiling works at Cape Barren Island in 1798, directly after the return to Sydney of the survivors of the Sydney Cove. After two trips Bishop had collected 12,500 skins and 650 gallons of oil for the China market. See M. Roe ‘Charles Bishop, Pioneer of Pacific Commerce’, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, vol.10, No.1, July 1962, p.12.

² Memorial of R. Campbell to Rt. Hon. Lord Goderich, 13 October, 1831. Despatches from Governors of N.S.W., Enclosures, 1830-1831, p.1051.
colonists to the risk of being left with unmarketed perishable skins and oil. Campbell established a regular colonial market. The arrival of a merchant having access to export facilities, and with capital to promote the collection of the produce of the fisheries, considerably developed this colonial industry. Its first years were marked by this concentration of activity in one man, Campbell organizing and controlling through all stages, not only the export, but also the collection and transportation of the results of the sealing. Campbell, on behalf of his house, bought skins and oil from any private individual who wished to dispose of them, and arranged shipment to China, via India, on a commission for others. He also employed colonial labour which had little other outlet, to go out to the neighbouring islands in sealing gangs to exploit the fishing grounds directly. These men he paid in spirits, for in 1803 he complained to King of the hardship of not being able to import sufficient spirits to pay for the labour for the seal fishery.¹

Campbell's second arrival in Port Jackson almost coincided with an agreement made between two emancipists, Henry Kable and James Underwood, to enter into a two year partnership for the purpose of fitting out a sloop (the Diana) as joint property.² They were to derive equal share from the Diana's proceeds of seal fishing

¹ Campbell to King, 3 March 1803, H.R.A., I, 4, p.131.
² Their partnership lasted for over ten years, being visited with considerable success. Between March 1803 and June 1804 three of their ships (Endeavour, Surprise and Governor King) brought to Sydney a total of 28,282 seal skins, over 180 tons of elephant oil and 220 gallons of seal oil, in procuring which they employed over sixty men. (See S.G., 27 May, 24 June, 22 July 1804). The Sydney Gazette for 24 February 1805 gave a long account of Kable & Underwood's ventures.
expeditions to Cape Barren or any other of the southward islands 'for the purpose of catching Seals or Sea Lions, tanning such skins, converting or manufacturing the same into upper and sole leather for strong shoes and also for the preserving of the oils of such seals and Sea Lions for such market as shall be deemed most beneficial for the general interest and advantage of all the parties concerned, except certain prime skins which are specifically to be reserved in their pure state for the China or other market'. The command of the Diana was given to Samuel Rodman Chace who agreed to use his best endeavours navigating the ship and cruising for seals in return for a one-third share of the skins. The Diana left to remain on or about Cape Barren for twelve months. The venture must have been satisfactory for, in November, 1802 Kable and Underwood renewed the partnership and extended their activities with the Endeavour also jointly owned, which went out in search of oil and skins at the beginning of 1803. In May 1803 Campbell concluded an agreement with Kable and Underwood for the supply of 300 tons of elephant oil 'in a sufficient and merchantable state for a foreign market'.

---

2 Ibid., also Document 8 of same bundle, see Copy of Diana's Articles.
5 Seal oil was clear, odourless and free from the rancid taste of whale or fish oil. It could be used in foodstuffs, and in lamps, giving a very bright pure flame without any smell or smoke. It was also very economical for this latter purpose, one-sixth of a pint being sufficient to run an ordinary wick for twelve hours. It enjoyed a heavy demand in a Europe awakening to the possibilities of machinery and factories with the allied advantages of cheap fuel to utilize the hours of darkness. It could also be used to soften the fibres in manufacturing cloth. In the colony the market was more
There was to be no penalty for the failure to fulfil this contract, the partners undertaking to deliver what they could procure, and not to dispose of it to others. They were also to be responsible for any duties imposed by the Governor on seal oil. Campbell was to pay at the rate of £12 per ton for the oil - two-thirds of the amount in 'good and lawful money of Great Britain' by such bills of exchange or promissory notes as were passing current in the colony. The remaining third was to be paid in spirits at the rate of ten shillings a gallon (including duty), and there was a special provision to the effect that if Campbell were unable to deliver this proportion of spirits he would pay £4,000 sterling on delivery of the 300 tons of oil - which is sufficient indication of the premium placed upon spirits. ¹ By the 14 January 1805, 243 tons 62 gallons of the oil had been delivered, for which Kable and Underwood received the equivalent of £2,918.19s.6d. The remainder they undertook to obtain within four months, unless specifically prevented by an accident to their schooner Governor King or any other vessel they might employ to bring the oil from King Island. ²

There were few other local entrepreneurs who engaged in the sealing on a comparable scale with Kable and Underwood, and with the exception of John Palmer they were all emancipists. John Palmer's extensive activities are interesting. His ships alternated sealing voyages with trips up the Hawkesbury River to collect grain and it is not unlikely that in both instances he was connected somehow with limited. In 1803, handicapped by a lack of linseed oil, a Parramatta painter established the usefulness of seal oil in mixing paint for outside work. (See S.G., 19 June 1803).

² Ibid.
Campbell's affairs, for which evidence is not yet forthcoming. The foremost emancipist was the ubiquitous Simeon Lord whose transactions remain mysteriously indistinct and supremely intricate. There are indications that Lord collected skins and disposed of them to American captains on their way to China, but Lord's business connections, legal and illegal, defy analysis. A tentative list of the vessels built in the colony and employed between 1800 and 1806 gives some indication of the proportions of the industry and also of the individuals concerned in it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Tons</th>
<th>Men Carried</th>
<th>Owners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Kable &amp; Co. refloated 1803 as (Surprise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endeavour</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor King</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contest</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King George</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Palmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John (II)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fly</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>J. Palmer &amp; Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Andrew Thompson &amp; Simeon Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sold to Kable &amp; Underwood 1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wrecked April 1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speedwell</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcia</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Simeon Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>Tons</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Intent</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel Rodman Chace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raven</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Raby &amp; Wills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor Hunter</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>J. Nichols</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These small ships carried, on an average, between two and three thousand skins, besides a small amount of oil. A forty ton vessel could load some 1,500 bushels of grain.

The spontaneity with which the new industry was seized upon by the colonists brought problems. In considering the question of the encouragement of local sealing, Governor King came to the conclusion that the sealing entrepreneurs should not be granted tracts of land which would give them any monopoly of the general advantage. There was, King thought, enough protection in Port Dalrymple for the sealers whose numbers at the end of 1804 he did not expect to increase much. At this time there were 'upwards of 180 persons on those islands belonging to Mr Campbell and two other residents who were formerly under sentence of law'.¹ Probably about sixty of these were directly employed by Campbell.² Knowing the extent of Campbell's involvement in the sealing, King suspected that when he was in England the following year Campbell might attempt to procure an 'extension of privileges', or some form of monopoly in this industry, from the English authorities. The Governor counselled the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Hobart) against any such agreement and maintained that in giving every encouragement to the sealers he had carefully avoided 'any partiality or exclusive

privilege' because he thought that sealing should be open equally to all, 'the more so as there are some adventurers in the colony who commenced that object long before it made any part of Mr Campbell's speculations'. Nevertheless there are indications that King's policy had not been quite as rigid as he suggests in this despatch. A ship (le Surprize, captain le Corre) belonging to Nathaniel Cogswell on the Isle de France had arrived at Port Jackson in September 1802 on its way to China. King at first refused to allow it to seal along the coast but later gave conditional permission. At this time King indicated that he had previously given exclusive permission to some settlers to seal on Cape Barren and the adjacent islands, and also permission to some English company's vessels to seal on King Island. There was also a venture planned by George Bass to establish a fishery on the southern part of New Zealand and neighbouring islands, for the ostensible purpose of procuring salted fish for the Australian colony. This would seem an unprofitable use of resources when much more gain was obviously to be had from the seals which frequented the area. Bass wanted an exclusive monopoly of this area for at least seven years and King seemed inclined to acquiesce, for Bass wrote of this request 'which privilege is at once to be granted to me'. This enterprise was not to be set in motion until his return to England in 1803 - a voyage which Bass did not survive.

3 H.R.A., I, 4, p.156.
4 Bass to Waterhouse, 2 February 1803. See Bowden, George Bass, p.127.
It was King's opinion and constant endeavour that the fishery should be preserved, if not for the colonists alone, for the British against the encroachments of all foreigners, but more particularly the Americans, although he hesitated to offer the latter any obstruction until receiving instructions from England. However, within a year King was beginning to have reservations about his championing of the local cause. He believed that because of his encouragement and assistance in the matter of exports to England and China, two or three emancipists had become rich. These men now possessed several small craft and employed 216 people, which would have been 'extremely laudable if they had not very much forgot themselves'. He complained feelingly in a despatch to Cook (dated 24 October 1805) that 'Mr Campbell and some others have adventured equally which has created much jealousy between each other in obtaining men to carry on their respective pursuits. And such has been their animosity that for some time past my attention and that of the magistrates have been more or less occupied and engrossed by the most litigious and malicious complaints of the different adventurers' conduct to each other and the disputes between them and the men they employ.'

3 In 1805 King prohibited sealing vessels from carrying more than a certain proportion of spirits (80 gallons for 26 men, 50 gallons for 18 men, 30 gallons for 12 men and 18 gallons for 6 men) 'to prevent the scandalous acts that have taken place, by Masters of Vessels procuring a quantity of Spirits in consequence of which great losses have accrued to the Adventurers, who cannot procure that unfair and oppressive means of preying on the industry of others'. S.G., 16 June 1805.
Underwood secured five deserters from the *Alexander* for the sealing by supplying the captain with five others in their place (probably emancipists anxious to return to England). The men were paid £3 a month in advance, plus their gaol fees and were sent off in such haste that, accidentally or not, there was no time to complete the legal articles.¹ Campbell, on the other hand, seems to have followed the policy of assigning his sealers lays (or shares) of certain fixed proportions of the total yield based on pre-determined prices for skins and oil, for which they were paid in spirits, money or kind on their return. There were constant disputes and desertions as one might expect from the terms of employment and the pool from which the labour was drawn. Disputes arising from inequalities of payment were frequent. In one such case Simeon Lord (on behalf of himself, Kable and Underwood) was moved to memorialise King because several of his sealers at the Derwent, after contact with one of Campbell's ships, 'insinuated in Mutinous and Contemptuous Language that on their return to Sydney they should go into Mr Campbell's Employ unless Kable (one of your Memorialists) behaved to them remarkably well'.² It seems evident from this that the men wanted terms commensurate with those offered by Campbell, though Lord's grievance was that they had been 'tampered with and seduced' by the people on board Campbell's ship.³

¹ They sailed in the *Nancy* of which Lord was part owner with Andrew Thompson. The *Nancy* sailed for the Derwent and Bass Straits 20 April 1804. S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 15, Document 3. John Macarthur in 1807 was paying fishermen £5 a month. *Macarthur Papers*. A2903, p.35.
² S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 15, Document 3.
³ *Sophia*.
King not only had to prevent disputes, but to ensure that sealers were not starved or abandoned outright in isolated places while pursuing seals.¹ Much of this was due to the combination of circumstances. In one case some of Campbell's men at Oyster Island were rescued and returned to the Derwent by competitors who found them in 'Circumstances of peculiar distress'. The natives had proved hostile and had burnt down their tents, destroying their provisions and leaving them destitute.² Such disinterested principles of humanity were not always found amongst masters or men if profit was jeopardised. Sometimes inadequate rations ran out, or the relief boat failed to arrive till the following season. Consequences were less desperate while sealing was limited to the Bass Strait islands, but the plight of men deserted on islands near New Zealand, or further was unenviable. John Palmer, while acting as agent for Campbell, seems to have behaved with some callousness towards a party of fifteen men articled to him and deserted on the Penantipodes in 1805; first through rough weather which caused the ship to have to stand off and second, because the ship³ was absconded with by her crew. The men's articles expired in October 1806 by which time they had still not been relieved, and ran the risk of perishing if left for the winter. Palmer, in spite of the efforts made by William Stewart, ex-master of the Venus, failed to avail himself of the opportunity of sending supplies by another ship or to provide a vessel to bring back the men, which Stewart

¹ In 1809 seven sealers under the command of Joseph Murrell were found on Kangaroo Island where they had been abandoned for three years, originally with only three months' provisions. S.G., 16 April 1809.
² S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 15, Document 3.
³ The Venus.
maintained 'it lay in his power to do'.

Litigation arising out of these matters was endless and complicated by verbal agreement and conflicting evidences. In spite of these vexations, King did not lose his faith in the fishery providing the staple the economy lacked, and resolved that while the conduct of some of the emancipists made him regret extending indulgences to them, this would in no way cause him to 'penalise or fail to encourage the others'.

Collection of the products of sealing was one thing; disposal was another particularly in view of the restriction on colonial trade with China. Campbell & Co. enjoyed an advantage in this respect, being able to ship skins to India where they were re-shipped to China. When their ship, the Castle of Good Hope left Port Jackson in March 1803 for Calcutta (where she arrived in November) she had on board 11,200 seal skins belonging to Kable and Underwood, to be shipped to China. This shipment was apparently arranged for mutual convenience (like previous 'Cargoes of skins that were sent before that period') because by disposing of the skins in India Campbell was enabled to make a greater remittance to

---

1 S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 25, Document 3: Stewart in 1807 took Palmer to court for these reasons, and also for refusing Stewart command of another ship, a settlement, or any maintenance thus depriving him of the ways and means of earning a living and ruining his credit. Stewart who had come from Calcutta with the Venus in 1805 had agreed to go sealing on his arrival. It was not only the men who suffered from erratic circumstance: Stewart's suit revealed that 'as said Jno Palmer unlawfully retains All or most part the said William Stewart is possessed of and will advance him nothing to live on but strives to harras (sic) and distress him to the utmost, or come to any terms of accommodation whatever, although frequently apply'd to, whereby the said William Stewart is reduced to great distress'. Some compensation must have been agreed upon (the relevant legal papers being incomplete), for William Stewart remained associated with Campbell & Co.'s affairs for many years after.

the Indian house more speedily. This agreement promised to be of advantage to Kable and Underwood though the shipment apparently was given no fixed value until actually sold. A series of lawsuits resulted from this agreement, for when their accounts were settled Kable and Underwood remained considerable debtors to Campbell, as a direct result of the skins not having fetched the expected price. Campbell tendered the partners a bill for £3,257.4s.4d., which included advances he had made to them. The greater part of these advances had been in goods, or in currency that could not be remitted to India. In July 1804 Kable and Underwood acknowledged a debt to Campbell of only £1,996.6s.1d., refusing to settle the remainder. A Court of Civil Jurisdiction was of the opinion that Campbell had clearly proved his demand, provided his calculation of the interest was correct.¹ Kable and Underwood appealed against this judgement, on account of the shipment of skins, in support of which they brought evidence to show that higher prices than those they received had been paid in Canton at the same time. They argued that they had been ill-done by the Canton agents Beale & Magniac (or Reid and Beale) and absolved Campbell of responsibility though they argued that Campbell should recover damages from Beale & Magniac as the 'Real Aggressors'.

The skins which had been shipped on the Castle of Good Hope for Calcutta, were to have been sent to China via Penang² on the understanding that they were not to be sold for less than 3s.9d. each. Only 10,200 of the skins (shipped from Calcutta in the Royal George) were sold.  

¹ Kable and Underwood disputed the interest charged at 5% which they argued had not been in contemplation because of the mutual benefit served by the shipments of skins to India.  
² The Penang agent was James Carnegie.
were eventually sold in Canton and for only 2s.3½d. In its judgement the court accepted that 3s.9d. only related to the first market - Penang. Campbell gave figures to show that several other shipments had been previously sent from India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Skins</th>
<th>Price in Spanish Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hercules</td>
<td>3,619</td>
<td>1,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>7,631</td>
<td>4,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minorca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal George (E.I.Co.)</td>
<td>10,200</td>
<td>4,928</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The master of the American brig *Hannah & Sally* (Nathaniel Cogswell) offered in evidence that he had sold skins in Canton through Beale & Magniac in 1804 for 90 dollars per hundred in goods, or 60 dollars in cash, as usually less was offered for cash or bills on India. The master of the *Perseus* had sold his for 6s.6d. each which was current price for inferior skins. Simeon Lord bought worm-eaten skins in the colony for 2s. and sold them for export for 4s.¹

The only conclusion offered by this litigation, most of the papers of which are missing like so many others, is that Campbell & Co. were managing to exploit the China market in spite of the East India Company's restrictions, and without the aid of American ships on whom the main burden of clearing colonial skins fell. But, the China market, subject as it was to slumps and the confusion created by intermediaries was obviously not the ideal market for Australian skins. Canton was traditionally the entrepôt for the luxury fur trade, but it was just at this period of slump in Canton that news

reached Port Jackson that Bass Straits seal skins were regarded with favour in England. New techniques in the processing of seal skins in Europe were permitting different uses and higher prices. A waterproof fabric was being manufactured from the fur, while the hide was processed into a leather suitable for fine shoes. The Sydney Gazette had already reported that skins were bringing 20s. to 25s. each.\(^1\) This was sufficient incentive to turn the attention of the colonists to a possible market in England.

Already a tentative start had been made in that direction by the two people most likely to be interested. By 1803 Campbell had amassed a 'small quantity of seal skins' which were stored in the Company's new warehouses ("erected at immense expense for that and other mercantile purposes" as Campbell explained) at Sydney Cove. By the following year his activities in sending out small vessels under the Governor's sanction was well-established and returning quite a yield. Previous to March 1803 King had given permission 'to Mr Campbell and one or two private adventurers to build Vessels exceeding the tonnage prescribed by His Majesty's Instructions thereon', for sealing within the limits of the territory,\(^2\) and Campbell occasionally imported from Calcutta teak whale boats, copper fastened, constructed for carrying skins.\(^3\) Sometimes skins were disposed of within the colony, for in 1804 the Edwin's cargo of 1,600 skins and some oil was advertised in exchange for 'good

---

1. S.G., 27 May 1804.
3. Ibid., p.106. At the beginning of 1804 Campbell had commenced building 'in his own yard, at the back of his lower Warehouses' a comparatively large vessel with an intended burden of over 100 tons. This was the Perseverance launched in 1807 which gave Campbell & Co. many years of service. S.G., 29 April 1804.
wheat', but the market was obviously limited. By June 1804 Campbell had an 'extensive cargo' in his storehouses.

In May 1803 Governor King had allowed him to ship a small quantity of skins to England in H.M.S. Glatton. This had been a tentative experiment which had incurred no penalties or hostility from any source. Campbell had written to Captain Colnett, commander of the Glatton begging the indulgence of sufficient freight space for a small shipment of seal oil and skins on the grounds that 'it might promote the future prosperity of the Colony if the quality and value of the oil and skins procured on the Coast was ascertained'. Colnett submitted this request to the Governor for his opinion, and King advised that the cargo be accepted without responsibility. At the same time King rejected a similar request submitted by Lord and Jamieson to send sea-otter skins because they were not the produce of the territory. Campbell when soliciting King's approval and permission, had undertaken to send the cargo solely at his own risk, and subject to any duties and freights that might be determined by His Majesty in Council. On these conditions, King had made no objection to the shipment leaving New South Wales.

1 S.G., 12 February 1804.
3 To King acceptance of this cargo seemed to be within Colnett's jurisdiction, according to his orders from the Admiralty. King to Colnett, 17 April 1803, H.R.A., I, 4, pp.260-261.
4 Ibid.
5 Campbell to King, 23 March 1803, H.R.A., I, 4, p.261.
6 Loc. cit. All the correspondence relating to Campbell's application was sent by King to Sir Evan Nepean, mentioned briefly in the body of his regular despatch. 9 May 1803, H.R.A., I, 4, p.249.
The experiment turned out to be highly successful, as far as Campbell was concerned. The cargo was subjected only to the usual duty, and the Navy Board even forbore to charge freight. From this Campbell was perhaps entitled to conclude that the English Government was prepared to encourage the prosperity and welfare of their colony by not discriminating against its produce. Having provided a test case, Campbell must have felt it was reasonably safe to hazard a further shipment. Between October 1803 and February 1804 he advertised continually in the Sydney Gazette for casks 'sufficient to put oil in for exportation to Europe'. By the middle of 1804 he had stored in his warehouses 207 tons of pure elephant oil valued at £4,140 and 10,105 fur seal skins (exclusive of 10,030 already shipped by the Albion) valued at £2,021. This huge accumulation of perishable goods had to be disposed of, and Campbell had already (September 1803) advised his partners in Calcutta of the large quantity of oil and skins he was amassing, and had recommended these be exported to England. He desired that, if necessary, Campbell, Clark & Co. apply to the Governor-General in Council in Fort William for permission for one of their ships (the Lady Barlow) to proceed to London. Before any reply to this request had been received from the Bengal authorities, the Lady Barlow left Calcutta for New South Wales carrying a cargo of cattle.

As early as April 1804 Campbell had told the Governor of the expected arrival of the Lady Barlow and of his intention to freight

her with oil and skins and go with her himself to Europe.\textsuperscript{1} Campbell made his intentions official in a memorial to the Governor\textsuperscript{2} requesting a Clearance and Certificate to the English Customs and certifying that the oil had been procured so as to qualify for the benefit of the Act in favour of foreign owners for encouraging and regulating the Southern fishery.\textsuperscript{3}

Campbell's stated reason for sending the Lady Barlow to the Port of London was that he could not obtain either British or foreign ships in New South Wales to freight his cargo to England, and he pointed out that the position would not be remedied unless the Governor extended the same indulgence as was allowed in the trade and commerce of other British colonies.\textsuperscript{4} As the cargo of oil and skins he intended freighting was 'not the growth produce or manufactures of the East Indies', Campbell urged King to supply the requisite certificates and prevent the 'immense loss and ruin' which would be incurred if the skins remained any longer in the warehouses.\textsuperscript{5} He maintained that leakage and the heat of the climate would perish the oil and skins if they remained another year, and invited King to order a survey by any ship commander to prove this point. Furthermore he had not enough room left to shelter all the

\textsuperscript{1} This information King passed on without comment to Lord Hobart in his despatch of 16 April 1804. \textit{H.R.A.}, I, 4, p.614.

\textsuperscript{2} 21 June 1804.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{H.R.A.}, I, 5, pp.60-61. 35 of Geo III, C92 s 36th 38th of Do. C57.57; extended by the 42nd of Do. c114 to Vessels built before the 1 January 1805.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{H.R.A.}, I, 5, 62 Campbell to King, 24 June 1804.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{H.R.A.}, I, 5, pp.60-61.
s. skins because his warehouses were fully occupied with imported goods.  

Campbell maintained that New South Wales was in a different position from the settlements of the East India Company where country-built ships were not allowed to go to England with merchandise without the Governor's permission, and in support of his argument referred to the liberality of the English government in the matter of the cargo sent in the Glatton. However, he was aware that if he exported with only a Certificate his ship was liable to seizure in England. Therefore he wanted the Governor to grant a clearance for a ship going to England, returning to Sydney on a fishing voyage, for which he was prepared to give a bond to cover any penalty incurred if the English government considered that he was interfering with the exclusive privileges of the East India Company.

But King was doubtful of the justification of giving Campbell any other certificate for the Lady Barlow. After all, the ship had been built in the East Indies, it had not been provided with the necessary permission from the Bengal government, and had been cleared out only for Sydney and North-West America. As its present certificate was certainly not sufficient, King thought it doubtful that the ship would proceed to England. In the face of King's hesitancy Campbell looked for other expedients. In a letter of September he urged again the peculiarities of the situation and asked for a 'Port clearance or Pass port in common form with a letter to the Secretary of State for Colonies stating the circum-

stances, and reasons for authority to ship cargo', which should be sufficient to allow the ship to return to the fishery. However, if there was any 'impropriety' in this course, Campbell suggested that the Captain (McAskill) of the Lady Barlow, as part owner, might dispose of the ship 'by which transfer she would become a Plantation Ship and enjoy the privileges of a Colonial Vessel'. King rejected this course, but expressed himself anxious to help within the limits of his duty, and finally gave Campbell a Port Clearance. Campbell entered into a bond of £1,000, not to export any articles of commerce within the Honourable Company's territories, and if allowed to return to New South Wales, not to export any goods to the Company's territories, except the produce of New South Wales. Though he took no responsibility in the matter King undertook to send favourable representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Board of Trade and Plantations, the Commissioners of Customs and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to smooth any difficulties that Campbell might meet.

During October, nearly 9,000 gallons of fine sea-elephant oil were shipped on board the Lady Barlow and it was announced that it was intended to load her with from 12-15,000 good skins. But at half past one on a Tuesday, 16 October, the Lady Barlow, lying at the King's outer moorings, was overset in a driving thunderstorm.

---

4 S.G., 14 October 1804.
and sank in five and a half fathoms of water. The damaged cargo, which included casks, oil, rice, canvas and other stores were auctioned off by Simeon Lord at the Campbell storehouses on the 22 November, by which time the ship had been fully repaired.

The completed cargo was given out by the Sydney Gazette as 264 tons of fine sea elephant oil, 13,730 fur seal skins and 3,673 solid feet of she-oak, or beef wood. The paper commented that 'it may afford pleasure to the Colonist to observe the quantity of colonial produce exported on that ship for the Port of London'.

Campbell, fully aware of the technical problems that would be raised by the entry of an unlicensed Calcutta-built ship to the Port of London, travelled in the Lady Barlow to resolve any difficulties that might arise. On Thursday, 18 January 1805, the Lady Barlow went out of the Cove, saluting the Battery as she passed, but had to bring up off Pinchgut to wait for a wind, and did not sail finally until the 21 January. His wife and family went with Robert Campbell and also 'a small but handsome collection of natural curiosity, in the selection of which much care has been bestowed'.

---

1 The only member of the crew lost was a lascar whose body was recovered at Dawes Point a few days later. S.G., 4 November 1804. In the crisis the Lady Barlow was assisted from the shore and by other vessels in the port. Even the Governor set off in a whale-boat to offer Captain McAskill every possible aid. S.G., 21 October 1804.
2 S.G., 18 November 1804.
3 S.G., 4 November 1804.
4 S.G., 6 January 1805.
5 S.G., 20 January 1805.
CHAPTER VII

THE LADY BARLOW CASE

Campbell's fears were to be amply justified, though the initiative did not come, as was expected, from the Honourable Company, but from other interests whose activities must modify our view of the role traditionally held to be played by the East India Company in Australian development. The Lady Barlow arrived in the Thames on 13 July 1805. Her captain, considering King's permission sufficient, reported at the Custom House the following day. ¹ Subsequently the ship and her cargo were seized by direction of the East India Company for having infringed its exclusive rights, and simultaneously His Majesty's Customs enquired into the matter of the Lady Barlow not having a proper register.

The arrival of the Lady Barlow was solemnly considered by each of the numerous committees of which the Honourable Company was composed. At a meeting of the Court of Directors,² Governor King's letter concerning the permission given to Campbell to proceed with the Lady Barlow was read, and then referred to the Committee of Correspondence for examination and comment.³ Nine days later the Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence informed the Court that he had had an interview with the Lords of the Privy Council for

² 10 July 1805.
Trade concerning the Lady Barlow, as a result of which the Company's solicitor was directed to frame the necessary instructions for seizing the ship.\(^1\) On the 24 July a meeting of the Court was advised by the Company's husband, Mr Dominicus (in a letter dated the 23rd), of his having officially seized the Lady Barlow; already under seizure by the Tide Surveyor of the Customs. The matter was then referred to the Committee of Law Suits.\(^2\)

At the same time, however, the Court considered a letter from Sir Stephen Cottrell (Privy Council for Trade) dated 19 July, forwarding a copy of a letter received from Enderby and Mather regarding the oil and skins carried by the Lady Barlow. This firm, one of the most powerful British whaling companies, requested information on the colonial trade and desired to know whether the East India Company would be affected by it. The concern of the Enderbys, however, was by no means exclusively reserved for the Honourable Company. The letter, written as early as 18 July, signed by Carles, Samuel and George Enderby, and Thomas and John Mather, revealed obvious agitation. The writers felt that the Board should be informed that a fishery was being established by the colonists of New South Wales which threatened the destruction of the Southern Whale Fishery 'which the Legislature has been at much pains and expense to promote'. Furthermore, they asserted that the arrival of the Lady Barlow ('built in Pegu, in India') with her oil and skins, 'caught by small vessels which had been and are now employed in the Fishery from that Colony', had lowered the value of oil lately arrived in British ships. With transparent motive the

\(^1\) Ibid., p.371.
\(^2\) Ibid., p.377.
writers posed the critical question whether the colonists should be allowed to import on the same conditions as British ships, or whether they should be subject to some form of restriction.¹ The whaling interests quite clearly were anxious about their monopoly, which had been the first breach in the Company's monopoly and which they still enjoyed as a matter of privilege rather than right.²

Previously the Company had considered applications to trade with New South Wales (usually from India), on their individual merits and without any indication of exclusiveness. Permission to supply New South Wales with provisions had been granted without undue difficulty³ and an application by a London merchant, John Prinsep, to undertake a trade adventure to New South Wales had likewise been countenanced.⁴ The Company at the commencement of the nineteenth century was moribund and knew it, but continued to perform its appointed task with due gravity and dignity. Having to contend with many attackers on the political front, as well as competitors in the commercial sphere, and knowing that excessive insistence on its privileges would renew storms of criticism, the Company moved warily. The trade of New South Wales was a new

² In 1800 a request by the Enderbys for permission to fish the coast of New Guinea had been refused by the Court of Directors /E.I. Co. Papers, C.M.B., 1800-1801, 26.11.1800, p.752/.
³ e.g. Lambert, Ross and Biddulph.
⁴ Prinsep had already sent convict transports carrying merchandise to New South Wales, from where his vessels went fishing. Giving evidence before a Privy Council Committee on Trade and Foreign Plantations (as a result of John Macarthur's proposals to establish wool growing in New South Wales) on 11 July 1804, Prinsep was of the opinion that even were there a possibility of freighting wool to England from Australia at £16 a ton in war and £8 a ton in peace, he would still prefer his vessels to go to China. Macarthur Papers, vol.68, pp.51-52.
element in the complex, though a somewhat insignificant one before 1805. The circumstances of the establishment of the colony had ruled out serious consideration of trade for the first ten years. But the following ten years had seen occasional episodes which indicated that sooner or later the conflict with the East India Company's monopoly would have to be defined. The Company, not unnaturally, preferred to let sleeping dogs lie. The government, although anxious to conciliate conflicting interests and responsible for defining a policy in New South Wales could not disregard the attitude of the Company. Nevertheless, since John Prinsep's application the Government had been gently urging the Company to give its attention to future regulations for opening the trade of New South Wales. A letter notifying the Court of Prinsep's decision to abandon his scheme contained the significant sentence that 'the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council have no occasion to give the Court any further trouble at present, but they nevertheless request the Court will not remit their attention to the consideration of the future Regulations for opening this Trade, as other adventures of a similar nature will probably be undertaken'.¹ The Court, with the urbanity typical of its age, passed the matter to the Committee of Correspondence and apparently forgot about it.

It was at this stage that Governor King recommenced his campaign for the easing of restrictions on colonial trade. The departure of the Lady Barlow had emphasised the growing importance of sealing in the colonial economy and the imperative need to ensure some outlet if it were to remain a staple. In a despatch to Hobart, dated 20 December 1804, King had suggested that some regulations should be

¹ Sir Stephen Cottrell to the Court of Directors 9 April 1804. See Meeting of Directors, 12 April 1804, E.I. Co. Papers, C.M.B., vol.113.
framed to protect the colonial fisheries from the competition of the Americans, and that the colonists be allowed to export oil and seal skins to China and England on favourable terms. For this reason he felt the stringent regulations concerning colonial ship-building should be relaxed if only to allow three vessels of not more than 200 tons to be built in the territories annually.¹

Campbell's advent raised the problem again and the Court was to get little rest for the next two years. Honour had been satisfied by the seizure of the Lady Barlow, but the problem had not been solved. As a result of a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury from Campbell (forwarded to the Court of Directors for their opinion), the Court decided that they had no objection to the cargo of the Lady Barlow being landed, though they required that it be disposed of at the Company's sales. While this was being accomplished, the Court undertook to consider 'the future disposal of the ship and the Produce of her Cargo'.² The Lords of the Treasury, upon receipt of this judgment, informed the Court that if it had no objection, they would direct the Lady Barlow to be delivered on the terms and conditions agreed on by the Court. By 28 August the Court had decided that it had no objection to the cargo of the Lady Barlow being landed and sold at the Company's sales, for exportation only; and that they would consider the matter of the ship's disposal 'at a future time'.³

³ E.I. Co. Papers, Correspondence Memoranda, vol.40, 28 August 1805.
Campbell in another memorial urged the Court to release the Lady Barlow, upon such terms as it should see fit. After due deliberation the Court decided that 'under all the circumstances of the case' the Lady Barlow could be liberated from prosecution on condition that she was sold in England. But after receiving a report from their Committee of Shipping it was decided by ballot that for reasons given in a Report the Lady Barlow be allowed to return to India with a freight on account of the Company, that the owners be paid at £9 a ton for the goods the Company should lade on the ship, and 'that in every other particular so far as respects the period of coming afloat, sailing from England, and the loading of an outward cargo, the Ship be considered under the control and direction of the Company'. The Court was prepared to consider the terms and conditions on which the cargo should be carried to India or St Helena 'whenever the same shall be submitted'. By 14 February 1806 it had been decided that the Lady Barlow (which had been found to measure only 402 tons instead of 600 tons) would not be eligible to be sent to St Helena as originally intended. She was brought afloat on 18 February to go to Bombay instead. The terms and conditions relative to this voyage were finally agreed on by the Court by 19 March 1806. Thus ended the episode of the Lady Barlow.

2 2 October 1805; E.I. Co. Papers, C.M.B., vol.114, p.647, also Correspondence Rpts., vol.29, p.334.
4 Ibid., p.1154.
5 E.I. Co. Papers, C.M.B., vol.114, p.1340. Agreement to the conditions was conveyed by D. Scott & Co., in a letter dated 22 March, objecting only to the mode of arming her, and requesting an estimate of her cargo without delay. Ibid., p.1354.
but not the problem of colonial shipping. Owing to the clemency of
the Company, Campbell had escaped ruinous loss and though he
profited not at all, the situation had been somewhat clarified.

Being an audacious man, Campbell, with the backing of Sir
Joseph Banks, pressed his advantage. He agitated for the right to
send a similar cargo by the Sydney (900 tons), which was being
loaded in New South Wales at the time of the Lady Barlow's departure.
Campbell had previously arranged with the Governor, on behalf of the
owners of the Sydney, to ship a large quantity of timber for the use
of the navy. This agreement also provided permission to take on
board a certain quantity of seal oil and skins. On 4 July 1806
the Court of Directors was advised that the ship Sydney, under a
Calcutta register, had sailed from New South Wales and was daily
expected to arrive in the country with a cargo 'the entire produce
of that colony'. The Court was informed that the Lords of the
Council, taking the initiative, had ordered the cargo to be
admitted on the grounds stated in the petition of William Wilson,
Campbell's London agent. The Lords of Council also signified their
intention to communicate with the Court of Directors 'as to the
Shipping Concerns of New South Wales ... on the subject of the
arrangement in question being read'. Shortly beforehand, William
Wilson had written to Sir Joseph Banks, apparently from a full
heart, concerning the colonial trade.

1 Robert Campbell's Memorial to the Treasury, 11 March 1812.
Banks Papers, Sutro Coll., Microfilm PM4/23.

2 This letter was referred by the Court to the consideration of the
joint Committee of Correspondence and Warehouses. E.I. Co. Papers,

3 2 July 1806.

4 William Wilson, of Monument Yard, London, had been commander of
the Royal Admiral on a voyage to New South Wales and Tahiti in
I find it very difficult to express in a suitable manner my grateful feelings for your kind successful interference in the case of the Ship Sydney. This day I have had the pleasure of receiving Orders in Council to the Honourable Commissioners of Customs and Excise, granting all I wished for.

You have indeed Sir render'd me a great service but, not to me only, this point gained may save to Campbell & Co., the owners of the Sydney and cargo, full £10,000 and proportionally encourage the Colonists, some hundreds of whom I will venture to say deserve it.

In thus advocating the causes of humanity and of those remote from where these interests are discussed and decided upon, will I am convinced afford you more pleasure than my best thanks can possibly give, but, I feel extremely grateful.

In the discussion of what ought to be done in law and regulation for the Colony of New South Wales, the general principle and policy is safe with an experienced Council. But as there are some details of minor importance, and which we that have commercial intercourse with the Colony become acquainted with I shall soon take the liberty of stating such of these as occur to me as you did me the honor to intimate you would deem such communication no intrusion.

Banks had been kept informed of the progress of the Lady Barlow affair by Wilson. Sir Joseph had continued to keep a paternal eye on the affairs of the Colony with which he had such a special and close connection, as is confirmed by the list of his correspondents and the subjects discussed. His own close contact with the identities of Whitehall gave him a peculiar position in the eyes of the colonists, to whom he had a status not short of a Delphic oracle. It was not unnatural, therefore, that Campbell's affairs had entered Banks' orbit. When Campbell left New South Wales in the Lady Barlow the event had assumed an unusual importance. Because the ship was laden entirely with colonial produce it was recognized

1800. He had been to Tahiti three times, and had previously been introduced to Banks by Dr Hawes of the London Missionary Society. He was the London agent for a number of officers and colonists in New South Wales, including the Rev. Samuel Marsden.
that its reception in England would have important repercussions on the trade of New South Wales. Campbell was not the only one aware of this, and he carried with him two important letters to Sir Joseph Banks. One, from Governor King invited Banks' help for Campbell, should the latter have difficulties; partly because his cargo was one of perishable commodities, but also because it was 'the first Cargo of the Produce of the Colony sent by an Individual'. King was anxious Campbell would meet with no great setback, 'As this pursuit has answered so well and indeed is our only staple produce that can be considered as commercial at present.'\(^1\) King's interest in the commercial possibilities of his colony were well known to Banks, with whom he corresponded almost as regularly as with the Colonial Office, though the latter took less apparent interest. The letter from Colonel Paterson recommended Campbell to Banks for his ideas and knowledge of the colonial fishery, 'a subject which may hereafter prove much to the advantage of this colony'; 'his merit in my opinion' wrote Paterson 'deserves encouragement. He has entered with great spirit in the Fishery to the Southward and will continue his speculations if sanctioned by Government; and I hope there will be little doubt of his success when they are informed what he has already done in so short a time ...\(^2\)

The omnipotent Banks was also wooed by the Enderbys, who were always ready to present their compliments. When their ship, the Speedy, arrived back from Port Jackson in late 1802, laden with whale oil, the Enderbys presented Banks with a 'Black Swan Natives Head in

\(^1\) Banks Papers, Brabourne Coll., vol.7, pp.245-6.
\(^2\) Banks' Papers, Brabourne Coll., vol.4, p.173.
Spirits and a number of other things*, along with assurances of their readiness to serve him.¹

Banks for his part, was one of the few men of influence in England genuinely concerned with the problems of New South Wales, whose sympathies were with the colonists.² His own view on the matter was clearly set out in a letter he wrote in the middle of 1806:

Your friends the South Whalers as little interested I fear with the (..........?) indulgence they have met with are in great agitation because the colonists of New South Wales have sent home a ship load of oil and seal skins and have another on the Road. They say that the importation of oil from that Colony should be placed under some Restrictions or they will be obliged to leave the trade. I am of opinion that the Americans will most certainly catch the seals on Van Diemen's Land if the Colonists do not and ... cannot see any Reason why they should not also catch the Whales on their own seas when all the seas in the world almost are open to the British Whalers who receive a Bounty upon terms the Colonists can never claim, it is not likely that a ship load of oil in a year and that is more than we can expect from our infant Colony can make oil cheaper than it ought to be when the Combined interest of the producer and of the Consumer is taken into account.³

Banks was advocating a radical change in policy which would severely affect whaling interests. This episode serves to emphasise again how little 'merchant' interests had in common when profits were at stake. The renaissance of the Southern Whale Fishery, crippled by the loss of American skills and harbours, had been

¹ Ibid., p.77c.
² That this subject was engrossing Banks attention in 1806 is amply borne out by his papers for this year, bearing such titles as 'Memorandum on New South Wales and East India Co.', 'Memorandum on Commerce of New South Wales', 'Remarks on Whale and Seal Fisheries etc.', 'Remarks on legal meaning of Fishery, Settlement etc.', and 'On Shipping and Plantations'.
³ This letter was dated 31 May 1806 and was possibly written to Lord Liverpool. See Banks' Papers, Brabourne Coll., vol.4, p.242.
fostered by that arch-mercantilist, Lord Hawkesbury, as President of the Committee for Trade and Plantations. Taking full advantage of their concerns being treated as national interests Enderby & Sons watched with close attention the development of New South Wales. In January 1789 Samuel Enderby Junior urged the Trade Committee to grant whalers 'an unlimited right of fishing in all seas', indicating that 'the settlements of New Holland would be often visited as there are many whales in those seas'.¹ A few months later their ship the Emilia reaching the Pacific via the Horn satisfactorily proved the speculations of Enderby.² The convict fleet of 1791 included five Enderby transports, sent to investigate whaling prospects off the shores of New South Wales. Governor Phillip's hopes that a useful staple was about to be discovered were dashed by the captains' reports of inclement weather and dangerous seas. Although attention reverted to Northwest and South American waters, numbers of transports to the colony were owned by whaling companies. When hostilities between Spain and England denied the Southern Whalers indispensable port facilities off the South American coast, their interest in New South Wales was reawakened and more ships were sent out in the convict fleets. It was at this stage that tension between the whalers and the East India Company, alluded to by Enderby in his letter of 1798, became noticeable. Broadly, the Company held a monopoly over the entire area between the Cape and Horn, so that ships bound for New South Wales had to obtain a special licence. But a series of Acts for the convenience of whalers alone

¹ W.J. Dakin, Whalemen Adventurers, p.xv.
² Ibid., pp.xvi, 1.
had already eaten into the monopoly. Further onslaughts initiated by the whalers, prompted by the Spanish crisis, and supported by the Trade Committee, were resisted by the Company, which retained the right of surveillance over the whalers' activities.

Later experiences counteracted the pessimistic whaling reports of 1791. When King became Governor of New South Wales in 1800 his activities in the promotion of colonial trade were quite significant for the whaling industry. The ambiguity of Governor King's attitude towards Campbell is well illustrated in the Lady Barlow affair. Though the indirect results of the merchant's trade were helpful to his administration of the colony in terms of domestic results, King never definitely extended helpful patronage to the merchant whose worth he was forced to recognize officially. The Governor's official pressure against the East India Company may well have owed as much to his connection with the whaling Enderbys as to his belief in the need for colonial trade, and it is noteworthy that he was prepared to let the British whalers exploit colonial trade as effectively as the colonists. It should be remembered that the Enderbys knew of the Lady Barlow and her cargo as soon as did the Honourable Company, and it is almost certain that their source of information was Governor King. He was a debtor, and very close personal friend of the Enderbys, with whom his children spent their holidays, and his support was timely on more than one occasion for his friends. A plan submitted to the government in August 1800 proposed that whalers take merchandise to New South Wales in order to defeat the officer clique and to diminish the costs of whaling runs and thereby encourage the industry. Concurrently, King

---

advocated this plan in his despatches (and arranged for a one-third share in the first cargo). Three transports duly arrived under this scheme and for the next six years there was great activity by British whalers in the New South Wales whaling and sealing fields. On the departure of King in 1806 whaling 'interest became dulled and sporadic'. In 1802, King, though ostensibly offering every encouragement to commerce, had taken it upon himself to levy a 5% tax on Indian imports to the colony - for the official reason that it was necessary to encourage goods of English manufacture. This would have been a necessary measure had the colony been in danger of being flooded with imports beyond its needs. As things stood, however, the regulation constituted a direct encouragement to British whalers.

The Enderbys' actions in regard to the Lady Barlow have already been mentioned and their story is a significant backdrop to the negotiations that had stretched between Whitehall and India House over the previous years.

1 Eighteen ships of this kind used Sydney over these six years.

2 For a complete examination of the British whaling background see M. Roe, 'Australia's Place in "The Swing to the East", 1788-1810', Historical Studies, vol.8, No.30, May 1958. It may not have been entirely coincidence that British whaling activity in New South Wales reached a peak over a period exactly corresponding with King's governorship. Roe writes, 'The Duke of Portland had favoured detailed exploration of Bass Strait because whalers might thereby benefit. With Lord Pelham, a fellow Minister of State he was prepared to acquiesce in these vessels being regularly used in the colonial service. George Chalmers, secretary to the Trade Committee, and Navy Commissioner Schank were others in whom Enderby found "very friendly attention to our concerns". By 43 Geo III c90 the northern limits on Pacific whalers were relaxed apparently with the Company's concurrence.'

Governor King's enquiries of 1804 about the possible relaxation of trade and shipbuilding regulations had been referred to the Company. A vertigo - 'nests of pirates', camouflaged colonial 'whalers' sneaking into the China market, manned by seamen lured from short-handed British merchantmen - whirled in the minds of the Directors. The complete disassociation of colonists and honourable practices was painfully evident. 'Colonists' figured prominently as de-nationalised adventurers employed only in snatching the bread of trade from the mouth of their mother country. Not such a strange impression, perhaps, in view of the chastening result of American colonisation and the dangerous competition lately offered by American traders. Still, the Company continued to temporize.

Such proposals, indicating the rise of a new power which might acquire ascendancy in the Indian Seas impressed the Court as being a question of very great importance requiring the 'maturest deliberation'. This they certainly received. Over a year later the Secretary of the Board of Trade was asked if anything had been decided in regard to King's request for directions about the American traders, as an opportunity to send King's successor some instructions on the subject was about to occur. This enquiry was endorsed with the melancholy note,

The papers alluded to in the within Note have been several times under the Consideration of the Committee of Trade, and have lately been by Lord Auckland put into the hands of Sir Joseph Banks, who has stated his observations fully on the settlement of NSW, but nothing has yet been decided thereon.3

---

1 The Canton market, for many years the stronghold of the Company's monopoly, had received in 1801 only £2,488 worth of fur skins imported in British ships but had paid £2,272,212 for American imported skins.
But the permission granted Campbell (actually by the Board of Trade with the 'acquiescence' of the East India Company) to have the Sydney and her cargo admitted without penalty, galvanized the Company into a newly-found anxiety to have its position defined. The Court of Directors was relieved to be assured that no order was about to be issued which would prejudice their rights, claims and interest, but found it necessary to state that,

as the Court feel the most anxious solicitude with regard to the nature of the Trade which may arise between NSW and Europe, and the consequences to which it may be liable to be perverted, the Court are exceedingly desirous that a permanent arrangement should be made as early as may be convenient to his Majesty's Minister for the importation from those Territories of such Articles for Ship Building or Raw Materials, as their Lordships shall be of opinion may be permitted to be brought to these Kingdoms.¹

The Company was finally ready to bargain and their demand for a permanent arrangement governing colonial importations played into the Government's hands.

As it happened their Lordships already had it 'in contemplation to take this subject into consideration', for the Board of Trade files contain a number of interesting memoranda on the trade of New South Wales. Sir Joseph Banks was well represented by the usual weighty and coolly-reasoned arguments, delivered before the Committee in June 1806. One memorandum, from William Jacob to Lord Auckland,² outlined the impolicy of commercial monopolies which injured national commerce by clearing the seas for the sole enjoyment of the Americans. Not that this writer thought the colonists should be allowed entry to the India trade which 'would withdraw the attention of the colonists from their agricultural pursuits ...

¹ B.T.6/88, p.223.
² Dated 22 January 1807.
and seduce them into those commercial speculations which India presents to adventurers. Jacobs dismissed the objections 'most forcibly urged' by Lord Sheffield to the admission of any colonial built ships to British registers and advocated the opening of the fisheries and trade in the South Seas to all British subjects being of the opinion that if their particular interests were specifically protected there was little probability that the Company would not agree. Banks' opinions, while deferred to, were rigidly opposed by the unidentified writer of a memorandum who contended that as Sydney was not yet a British colony (a right which it would attain only by the passing of an appropriate Act of Parliament) it had no right to seek colonial privileges of trade. This writer argued for the preservation of the status quo with such loving attention to the need to preserve the whaling and sealing for British interests that one suspects he was not unconnected with the Enderbys. 1

In the meantime the Enderbys were greatly alarmed at the news of the expected arrival of the Sydney. In January 1806 they wrote to the Board of Trade and Plantations reiterating that such a step gravely jeopardised the entire Southern Whale Fishery, and was their excuse for raising the question at the time 'when a new Governor is about to depart for that Colony'. The clear inference that the Sydney should be stopped was ignored, further increasing the agitation of the Enderbys. The following May, they urged an interview with the Committee for Trade and Plantations so that the whaling interests could press their case. 2 Whether or not they had

2 'We shall now feel ourselves much obliged for an interview with their Lordships on this subject, for the government of ourselves and the others concerned in carrying on the Southern Whale Fishery from Great Britain.' /Chas, Sam, Geo. Enderby, Thos. and John Mather/ 22 May 1806.
their interview is difficult to establish, but it is extremely probable that some meeting was arranged. Certainly the Board of Trade was kept well supplied with whaling statistics, particularly in regard to Port Jackson.¹ Statistics supplied for the Southern Whale Fishery indicated that the trade (or the number of those employed) had fallen by one third between 1800 and 1807.²

Nevertheless the case of the Sydney had convinced Lord Auckland, President of the Board of Trade, that immediate recourse must be had to the Cabinet for a decision 'on the subject of our Botany Bay establishment'. It was a decision that would need some courage, touching as it did, political rather than economic principles. As he outlined to the Prime Minister, Lord Grenville,

The people interested in our British fishery object to this, as ruinous to their whale fishery, and as producing no seamen to the navy. The East India Company object to it as an infringement of their charter and also as having tended already to the building of ships calculated to follow the China trade, and eventually leading to the most alarming consequences. The short question will be: is it the intention and policy of Government that these establishments shall be considered as colonies, with all the privileges of colonists?³

Lord Grenville had already indicated his attitude to trade and his hostility to the exclusiveness of Lord Hawkesbury - the patron of the Southern Whale Fishery, in no uncertain terms:

¹ It was suspected that some of the ships which were employed in the fishery by colonists (most of which were registered in London) had joint owners in London with a view of ostensibly carrying on the Whale Fishery from hence and to bring home the produce of those ships which they intend to keep stationary on the Fishery there. B.T.6/88, p.255. Joint ownership was certainly resorted to by Simeon Lord, John Macarthur and Campbell.
² Ibid., p.253.
³ Auckland to Grenville, 31 May 1806, Dropmore Papers, vol.8, p.165.
I am as little disposed in this case as in any other to give in to Lord Hawkesbury's doctrine that commerce is to be sacrificed to navigation, the principal to the accessory (sic) ...  

So the Court of Directors were informed that the Sydney was to be admitted, and the problem that it raised considered by the Government, who would nevertheless attempt to conserve the Company's interests. The matter hung fire for a while as the Government was not anxious to introduce any new bills before the end of the session, but the matter was revived again in August 1806, when Mr Windham desired to know what had been decided about New South Wales as he was sending despatches to the Governor. At this stage a short bill was being drafted in accord with Grenville's approval of the intention to put New South Wales on the footing of a British colony. However, the awful complexity of this business alone, regardless of the critical effects on British policy by the French wars and the Continental System, reduced Lord Auckland to the point of exasperation that produced the savage reply to an enquiry from his Prime Minister - 'I find neither time nor abilities to bring it to any sudden shape or conclusion.'

It was February 1807 before the draft of 'A Bill for opening the Trade of New South Wales under licences from the East India Company' went forth to the Company for its approval. The attention of the Company was particularly requested on the form of licence to be granted, the size of vessels to be permitted to be built in the colony, and the course they should be allowed to pursue, along with

---

1 Grenville to Auckland, 19 May 1806, ibid., p.144.
2 Auckland to Grenville, 16 August 1806, ibid., p.284.
any other observations that should occur to the Directors. The
Court added three new clauses (1) excluding Indian residents and
East India Company servants from the benefits of the bill,
(2) requiring the colonial ships to unload at the Company's Blackwall
Docks and (3) reaffirming that the Act in no way altered the original
rights of the Company. These, together with the form of the licence
were approved and returned. This was merely formal approval: the
previous December the Chairman and Deputy Chairman had attended a
meeting of the Trade Committee of the Privy Council to consider a
bill for regulating trade to New South Wales, to be in force for
five years from 1 March 1807, with substantially the same pro-
visions. At that time the same bill - differing only in some
slight drafting details was approved by a committee of the Board of
Trade. But no more was ever heard of these drafts and the Bill
itself never saw the light of day. The Grenville Ministry went out
of office in March 1807, and with one exception the trade of New
South Wales was officially ignored until after 1812.

The Enderbys kept up a constant correspondence and agitation
regarding their monopoly, to which in June 1807, they tried to attach
a monopoly of the colonial sealing. In 1809 prohibitive duties
amounting to about £20 a ton were imposed on oil collected in
colonial ships. All indications are that the whalers were more
influential than the apparently omnipotent East India Company in
safeguarding their privileges in the face of a liberal adminis-
tration. Campbell, showing a cool mercantile prudence, knew when to

2 H.R.N.S.W., 6, pp.222-3.
withdraw, though the injustice rankled. However, there is little to indicate that his, or any other colonial interest, was as seriously restricted by the failure to gain the right to send freight to England in their own ships, as they were by denial of the right to compete with the British whalers.
1806 was not a year of much profit either for the colony of New South Wales or for Robert Campbell who returned in the Albion on 19 August. Although the Lady Barlow venture had not been profitable, Campbell had used his time in England to cement his commercial association with William Wilson, undertaking shares in ships registered in London and employed in the fishery. The Albion, a whaler registered in Wilson's name, had sailed from London for Portsmouth on 1 April, touching at St Jago for a week, and at the Cape of Good Hope for three weeks, completing her journey in the 'comparatively small space' of four months and seventeen days. Mrs Campbell returned with her husband. Their sons remained in England, but they were accompanied by John Palmer's daughter and his son George, and perhaps even by Robert Campbell Junior (Robert's nephew, and son of his elder brother William who had been Town Clerk in Greenock), who was to become a clerk in his uncle's counting house. Presumably, Campbell's advice had governed the selection of the Albion's cargo which the Sydney Gazette announced to be 'rich useful and extensive'. A few days before the Albion's arrival, the Elizabeth, another ship part-owned by Campbells and Wilson, had come to Port Jackson with a luxurious cargo (butter, cheese, hams, 

---

1 S.G., 24 August 1806.
2 S.G., 24 August 1806. There is a complete account of her journey in Goddard R.H., James Wilson, ch.I.
brown stout, shoes, cottons, threads, slops, canvases, earthenware, nails, pins and needles, corks, perfumery and Brazil tobacco) which was opened for inspection and sale at the Campbell warehouse.

Campbell returned to find a colony enervated by the flooding of the Hawkesbury river earlier in the year. Hard-wrought property and stock and the annual harvest of grain had been destroyed. The Sydney which had been delayed in Port Jackson by news of the Lady Barlow's detention in London, had been chartered by Governor King to go to Calcutta for wheat or rice to insure against the want certain to be created by the Hawkesbury flood. Government labourers had helped clear her of the oil and seal skins with which she was to have sailed for England, but some timber remained on board. She had sailed for India on 12 April 1806, at the most favourable season of the year, and was expected to complete the voyage in seven months. Six months after his own return Campbell learnt from the General Wellesley of the loss of the Sydney on a reef off the coast of New Guinea. Her loss must have been a major disaster for Campbell & Co. for not only was she uninsured for a voyage to India, but was unprovided for in the contract concluded by Palmer (acting as Campbell's agent) with the Governor. As the ship was on an errand of mercy Campbell felt that the government owed his company

1 S.G., 10 August 1806.
2 S.G., 30 March 1806.
3 Ibid.
4 The crew was saved and the captain, Forest, subsequently arrived at Calcutta on 9 October 1806 in the ship Varumna from Penang. S.G., 15 February 1807. Other details were carried by the Prince of Wales Island Gazette of 29 November 1806.
some compensation. It was many years and countless memorials later that he finally obtained the equivalent of £5,000 for her in 1821.

Disaster struck the firm again in the middle of the same year when the ship Venus was seized and absconded with by her crew while on its way to the Derwent with supplies for Port Dalrymple and Hobart Town. The Venus had previously arrived from Calcutta under the command of William Stewart, but Palmer had put a new crew on the ship against Stewart's advice. At the time she had on board 'certain stores the property of H.M. and a quantity of necessary stores the property of the officers of that Settlement; and sundry other property belonging to private individuals'.

Little could have occurred in the first year after his return to make Campbell optimistic about the future. Apart from his own business disasters he returned to a listless market and a smouldering society. The same year had seen a change of Governors. Captain William Bligh, who succeeded King had arrived in the colony only a few days before Campbell himself to sort out the stagnation and dislocation which had been bequeathed him. The merchant was brought prominently to the new Governor's notice. The new Governor Bligh wrote,

> When I arrived in this Colony in August 1806, the person who was represented to me to have done the greatest services to the inhabitants in general was a Mr Robert Campbell a merchant in this town. Lieutenant Col. Paterson who was and still remains Lieutenant Governor of the Territory, told me that the price of his merchandise was the same in the time of scarcity as in abundance, that he had advanced a great sum of money, and protected the poor and distressed settler; and that in fact he was the only private pillar which supported the honest people of the Colony. My predecessor Governor King gave me nearly

---

1 S.G., 20 July 1806.
2 Bligh arrived in H.M.S. Porpoise on 6 August 1806, officially landing on 8 August but not assuming the government until 14 August, when King retired to Parramatta.
the same account of Mr Campbell, and I understood that he had represented to his Majesty's Ministers of great expenses this gentleman had been at by meritoriously building Storehouses and supplying the necessitous poor with what they wanted, although they could make no returns, the consequences of which was, the colony became indebted to him 16 or 18 thousand pounds and the debt is since considerably increased as I am informed.

Bligh was writing to the Right Honourable Lord Minto in August 1808, but his point was later taken up by Watson, the editor of Historical Records of Australia when he wrote, 'The removal of the settlers from a condition of want and penury during the years 1800-1806 was due more to the activities of Robert Campbell and his partners, and to the system of government importations than to any exertions on the part of Governor King.'

In spite of the absence of any of Campbell's own account books it nevertheless becomes clear that he had laid out a lot of capital in the colony since his first lenient treatment of debtors, such as Stogdell and Reiby, in 1801. From soon after his return, regularly until the end of 1806, Campbell advertised in the Gazette for the repayment of debts, payment of accounts, and retirement of promissory notes due to Campbell & Co. before his departure in 1805, on pain of legal proceedings being instituted. At the same time he requested presentation of any claims incurred in his absence and desired the holders of any bills drawn by Lieutenant Colonel Paterson or Captain Kemp on Palmer to present them to Campbell & Co. for payment. In case of any misunderstanding in the minds of the public he informed them that Campbell & Co. were prepared to take one fourth of the amount for any purchase at their warehouse in

---

copper coin, 'but no bills, whatever, payable in that currency can be negociated (sic)'\(^1\). At the end of the year he reminded the settlers indebted to him that those whose promissory notes were payable in wheat at the price given by government in 1804 and 1805 could discharge their debts at the rate of 15s. sterling per bushel,\(^2\) provided the wheat was delivered at Sydney by the 1 March following. The wheat was to be received in the Parramatta area by Rowland Hassall and at the Hawkesbury by Thomas Biggers\(^3\) until Campbell should be able to ship it to Sydney in his boats. Those settlers who intended taking advantage of this offer, and who were not indebted to others, he was prepared to supply with sugar and other articles at wholesale prices to assist in defraying the expense of thrashing their grain. After such a reasonable offer Campbell hoped there would be no need to take legal steps for enforcing payment, specifically 'from those who have not met with misfortunes occasioned by the Flood of last Season'.\(^4\) But there was apparently little response.\(^5\) The following advertisement appeared at the beginning of the following March,

---

1. S.G., 28 September, 5 October, 12 October 1806.
2. In 1804 Campbell had been accepting wheat at 7s. a bushel.
3. Between 1 January 1804 and 11 December 1806 Thomas Biggers had collected for Campbell & Co. 10,445 bushels of wheat at different prices, 806 bushels of maize and 178 bushels of barley. In 1810 the court allowed him to claim a fee of 4% on wheat at 7s. a bushel and corn at 3s. 9d. (S.C.P. Court of Civil Jurisdiction, vol.6, no.330 and vol.7, no.23.) Allowing the above prices and 3s. a bushel for barley, the value of the grain collected by Biggers ranges somewhere around £3,800.
4. S.G., 21, 28 December 1806.
5. In the period immediately after the harvest (January to March 1807) Campbell deposited grain worth £3,057 in the Store, and in the next quarter he received a further £688. (See H.R.A., I, 6, pp.135-6, 142-3.) Some proportion of this may have been for long-
As the Settlers and Others who are indebted to the Concern of Messrs Campbell & Co. have paid no attention to former Advertisements, the Subscriber will now be under the painful necessity of having recourse to legal steps if such Debts are not immediately liquidated, or a reasonable period assigned for the payment, if it can be depended on.¹

Despite these notices Campbell seems to have avoided recourse to the law for many years - until his own difficulties made collection imperative. Between 1810 and 1814 he brought over a hundred actions in the court of civil jurisdiction. With two or three exceptions all of them were for goods, money advanced, and accounts and promissory notes outstanding between 1803 and 1806. Most of the amounts were small, and mainly between £10 and £100. Less than ten of his debtors came from Sydney; the others gave their addresses as Hawkesbury, Windsor, Parramatta, Baulkham Hills, Seven Hills, Toongabbie, Nepean, Concord, Prospect. In 1810 Campbell was given judgements for the recovery of nearly £1,500, and for each of the following three years an average of £1,250.² Thus debts due to Campbell, incurred between 1803 and 1805, were confirmed to the amount of over £5,700. This did not include £1,355 he successfully sued Palmer for in 1813, being for debts collected for him by Palmer in 1806. Therefore, up to 1806 (and even five years later) Campbell & Co. had over £7,000 unreturned by their small settler debtors. Though available evidence is erratic and unreliable, it is not unreasonable to suppose that easily twice this amount was originally outlaid by the firm. If the £7,000 represented bad standing debts, for Campbell rarely received as much as £2,000 annually, for grain. (See King Papers, vol.3, N.S.W. Commissariat Department.) See Table of Grain Receipts received by Campbell 1800-1807, Appendix B.

¹ S.G., 15 February, 1 March 1807.
² For a list of these cases see Appendix, E.
debts accrued between 1803 and 1806, it is not improbable that approximately the same amount was advanced between 1806 and 1808. This comes reasonably close to the 16 or 18 thousand pounds for which Bligh claimed the colony to be indebted to Campbell in 1808—especially when one considers that the first-mentioned debts were still uncollected by 1810, and that some proportion may have been paid back during the intervening period. This is sufficient indication both of the lenity of Campbell's policy, by which he permitted small settlers to work their properties instead of foreclosing, and of the truth of the assertions that he provided them with supplies and sometimes cash during the critical early years. While it is true that these people provided Campbell with a market, a market without money never has been eagerly sought. Campbell himself must have believed, as did Macquarie, in the desirability of the establishment of an independent small-holding community in New South Wales.

The colony had already reached a critical stage in its development by the time Bligh became Governor. The Grenville Ministry had accepted that if New South Wales was not afforded outlets to the world it would remain a stagnant and expensive den of thieves. To acquire a healthy economic independence and reduce their dragging expense on the home administration it was necessary that the colonists explore to the full any avenues of self-help still

1 James Gordon asserted that 'Between May and December 1810 I wrote to Mr Campbell's debtors at the Hawkesbury'. S.C.P. Court of Civil Jurisdiction, vol.12, no.61.

2 In his memorial to the Treasury of 1812 Campbell referred to 'the numerous settlers he has so liberally supported in cultivating their farms, not having it in their power to liquidate their debts from their crops being so repeatedly destroyed by Inundation'. B.P. Sutro Coll., Microfilm FM4/23.
available to them once all the external interests concerned had been reconciled. It was this very feeling that John Macarthur both exploited and promoted when he outlined his intoxicating plans for the development of an Australian wool industry, in London, in 1803 and 1804. Within the colony it was already obvious that the way to salvation did not lie through agriculture which, if pursued with success, would produce only gluts and depressions. In 1805 the Rev. Samuel Marsden had written:

As we now abound with the necessaries of life some article of commerce must be suggested by Government in order to find employment for the people. We have wheat sufficient for more than two years now in the colony and have no market for it. Perhaps the fishery is the only object that at present offers employment for the labouring people. The settlers begin to feel the want of a market for their surplus grain very much and will be greatly distressed for everything excepting bread and meat unless commerce can be made to supply their wants ...

Trade was the colonists' hope. Not only would trade secure the links with other countries which would break down the crippling isolation of New Holland, but it might encourage free settlers, more capital and a richer society. Prior to the crossing of the Blue Mountains every rational probability indicated that the colony's economic staples would be found in the adjacent seas, and that future generations of Australians would belong to a predominantly seafaring race. New South Wales in 1806 was still a territory of less than 1,500 square miles, bounded in the interior by the Nepean and Hawkesbury rivers and on the seaboard by the apparently limitless Pacific Ocean. In the early days ships were the only communication between the isolated settlements. The man who owned a boat was on the way to prosperity.

---

The change of governors in 1806 merely emphasised the need for a change in thinking and in methods within the colony. It was still to be several years before the trade of New South Wales was of sufficient magnitude to be directly affected by British policy. In spite of the difficulties met by Campbell in England, from 1806 onwards, colonial trade began to develop in depth and complexity. New products were exploited and more people were able to engage in speculation. The authorities encouraged this by a subtle and probably unconscious change in policy. Before the end of King's reign most supplies had been acquired in and by government vessels or by government contract, but as the supply of colonial ships and resources increased, the government slid out of the field letting contracts only for those necessities required by the Stores.

When Campbell left for England in 1805 he was the only regular merchant resident in the colony, with the exception of Chace, Chinnery & Co. of Madras, whose agent William Tough retired in 1804. He continued to occupy this position for a few more years without any real competition, but from 1806 there appear around him emancipists, who, with little beside their own initiative and nerve, engaged successfully in developing colonial trade. The most famous of their number, Simeon Lord,¹ was just beginning his shipping speculations which for a few years were less distinct than those of Kable & Underwood, who conducted a successful business mainly on the basis of a ship-building licence. There were few colonial vessels, no capital to buy imported ones, or trade combinations to carry the risk, and those who built ships could engage further in trade than

could their fellows without capital. By 1805 there were already
21 locally owned vessels in New South Wales, though only two
exceeded 100 tons. Kable & Underwood's activities (in some of which
Lord was involved) had commenced some two years earlier, and by 1806
they owned the Governor King, the Endeavour (13 tons), and Johnson
which small vessels were engaged in sealing, venturing as far afield
as New Zealand. As their concern prospered they were able to
finance more complex expeditions. Andrew Thompson, whose vessels
normally carried on a domestic trade to Parramatta and the
Hawkesbury, nevertheless made the occasional sortie into the open
seas. The shipping of Isaac Nichols seems to have limited itself
more to coastal trade, transporting coals and cedar. Another
emancipist, Thomas Reiby, who tried his hand at sealing and Pacific
trading, had some slight contact with Campbell who presumably
collected some of his outward cargoes from these subsidiary
entrepreneurs. Many of these men formed partnerships in their
first speculations but from small beginnings most of them prospered,
backed sometimes by the capital of the officers whose financial
interest in cargoes had shifted subtly ever since King first gave
permission for a number of settlers (Lord, Underwood, Hassall,
Oakes, and others) to purchase on their own account from the Minerva
in 1800. Now the officers had to find other uses for their
resources, which were not denied to any emancipist who could promise
a tempting profit. John Macarthur's name weaves in and out of the

1 S.G., 10 February 1805.
2 It must be remembered that though settlers acquired the right in
1800 to purchase directly from visiting ships, money to pay for
such goods was still as scarce as ever it had been, so that men like
Lord, Underwood and Oakes, who had previous connections with the
officers possibly purchased cargoes with the financial aid of these
men.
stories of the rise of several of the trading emancipists and the parallel development of colonial trade.

Campbell would have called these men traders rather than merchants, for their procedure was not based on sound knowledge of markets and commodities so much as upon an appreciation of local profits and scarcities. The man whom Bligh found 'a gentleman like merchant' was not prepared to admit such competitors to fellowship. About Lord he was brutally frank - 'a Man whose infamy is too well established to require any comments from me'. Though some of them built successful businesses, they all lacked the steadiness of the orthodox merchant.

Until now all the trade, other than from India, had been carried on by external agencies, the British and American whalers and their fellow-countrymen whose speculative cargoes had been relayed to their market via the officers trade combine. Regular shipments and lenient terms, such as those provided by Campbell, had destroyed the economic exclusiveness of the colonial officers, and opened the way for colonial exploitation of trade opportunities. Exploitation by outsiders began to be openly resented for the first time. Adventurers, once welcomed by the isolated dwellers of Port Jackson, were now competitors. The Sydney Gazette commented in 1806 that,

The seal trade bids fair to turn out more advantageously this season than it has done for several years past. We

\[1\]

Lord v. Palmer, August 1808, S.C.P. Miscellaneous Bundle 15, Document 2. His fellow-merchant Alexander Riley, after some business dealings with Lord, was just as scathing when he wrote, 'It is necessary we should meet with such men sometimes - if only to prove a contrast with those who are Honest!' Alexander to Edward Riley, 7 June 1815, Riley Papers, Mss. vol.2, p.214.

\[2\]

5 January 1806.
do not hear of any but our own small craft being at present in this particular employ, owing as it may be reasonably supposed, to the disappointments that have invariably attended the distant speculator, whose prodigious risque and expense of fitting out could scarcely hope a compensation in the most prolific seasons. These disappointments, however illiberal and even unfeeling to exult in, must nevertheless eventually secure to us a right which propinquity would seem to give us, and of which, in the infant state of our commerce, it would be almost as unfeeling to deprive us.

The writer was echoing the sentiments of Sir Joseph Banks when he refused his support to the British whaling monopoly.

The fisheries were to remain a colonial staple of increasing importance for the next few years, in spite of external competition. Even when the 1809 legislation for a duty of £20 a ton on colonial caught oil was passed there were methods of avoiding its worst effects. The most obvious one was for colonial entrepreneurs to take shares in British ships (such as Macarthur's in the Dart) while maintaining smaller vessels to find the oil, transhipping to British ships at Sydney. Campbell's part share in Wilson's ventures was his own answer to the restrictions on colonial trade, for by swinging the emphasis to British built ships he avoided the penalties

---

1 In November 1806, Governor King, in a conversation with the master of the Commerce (James Birnie), observed that this ship would be in a similar situation on her arrival in England with the Lady Barlow. On 11 November 1806 a bill of sale was made by Lord Kable and Underwood (owners of the Commerce) to James Birnie for £2,000, and she was registered in New South Wales. This same expedient was suggested by Campbell in relation to the Lady Barlow before she left New South Wales in 1805. The Commerce was to remain the property of Birnie from November 1806 to cancellation of the transfer in October 1807, though she was to be assigned to Lord & Co. on her arrival in England, along with the bills for £2,000. With the ship ostensibly the sole property of Birnie it was hoped to ensure her acceptance by the English customs. The Commerce left in February 1806 for London, via the Penantipodes, with a cargo of oil, skins and wood valued by Lord at £30,000; but she returned to the colony in April, and after a long and bitter dispute her cargo was transferred to the Sydney Cove. Later in the year Lord brought a law suit against Birnie. Lord v. Birnie, S.C.P. Appeals Court, 1807, pp.245-339.
on colonial vessels, and was able to utilize the advantages of an English trade connection. In this way Campbell continued to exploit the sealing grounds in which his commitments continued to expand until 1810. The effects of the British legislation of 1809 could not have been totally crippling if Campbell only employed 60 men in the sealing in 1805 but 128 in 1812. Nor is there evidence that any of his colonial suppliers were forced to withdraw. Indeed, many of his future competitors accumulated their working capital from the fishery, and it must be remembered that at this period the number of colonial traders was not reduced, but growing steadily, which expansion cannot be attributed merely to the discovery of later trade outlets. It was still important news in Sydney at the end of 1806 that 18s. to 25s. could be had for salted seal skins imported to England, and even 5s. to 12s. for inferior ones. The Britannia whaler in the middle of the same year was ready to receive on board 17,707 skins from Simeon Lord for the English market. Some of the colonists even branched out into bay whaling. The Gazette records the arrival of 'the private colonial ship King George, from a successful cruise, in which she had the good fortune to kill fifteen black whale'.

During 1806 all Campbell & Co.'s shipping connections were with the fishery. The Sophia, Elizabeth, Albion and Alexander, the last

1 Committee on Transportation, p.69.
2 S.G., 7 December 1806.
3 S.G., 13 July 1806; Lord v. Birnie, S.C.P., Appeals Court 1807, p.262. These skins were consigned to Alexander Birnie in London and were expected to realise over £15,000, £3,000 of which was to be appropriated for the purchase of the ship Star. The balance of £12,000 sterling was to be paid by Birnie to Messrs Plummer & Co. on account of Lord & Co., ibid.
4 S.G., 10 August 1806.
three part owned by Wilson & Co., were fishing in various localities, the Sophia at the Derwent, and the Elizabeth and Albion whaling off New Zealand. The Alexander returned to England at the end of the year 1806 with 300 tons of oil, 20 tons of fine salted skins and 1,500 fine fur skins.\(^1\) The following two years they were all (with the exception of the Sophia) engaged in the same lucrative pursuit, joined in 1808 by the Rose. On her return from Canton in 1808, even the Perseverance was sent sealing (in company with the small colonial vessel Fox), which was to be her main occupation for a number of years.

Even before Campbell left in the Lady Barlow at the beginning of 1805 sealers had had to go further afield in their search for seals. One of the last letters Campbell wrote in 1805, before handing his affairs over to John Palmer, was to William Collins who was engaged in the Derwent fishery -

I have every reason to hope that you may discover sealing ground that has never been visited and as skins have became (sic) such a desirable object I strongly recommend engaging a Gang for that purpose or even two if work could be found. If that should not be the case and no other employment occur for the ship after the fishing season in the Derwent is over it might be then eligible for you to proceed off New Zealand either to procure sperm Oil or continue in pursuit of Furs.\(^2\)

However successful the colonists were in their sealing there were apparent limits. The sealing grounds were quickly overrun by rival gangs and the closer grounds, comprising mainly the islands in Bass Strait were to be rapidly exhausted by the indiscriminate killing of the seals by colonial, British and American gangs. Sea-elephant

\(^1\) S.G., 2 November 1806.

\(^2\) R. Campbell to William Collins, 13 January 1805, S.C.P., Court of Appeal Papers 1801-06.
oil, a valuable by-product as early as the middle of 1805 was listed as 'an article that has lately become excessively scarce and difficult to be procured in small quantities'.\(^1\) Competition became intense and in the colony some queries were raised about the fate of trade when the local sealing grounds should be finally exhausted. The depopulation of the sealing grounds, even more than hostile legislation was probably responsible for the abandonment of colonial interest in fisheries in the second decade of the century.

Greater variety of produce was the only solution, the search for which launched Australian interest in Pacific trade.

By the period of Campbell's return from England the resources of the Pacific, more especially the South Seas, were beginning to be appraised. For some happy reason the area including the Fiji, Samoa, Society, Cook and Tuamotu groups of islands was recognized as falling within a definition of 'the islands adjacent' covered by Phillip's commission, therefore permitting colonial vessels to trade in the South Seas without infringing the East India Company monopoly.\(^2\) By abandoning definition of 'the islands adjacent' to the colonial governors, the Colonial Office left room for a liberal interpretation of the area available for free colonial trade and determined unconsciously the type of commodities which would be searched out by the colonists. From these circumstances grew Australia's Pacific trade, the 'nursery of her future mercantile

---

\(^1\) S.G., 19 May 1805.

\(^2\) Bonds of up to £2,000 were required to be entered into by the owners of colonial vessels such as the one exacted by King from Kable & Underwood in 1805, in which they undertook not to navigate the King George 'beyond the limits of this Territory extending from ... the Latitude of 10° 37' South to ... the Latitude of 43° 39' South, nor further to the Eastward than the Longitude of 130° West of Greenwich'. H.R.A., I, 846-847, Note 234.
development’ - an irregular but colorful epic, pursued in a forgotten corner of the world.

Campbell and his English partners Wilson & Co. used the Pacific trade as an auxiliary to their main trade. The whaler Elizabeth made two trips in 1807 and 1808 to Fiji to obtain sandalwood, carrying away on one occasion 120 tons which she probably disposed of in China on her way back to England. The Duchess of York, which came from Calcutta in April 1807 with an unspecified cargo, made a trip to Fiji for some 70 tons of sandalwood in October, which helped to make her 'a full ship' when she sailed for Canton the following month. The Eagle which came from Calcutta in June 1808, whence she returned in August, carried sandalwood and coal. What records there are of Campbell's activities in this field do not indicate any great enthusiasm for it on his part. The Pacific trade was less likely to appeal to an established merchant because of its high risks - hostile natives, difficult navigation - and because of the problem of re-export to China. Campbell's main connection with the South Seas came later as agent for the London Missionary Society, but many of his competitors seized enthusiastically on the products of the Pacific. Of these, pork - both fresh and salted from Tahiti - was one of the first known to the colony. It was imported originally as a necessity, in government ships, though between 1803 and 1807 only one cargo of pork reached Sydney from the islands (which interestingly enough, was brought in the Harrington, belonging to Chace, Chinnery & Co.).

1 From 1807 onwards this trade flourished, exploited almost exclusively by ships jointly owned by John

Macarthur and Garnham Blaxcell (e.g. Elizabeth) and in conjunction with the English firm of Hullett & Co. (the Parramatta). Blaxcell's activity in this trade was prodigious, though in the ensuing years an occasional voyage was made by nearly all the emancipist shipowners - T. Reiby & E. Wills, Kable & Underwood, Simeon Lord, Isaac Nichols. Several years later they were joined by the non-colonial interests of Birnie & Co. and the London Missionary Society.¹

Pork, which found a moderate but stable home market, was a less exciting commodity than pearl shell from the Tuamotus, or sandalwood from the Marquesas, or even the trepang (beche-de-mer) or sea-slug, a delicacy which found an eager market in China. Though occasional cargoes of these luxury commodities were acquired by Campbell and his competitors they were hampered in their disposal by the prohibitions on colonial trade with China. Following the illegal departure of James Aiken in the American ship Criterion, King had proclaimed as late as July 1806, in pursuance of his instructions (article 12) that 'every British subject is forbid entering into any Mercantile Contract with the Subjects of Foreign Powers, on pain of being sent from the Colony', that it was to be understood by the supercargoes and masters of foreign vessels 'That no intercourse whatever, will be allowed of between this Colony and the Honourable East India Company's Territories and the Coasts of China and the Islands adjacent thereunto, where European Nations resort'. This was re-emphasised by Bligh in September 1806 when he refused Simeon Lord permission to send the King George to China with sandalwood from the Fijis, reiterating that though colonial vessels were free

¹ For a list of pork-collecting ships between 1801 and 1830 see ibid.
to trade with the Fijis their cargoes must be transhipped at Sydney to vessels authorized to trade with China. ¹ Such absolute regulations only invited evasion, which could be achieved by taking shares in American vessels, or in a whole range of arrangements practised by the ingenious Lord, who at one stage purchased the prize ship Santa Anna at an exorbitant figure, intending to send her to China but was much chagrined when Bligh refused to clear the ship for this purpose. He was not mollified when Campbell's colonial built brig, the Perseverance² sailed for Canton in February 1807 with the Governor's blessing, for the purpose of collecting supplies for the colony.³

With the firmer establishment of Campbell & Co. and its now acknowledged benefit to the colony, Robert Campbell's own role in the community was subtly changing. Having come under the notice of Governor Bligh who 'always found him just and humane and a gentleman like merchant' Campbell found himself drawn into the restricted colonial society which gravitated around the Governor. His more convivial brother-in-law had always had entrée to these circles, but at the end of 1806 the Gazette noticed that 'On Wednesday se'night an elegant entertainment was given by J. Palmer Esq. to a large party which was on Wednesday last repeated by Robert

¹ See E.C. Rowland, op.cit., p.166.
² The Perseverance, of some 130 tons was one of the largest ships built in the colony by this date. She was ceremonially launched 'in the finest style possible' on 24 January 1807 before a crowd containing 'many persons of the first respectability.' The faithful servant of Campbell & Co. for many years, she fulfilled the hopes expressed by the Gazette on the occasion of her launching: 'strength and beauty are united in her structure and perseverance will, we trust, insure to her an uninterrupted series of successes'. See S.G., 25 January 1807.
Campbell Esq., to which came the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor. Campbell was by now a man of visible substance with several years' intimate knowledge of the colonial economy and what almost amounted to a record of public service, to his credit. Bligh, already impressed by what he had heard of Campbell, and convinced that some prominent colonists were awaiting an opportunity to undermine his regime and authority, was quick to turn to the merchant for advice and support. Increasingly Campbell became involved in the public administration of the colony: first, a few months after his return, the management of the Police and Orphan Fund (at a 5% fee) devolved on him. As these were the public moneys of the colony it made Campbell, in effect, Colonial Treasurer.

When Bligh dismissed John Harris as a magistrate and Naval Officer in May 1807 he appointed Campbell to both positions, thus causing great unquiet in the breasts of those who could see their former liberties, possible under a lax administration, being drastically interfered with. The dismissed Surgeon Harris gave this version of affairs at the end of 1807;

The principal agents are - who do (you) think? Robert Campbell, Naval Officer, collector, treasurer, and factotum. It is really distressing to see the arbitrary measures he uses with all vessels but his own; consequently his do as they please. His next in command is little Jack Palmer, magistrate - total director of the public stores, mills, grain, and all other thing or charge; and I assure you that Campbell & him do as they please.

1 S.G., 23 November 1806.
3 S.G., 14 June 1807.
4 Harris to Mrs King, 25 November 1807. H.R.N.S.W., VI, p.339.
In his forlorn fight against the rum tide Bligh had attempted to curtail the domestic manufacture of spirits. One of the reasons for Harris's dismissal was his failure in the capacity of naval officer to carry out the Governor's orders. When the Dart (jointly owned by Hullett & Co. of London and John Macarthur) arrived in Port Jackson in March 1807 she had on board (without his instructions, according to Macarthur) a sixty-gallon still, consigned to Macarthur, and a forty-gallon one for his firm friend Captain Abbott. The stills were ordered into the stores by Bligh, pending their return to the London customs. However, with their worms removed, Harris had allowed the large copper containers to be retained by Macarthur, ostensibly to unpack some goods they contained. When Bligh wished to re-ship the stills by the Duke of Portland he refused to allow Macarthur to sell the stills or retain the coppers. Campbell, ordered to retrieve them, sent his nephew in his place to collect the coppers from the house of Garnham Blaxcell (a business associate of Macarthur). As Campbell had not supplied his nephew with a warrant (an omission dictated presumably by the mistaken assumption that he was dealing with a reasonable man in a routine duty, especially in the face of Macarthur's illegal possession of the property) Macarthur brought an action against Robert Campbell junior, for illegal seizure of the stills.1

The incident which ultimately led to the Bligh rebellion of 26 January 1808 was the action taken over the schooner Parramatta, again jointly owned by Hullett & Co. and John Macarthur, and in

1 In a sympathetic court he obtained a verdict (by majority) on the technicality that Campbell junior was neither Naval Officer, Magistrate, nor the holder of specific government orders for taking possession of Macarthur's property. H.R.A., VI, p.178.
which Campbell was as deeply involved as he could be in his joint capacity of Naval Officer and magistrate, without giving actual direction to the action. It is unnecessary here to re-trace in all its petty and convoluted detail Macarthur's defiance of the Governor's authority. Briefly, the Parramatta in June 1807 had concealed a convict John Hoare, who was given his freedom at Tahiti. Under the port regulations the master of any vessel and two bondsmen were subject to a total penalty of £900 not to assist escaping convicts. The two bondsmen of the Parramatta, Macarthur and Blaxcell were required to forfeit their bond by the Naval Officer. They lodged an appeal, but the vessel and its papers were held by the Naval Officer, and two constables were stationed on board (instead of the usual soldiers of the Corps). Macarthur then gave notice of his intention to abandon the ship and crew, so that the latter should be forced to come on shore in search of food.

The course of the action suggests that this manoeuvre was planned merely to annoy, as there were sufficient provisions on board for the crew, though the captain (Glen) maintained he could not use them as they had been given up to the Naval Officer to whom he felt urged to apply for directions before using any more provisions. Campbell, used to dealing with ships' crews, but in the eyes of Harris 'the most haughty Bashaw you ever beheld', when applied to by the mates and seamen of the ship on this impudent errand, was moved only to anger by the deputation and 'threatened to kick them from the door'. When Macarthur refused to present himself to

1 In a ship of little over 100 tons it was impossible that a man could remain concealed without connivance. It was whispered that Hoare, who had been concerned in a number of Macarthur transactions was shipped out by his employer to avoid the consequences of their discovery.

2 H.R.A., I, 6, p.347.
explain his actions to the Judge Advocate Atkins he was arrested and committed for trial before the Criminal Court which met on 25 January 1808. The rebellion which occurred as a sequel to this trial not only deprived the colony of its Governor, but robbed it of stability and development for the following two years; and Robert Campbell, whose affairs were already identified with the colony's, maintained that he was never able to effectually repair the damage it caused to his concerns.
CHAPTER IX

THE BLIGH REBELLION

'Indeed, the situation of the Colony and the characters of those who composed it produced evils beyond the wit of man, or of Governor, to prevent.'

George Suttor: Memoirs.

How did the merchant become so deeply involved in the troubled politics of New South Wales that resulted in the overthrow of the Governor in 1808? Campbell's 'extensive concerns' in the settlement would, in any circumstances, have made it difficult for him to withdraw himself as thoroughly from the arena as did that discreet parson Samuel Marsden; but all the evidence indicates that far from seeking to play as passive a role as his commercial commitments would allow, Campbell actively played the politician in 1808. To attempt to gauge why, we may well consider broadly what he had to gain or lose by firm adherence to the Governor's cause. First, there are his obvious allegiances: the merchant was dependent on government patronage and stable administration for his livelihood. Campbell had everything to gain by preserving the benevolent interest of Bligh in his affairs. More significantly, the Commissary, John Palmer, was one of the few civil officers who deliberately espoused the Governor's cause - he was Campbell's brother-in-law, and Campbell would not wish to lose his patronage already so useful in the matter of government contracts. Under Bligh, Campbell himself held civil office in the colony as magistrate, naval officer, and collector of taxes. Throughout his career Campbell never evinced
any sympathy for radical causes. He belonged to the British society that had observed and finally abhorred the French Revolution and to the Scottish society that had complacently allowed the dubious conviction of the 'Scottish Martyrs' for their too radical political opinions. Law and established order had never been felt to be more necessary in English society. Belonging to one of those classes whose interests were best preserved by ultra conservatism, it is unlikely that in a purely personal capacity he could ever have brought himself to condone the overthrow of established government by any group, no matter how convincingly oppressed. There was too, perhaps some genuine friendship for the irascible Bligh which will be examined later. Therefore, considerations of personal and private interest, friendship and conviction all lay behind Campbell's adherence to Governor Bligh.

But this is not to imply that Campbell had nothing to lose by adherence to the established order. His business interests admittedly, lay primarily in Sydney but his entire livelihood was not so bound up with the outcome of local politics as were those, for instance, of the Macarthurs or Simeon Lord. There are sound reasons why merchants do not engage in politics, chief of which is the need to preserve their flexibility of action. Arguments in favour of party spirit found little harbour in the minds of the daring and individualistic entrepreneurs of the eighteenth century. Campbell had everything to lose from discrimination by the rival party if it once attained power. Unless he had no choice, a prudent merchant, like the prudent parson, might most profitably withdraw from all semblance of partisanship until the dust of disturbance settled once more. What then caused Campbell to persist in his partisanship, and what light does his behaviour throw on the
notorious events of the Bligh Rebellion? Also how did Campbell come to be so closely identified with the Bligh administration? Campbell's relations with Governor King had been cordial, but essentially distant. His relations with Bligh were much more intimate, apparently a combination of both choice and circumstance. Bligh had come to Sydney aware of the need for determined reforms - most of them of a basically economic nature. In one of his first declarations of policy Bligh indicated that 'by proper regulations the industrious settler and merchant should be encouraged to succeed, that religion and morality should be inculcated and that, ... the Governor personally should exercise a close superintendence over the colony'.

On arrival, Bligh found himself hampered by a dearth of advisers whose concerns would not be affected in some way or another by any change in the status quo. It was for this very reason that King had been removed to be replaced by 'some person competent to exercise the duties ... free from the operation of the spirit of party which has reached such an alarming height'. The reputation of the military being synonymous with faction, Bligh's first priority was to improve and strengthen the civil administration at the expense of the existing military organisation. Any attempt to restore the management of lands, public stores and convict labour to a completely civil administration could not be expected to be acquiesced in happily by the Corps, to whom all three departments had become auxiliaries to their private fortunes. Whom could the Governor appoint who were not already committed? Cut off from the military, in his need for allies and administrators what more natural

---

1 See H.V. Evatt, *Rum Rebellion*, p.68.
than that in the re-organisation of the existing civil offices he should turn to the town's one respectable merchant and eminent free settler? Campbell had the advantage of having known the colony and its needs for many years past and his position as an unofficial adviser to Bligh was strengthened after June 1807 when he accepted management of what was, in effect, the colonial treasury. The other important civil post of Commissary, through which was implemented policy governing the internal economy, remained to John Palmer. Both Campbell and Palmer were such frequent visitors to Government House that this combination gave rise to complaints from the opponents of Bligh that a clique was forming around the Governor. ¹

Between 1806 and 1808 considerable changes occurred in the colony, most of them giving a broader base to the economy and ameliorating the lot of the small settler. After Bligh's accession, once the ravages of the 1806 Hawkesbury flood had been dealt with, there was a marked increase in prosperity and commerce. This was aided by the discovery of new fields for trade (export of sandalwood and beche-de-mer to China), and by increasing local exploitation of the fishery. This diversity, by leaving room for the rise of the emancipist traders in itself led to fiercer competition in trade. As a result, the previous influence of the officers of the New South Wales Corps and the power which they derived from it was being curtailed in this field, while their status and income was being eaten into by a more impartial civil administration.

Of Bligh's appointments M.H. Ellis writes: 'He did not realise that the coming - and the elevation to compromising offices in

control of shipping and duty collection - of the new type of merchant trader like Campbell must set up a dangerous opposition in the breasts of the soldier -, emancipist -, and agriculturalist - trader'. It is thus clear that everyone was already engaged in trade. So it was all the more desirable that a respectable merchant, impugned by none for his practice, his prices, or what is more important, his character, whose very business was independent of colonial regulations, should undertake to carry out the duties laid down for him by an authority of which he approved. Furthermore, Campbell was less of a 'new type of merchant' than those who opposed him - clearly being one of the last of the venerable line of Merchant Adventurers who owned allegiance to a high standard of business ethics as well as to the pursuit of profit. For Campbell, merchanting was a profession, not a gamble, the standards of which he never showed any inclination to sacrifice for gain. Ellis continues 'And what wonder, either, that the common inhabitant, seeing the Governor in the closest association with Campbell and Palmer, the Colony's two greatest civilian officials, eke merchant traders, should join with Elizabeth Macarthur in believing "the melancholy changes", which had made "food clothing and every necessary of life bear a price truly astonishing", attributable "to tyranny and an improper administration of the law"? Apart from the fact that there is no evidence that the 'common inhabitant' ever joined with Elizabeth Macarthur in her beliefs, was it likely that Campbell, who had successfully founded his business on a policy of reducing 'prices too indelicate to repeat' in the days when he had

---

1 John Macarthur, p.291.  
2 Ibid.
no competitors, should reverse his policy and risk his reputation
when surrounded by embryo emancipist trading businesses; or that
the man who had laid out goods and credit to the indigent should
reverse his policy when enjoying official approval as a result of
his charity? Was it not more likely that the Macarthurs and their
associates found their own costs forced up by the effective enforce­
ment of port regulations and duties, by prevention of smuggling and
the more equal distribution of those spirits on which they had
enjoyed their affluence albeit on the misfortunes of their
customers?

Rebellion, however, while it may have simple immediate causes,
is usually the final indulgence of irritation arising from subtler
and less tangible causes. For the privileged coterie of the New
South Wales Corps there were barely determined ingredients in their
opposition to the Governor. As Weber points out 'the emergence of
economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other
grounds. Man does not strive for power only in order to enrich
himself economically. Power, including economic power, may be
valued "for its own sake". Very frequently, the striving for power
is also conditioned by the social "honour" it entails.'¹ This was
precisely the situation in which the New South Wales Corps found
itself after 1806. It endured two years while its activities were
straitened and its self-appropriated privileges were reduced. It
was Macarthur who became the organiser of their chagrin and
apprehension to the point where they began to see in Bligh's
administration overt affronts to their 'honour'. It was a short
step from here to deeper water. 'The sentiment of prestige is able

¹ Class, Status, Party, p.180.
to strengthen the ardent belief in the actual existence of one's own might, for this belief is important for positive self-assurance in case of conflict. Therefore, all those having vested interests in the political structure tend systematically to cultivate this prestige sentiment. As a result, the attack on Bligh was actually a final attempt by the military and their sympathisers to retain power and the disposal of privilege in their own hands. The government was in the process of re-organisation; but not in the sometimes accepted view where the inefficiency and corruption of the government is seen as leading to a 'maladjustment between an old government and a new society' - for the New South Wales Corps was the factor common to both the old government and new society. For once, the needs of a wider society were trying to be met by government, in the course of which some limited privileges were being threatened. In Campbell's opinion Bligh 'wished to administer justice to all ranks of people'. The significant point about the anti-Bligh faction is that their antipathy was aimed at this newly-evolving society and its architects, rather than being merely a personal struggle against Bligh. This fact has been too often submerged in the clash of personalities of the leading protagonists. His involvement in administration for an unpopular governor drew the same unpopularity and hostility on Campbell and his private affairs.

It is argued by Weber that formation and expansion in a newly evolving society 'is always and primarily determined economically' when the decisive part will be played by trade, but with other

2 Evidence of R. Campbell, 10 May 1811, Johnston's Court Martial, p.83.
This generalisation seems particularly appropriate to the situation in New South Wales. Writing to Bligh after his deposition, Arndell cited three reasons for the 'rage and discontent' of Bligh's opponents. First, there was Bligh's attack on the barter of spirits, 'an iniquitous traffic, which raised one order of men on the ruins of another'. Of the effects which Bligh's immediate alteration of the distribution of spirits in the colony, Campbell, in his evidence given at Johnston's trial was graphic:

'He (Bligh) ordered a more general distribution to be made. I arrived in the ship Albion from England about ten days after Governor Bligh took the command, and he ordered from 1500 to 2000 gallons of the spirits that formed part of the investment to be distributed among the settlers.

What effect did that produce? More satisfaction among the settlers and the people at large of their class of the inhabitants.

Were any persons dissatisfied? - I presume the officers were dissatisfied, because they did not receive such large quantities as they had done formerly.

Do you know of any persons being dissatisfied of your own knowledge? - It was notorious throughout the whole colony.

Why were they dissatisfied? - Because there was a more general distribution I suppose; the settlers had not been accustomed to receive spirits so generally.

Who were, to your knowledge, peculiarly dissatisfied with this? - Both the military and civil officers I conceive were.

Why? - Because they had not such large quantities of spirits to dispose to others.'

---

1 Structures of Power, p.162.
However, on being asked whether he had heard any complaints from the officers of the New South Wales Corps about the Governor's regulation of spirits, Campbell replied distantly, 'I was not much in the habit of conversing with them on public affairs'.

Neither could he recall that he had heard any complaints after the Governor's proclamation had been issued.

At a working profit estimated at 500% this curtailment of supplies of spirits was a considerable blow to the income of the officers. But almost as serious, while spirits remained the means to all articles, was the breach in their near-monopoly of other commodities caused by this more general access to supplies.

Arndell's second reason for Bligh's unpopularity concerned 'the prohibition which you (Bligh) issued to a certain species of Colonial currency, by which monopoly, extortion and forestalling were greatly restrained'. A witness before the Select Committee on Transportation of 1812 indicated how this system had worked and what effects its prohibition had had. William Richardson, a soldier, explained that as they were paid by the officers in copper coin only, they could purchase nothing from visiting ships as this currency was not acceptable to the masters. Only occasionally did men receive dollars, perhaps only five or six in a year, and for these they received 6s. on board ship; '... but when Governor Bligh arrived, we had proper Paymaster's bills given out, and then we could go on board the ships, but till he arrived we had nothing but copper coin; the officers had a view of paying these paymaster's bills for four or five shillings in the pound, and then they paid

1 Johnston's Court Martial, p.86.
2 Ibid.
us in copper coin; but when Governor Bligh came it was quite altered. The Paymaster came with them, and issued them out to the amount of our pay, every month; we were paid in Paymaster's bills, and we could go on board and furnish ourselves, and that was a great blessing to every man in the Army.¹

This measure was a serious blow to monopoly but an improvement for trade, as it not only provided a secure means of payment for visiting traders but gave them access to a wider market.

Arndell's final explanation to Bligh did not concern an economic factor. He wrote '... you (Bligh) showed your pointed disapprobation to partiality and delay in their proceedings (Courts of Justice); you endeavoured to subject the rich as well as the poor to the laws of the colony'.² Evatt in 'Rum Rebellion' has already shown how the colony's legal instruments were manipulated successfully by the anti-Bligh faction, but he also makes the most important point that 'bitter skirmishes between the opposing interests almost necessarily assumed the form of legal contests, because they could not be fought elsewhere'.³ It was only when their control of the courts looked like being broken that the faction contemplated the final recourse to violence. To Weber 'The structure of every legal order directly influences the distribution of power, economic or otherwise, within its respective community.'⁴

As Naval Officer Campbell was brought into direct conflict with Macarthur during 1807, enforcing the strict letter of the law in the

¹ Arndell to Bligh, 6 March 1808. Johnston's Court Martial, p.484.
² Evatt, op.cit., p.79.
disputes concerning Macarthur's illegal still and the abandoned schooner *Parramatta*. Macarthur's defiance of the court assembled to try him on 25 January 1808 meant that the conflict was about to be moved out of the legal arena. Evatt shows how Macarthur had successfully magnified 'his personal controversies with Bligh and the civil administration into a struggle between the regiment and the Governor'.¹ Now the decision that faced the anti-Bligh faction was whether they should relinquish the last of their privileges docilely or pursue their interests in the face of the Governor's authority. A spontaneous phrase used by Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston in his Defence indicates that the faction was thinking in terms of a power-struggle rather than a championing of abstract principles. Johnston said, 'If Governor Bligh, aided by Mr Crossley, had gained the *ascendancy* it would have produced scenes of vengeance amongst the civil population. Surely the position the Governor might have claimed by right was one of *ascendancy*.² Campbell perceived the principles at issue for, at Johnston's Court Martial, he was unequivocal in stating that previous to 26 January, as far as he could judge, the colony was in a very quiet state, and in his opinion there was no danger whatever of insurrection had the military remained loyal to the Governor.³

Campbell maintained that in his capacity as Naval Officer and magistrate he had been in a particularly advantageous position to judge the feelings and sentiments of the colonists in general as to the Governor and his conduct. For himself, he regarded Bligh as

¹ Evatt, *op.cit.*
² *Johnston's Court Martial*, p.154.
impartial and benevolent, and gave it as his opinion that the settlers approved also. There were other reasons why Campbell might have been regarded as well informed. Johnston explained in regard to the Hawkesbury River settlers that 'Commercial and other causes gave Mr Campbell and Mr Palmer an unlimited influence in that part of the colony'. This opinion was corroborated by Richard Atkins, though with reservations, in answer to a question put him by Johnston:

'Were not a great majority of the Hawkesbury settlers, in consequence of their debts to Mr Palmer, Mr Campbell and Andrew Thompson much under their influence?

'There is no doubt of it, sir, they owed large sums of money to all three; but how far that influenced them it is not for me to judge.' The question of Palmer and Campbell's influence in this area was one which the faction supporters did their best to bias at the court martial. An address to Bligh from 833 'of the free and principal Proprietors of landed Property and Inhabitants of the rising and extensive colony of N.S.W.' dated 1 January 1808, became one of the main points of evidence. It appeared, in Johnston's opinion, 'at a critical time' even though matters had not come to a crisis at the time of its drawing up. Johnston commented on the 'zeal and industry' with which the address from the Hawkesbury district was urged, and said of Campbell and Palmer that 'their emissaries exerted great activity on this occasion'.

1 Ibid., p.145.
2 Ibid., p.174.
3 Ibid., p.145.
4 Ibid.
his supporters then tried to prove that the majority of the settlers in the area were so depraved that 'for the most insignificant reward, so small a matter as a glass of spirits per man, an address of any import might be procured, and almost all the signatures which the place affords will be affixed to it'. This being so, it is remarkable that the anti-Bligh faction did not later avail themselves of the same convenience. But Atkins, when cross-examined by the Prosecution, was forced to admit that 'I have always considered Mr Campbell and Mr Palmer as most respectable gentlemen; I always considered both, sir, as gentlemen, and men of honour'. He went on then to explain in some confusion that his comments on the Hawkesbury were not meant to imply manipulation by any individual, but just to indicate that the Hawkesbury settlers were easily influenced. ¹

Politically, the Hawkesbury address was very important. The petitioners thanked Bligh for the improvement of their lot and bound themselves 'at the risque of our lives and properties' to support his government. Trade and law, however, were their main concern for they requested Bligh that, subject to his approval, he would 'make representation to His Majesty in Council, that he might be graciously pleased to allow such privilege of Trade to their Country Vessels and themselves as other Colonies have, and that the Law might be administered by Trial by Jury of the people as in England.'² Evatt argues that when this address was made public it must have strengthened the opposition to Bligh by increasing their

¹ Ibid., p.173.
fear of losing their remaining power, especially in the courts.¹ Campbell later confirmed this dissatisfaction with the colonial legal arrangements and was of the opinion that the settlers would certainly have preferred trial by jury. He thought that by 1810 there were just sufficient free settlers to form a jury, 'although certainly it would have come very hard upon them' unless a selection was allowed from those transportees free by servitude or otherwise.² The hand of Campbell and Palmer showed more clearly, however, in the commercial request in the address. Restriction on the navigation of colonial vessels to within the limits of the territory had long been resented in the colony and Campbell believed that the fishery was capable of expansion if these restrictions could be alleviated.

On his departure for England in 1804 he had been charged by the settlers to represent their requests in Europe in such a way as he deemed 'most conducive to those Ends'.³

On the night of the actual rebellion (26 January 1808) Campbell dined with Bligh at Government House, along with Palmer, Fulton, Griffin, Williamson, Atkins and Gore. Campbell's own account runs:

We had just drank about two glasses of wine after dinner, when we understood that Mr Macarthur was liberated out of gaol. The Governor almost immediately rose from the table and went upstairs to put on his uniform; and I heard him call to his orderly sergeant to have his horses ready. I accompanied him upstairs, and saw him open his bureau or trunk, and take out a number of papers; when Mr Gore entered and delivered him Major Johnston's order for the liberation of Mr Macarthur, I had scarcely read that order when I heard Mrs Putland's screams; upon which I immediately ran downstairs to the gate at the entrance to Government House, where I found her endeavouring to prevent Mr Bell,

² Evidence before Select Committee on Transportation, 1812, p. 70.
³ Settlers Address to R. Campbell, 23 November 1804. CO.201/41.
who commanded the main-guard, from opening the gate. I saw the gate opened and a party of soldiers and officers marched in.

Campbell returned to Government House and got in a minute or two before the main guard of the military reached the front door.

I just entered the front door, where Mr Fulton was standing; I stood with him, and heard Captain Kemp and Lieutenant Lawson demand of him to open the door: the door was opened, and on looking round I saw Lieutenant Draffin and a number of soldiers enter at the back door; shortly after I saw the whole body of troops march up to Government House with Major Johnston at their head.

When Johnston came Campbell was told to consider himself under military arrest. He was still present when the Governor returned to the drawing room in the charge of Lieutenant Minchin to receive a letter relieving him of command from Lieutenant Moore. Bligh had scarcely read the letter when he received a message that Johnston wanted to see him in the adjoining room, at the door of which they met. Meanwhile Campbell saw the letter, and went home soon afterwards to his own house under the charge of a soldier. He had previously been requested to go upstairs to see the Governor's papers being examined.

The same night Campbell supplied a statement to the faction which was read back to him by the Court of 5 February, at which time Campbell had 'more reason than ever to be agitated'. Of this statement Campbell declared at Johnston's court martial 'I have not a perfect recollection of it, but I think the most of it I did (supply); I was in a very agitated state of mind and, in fact, I scarcely knew what I said.... The persons who examined me were not magistrates, and I certainly expected some bodily harm'. The day after the Governor's deposition Campbell remained in his house:

*Johnston's Court Martial, p. 89.*
I did not consider myself at liberty; I did not move out of the house till I was sent for. An orderly was sent for me about 2 o'clock that day, and I was kept on the parade two hours under a burning sun before I was called in before these gentlemen; the soldiers were drawn out and I did not know what they intended to do with me. My release from military arrest was not brought me till the Friday or Saturday following.1

Campbell's statement was mainly an account of the proceedings concerning Macarthur's trial on 25 January. In this account Crossley recommended to Bligh that the rebel members of the Court be summoned before the Governor and the magistrates immediately, but Campbell 'proposed milder measures' by suggesting that the Governor desire their attendance on himself only. Campbell understood that the result was likely to be that the Court would be put under military arrest, brought before the magistrates and if proved to have acted treasonably, to be committed to gaol. However, at Johnston's court martial, when questioned about this statement for which he accepted a modified responsibility, Campbell said he had made a mistake in naming Crossley as principal adviser.2 'Whatever that account was which I then gave, I gave it under fear, for martial law had been proclaimed.'3

The examination of Campbell and of the Judge-Advocate, the Commissary, the Governor's Secretary, Arndell, Fulton and Crossley, on the evening of the 26 January and successive days, had been by order of Johnston. Campbell was examined before Captain Kemp, Lieutenant Lawson, Grimes and Blaxland. The questions put to him were concerned almost exclusively with the unfortunate Crossley (later sentenced to seven years' transportation to Newcastle by the

1 Ibid., p.89.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p.87.
rebels), and the advice he had given to Bligh concerning proceedings for the trial of Macarthur before the Criminal Court. As Johnston ingenuously explained to Castlereagh in his despatch of 11 April 1808, the result of these examinations was that 'many important proofs were obtained of the Governor's intentions and of his confidence in Crossley'.

For the next two years the rebels were in complete control of the colony. Dismissals and discrimination became the hallmark of their rule. There is delightful irony in a letter written by Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux to Lieutenant-Governor Paterson to the effect that Bligh had been principally advised by George Crossley, Campbell, Palmer and Fulton and how it was generally believed that they intended to establish a monopoly of the Public Stores and revenues of the colony 'at the expense of the interests of Government as well as of every individual unconnected with themselves. In the prosecution of their plans they have gone such lengths, by violating private property and infringing personal liberty, as to occasion universal terror amongst all classes of people from the highest to the most obscure; and this apprehension still prevails to such a degree that I saw no choice left but to maintain the Government in the way I found it....' Foveaux, so carried away by the picture of the rule of terror he describes is apparently unaware that this is the type of administration he seems to pledge himself to continue. First of all the civil administration was re-organised. All Bligh's appointees were dismissed. The General

1 H.R.A., I, 6, p.213.
2 Sydney, 16 August 1808.
Orders of 27 January 1808 carried a list of civil appointments and suspensions, one of which ran:

'Robert Campbell, Esq., is dismissed from the Offices of Treasurer to the Public Funds, Naval Officer and Collector of the Taxes and he is hereby directed to balance his accounts and to deliver them to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor.' When asked at Johnston's court martial whether the removal of the public officers known to be in the confidence of Bligh had caused any dissatisfaction to the inhabitants of Sydney, Lieutenant Minchin had replied: 'I believe not; I will except one, Mr Campbell; the removal of the others, I believe, did not.'

Like the correct man he was Campbell wrote to Bligh on 11 March 1808;

I conceive it my duty to inclose your Excell'y the Report of the Arrivals and Departures of Ships, from the 1st of July to the 31st of December last, an Abstract of the Duties collected by me as Naval Officer from the date of my Appointment with a general state of the remaining Funds amounting to £2,091.16s.6d. exclusive of the Duty that would arise on the exportation of the Sandal Wood imported last Year; and of this sum there was expended when your Excellency was dispossessed of your just and beneficient government on the 26 of January by Major Johnston and other usurpers, £68.19s.6d., and as I was publickly dismissed on the subsequent day, the Accounts and Money were ordered to be transferred to Mr Thomas Jamieson who was appointed Naval Officer and Collector of Duties in my room.

Here, he used strong words, but no less so that in his letter to Bligh of 18 February 1808 in which he expressed his indignation and contempt at the charges against Bligh made by the rebel committee,

1 Johnston's Court Martial, p.248.
which he termed 'so palpable a falsehood, invented, I am convinced, for to deceive the British Government, and to afford the officers of the New South Wales Corps a renewal of their disgraceful and degrading practices your wise and judicious Regulations had so much curtailed'.

I can assure you, sir, the happiest effects were experienced from those Regulations; and in place of subverting the laws, I have observed on all occasions your anxiety for forming the Courts of Justice according to the Patent; and where the laws of England was defective, owing to the peculiar situation of the colony, your Excellency made such local ordinances as tended to promote its prosperity, subjecting the rich as well as the poor to the laws of their country; but by your attempting to put a stop to the nefarious practice of bartering spirits, and to abolish the fictitious paper currency that was forced on the industrious settler, in payment of the commodities he brought to market, you disatisfied many of the officers and other individuals that had acquired immense fortunes by the infamous practices, and when it was checked, they thought proper to disposses you of the command, asserting your government was no longer supportable.

The mercantile community are deeply indebted to your salutary acts respecting commerce, for the masters of ships could not abandon the property of the owners that was entrusted to their charge; the grog-shops were no longer the receptacles for harbouring seamen, nor was the merchant compelled to dispose of his merchandize but as he pleased, spirituous liquor excepted....

This letter is convincing in its reasoning, and as an analysis of the causes of the insurrection is the best testimonial Bligh could ask. During the early months of the rebel rule, Campbell seems to have maintained a spasmodic correspondence with the Ex-Governor who did not abscond from Sydney in the Porpoise until the following year.  

---

1 Bligh Papers, Miscellaneous 1808-1810, pp.49-50. Also H.R.N.S.W., vol.6, pp.528-9.
2 17 March 1809.
On the 24 September a duty previously placed on sandalwood by Bligh was abolished. Campbell was moved to further indignation at the 'Art and Chicanery' attempted by the usurpers to place Bligh's administration in an unfavourable view, 'no doubt with an intention of deluding the Public to answer sinister purposes'. To counteract such an impression Campbell submitted an estimate of the cost and charges for a colonial vessel on a sandalwood voyage, which he assured Bligh 'is done on principles the rascality and deceit practised here cannot refute'. Advocating the benefits of the tax he argued that,

As this duty was only to be paid when the Article came to be exported, it could not operate against the Inhabitants, not even those who had experienced so very lucrative a trade in procuring Sandal-Wood, as the Duty was paid by the Purchaser, and who have paid a much greater price than Fifty Pounds p'r Ton, the Value that had been rated when the Exportation Duty of Fifty Shillings p'r Ton was first enacted.¹

An early example of Campbell's determined refusal to co-operate with the new regime occurred at the beginning of September 1808, when Campbell & Co. attempted to oppose the carrying of despatches in the charge of Captain Symonds in their ship the Rose.² On 31 August Richard Brookes, the captain of the Rose, was required by the Lieutenant-Governor (Foveaux) to receive on board Captain Symonds of the Royal Navy, carrying the Public Despatches to the Secretary of State.³ To this Brookes replied, regretting that it was not in his power to take Symonds but offering to deliver the

¹ H.R.A., I, 6, pp.682 and 683.
² Campbell had a third share in this ship, along with William Wilson, whose agent he was, and Brookes, the captain of the Rose. See Johnston's Court Martial, p.85.
³ Ibid., p.648.
The reply he in turn received was very much to the point:

The Circumstance of Your having demanded a Bond of £500 from Mr John Blaxland that he would take home no letters in the Rose, and the close and intimate relations which is known to exist between Captain Bligh and Messrs Campbell & Co., part Owners of that Ship, together with the great solicitude which the former has shown to prevent every respectable person leaving the Colony who can give Evidence of the real state of its Affairs, induces Lt-Governor Foveaux to entertain an Opinion that his dispatches can only be safe in the Charge of an Officer.

I am, therefore, directed to acquaint You that he will not sacrifice the good of the Service and the public future welfare of this Colony to a mere punctilio, nor will he patiently submit to a vexatious opposition to a request which he is satisfied never could have been refused but for sinister reasons.

You will, therefore, determine either to receive Capt'n Symmonds on Board or to prepare Yourself not to expect any future forbearance with respect to the Ship Rose.²

The same day went forth a demand for the licence of the ship, though the authorities were aware the Rose had left England on the usual understanding that the licence would be forwarded later. Brookes expressing himself 'at a loss to comprehend the meaning' of the last paragraph concerning 'any further forbearance' in regard to the Rose, enquired whether it was intended to detain the ship, laden with her cargo of oil and skins 'permitted to be Shipped on Board of her the 26 July last, agreeable to Lt-Governor Johnston's permission, Countersigned by the Naval Officer'.³ In another letter of the same date Brookes explained that the East India Company's licence for the ship was to be forwarded to St Helena, where the

---

1 September 1808, ibid.
2 Ibid., pp.648-649.
3 Ibid., p.649.
Rose was to touch for convoy on her return voyage. He also pointed out that no cargo would have been received on board the Rose, nor any clearance granted her from the Custom House at the Port of London, unless the Bonds had been duly executed.\(^1\) Foveaux's reply was that as the Rose had appeared without licence and had imported a large quantity of spirits he considered it his duty 'not to suffer so mysterious a transaction to pass without investigation'.

His reply continued:

'Desirous to effect this by the most moderate means in his power, he had determined to Commission Capt'n Symmonds to explain the Affair to Government', but as Brookes had refused to carry that officer Foveaux felt himself 'compelled to determine on seizing the Rose as an illicit trader and detaining her in Sydney until instructions should arrive from England'.\(^2\)

The Rose was immediately taken possession of by a party of soldiers under the charge of Thomas Jamieson, the Naval Officer. Brookes could do nothing but capitulate, as any other course would be ruinous for the ship's owners. He indicated to Foveaux that the inconvenience of taking Symmonds\(^3\) on board was a lesser evil than the detention of the ship, and declared himself ready to give such security as would enable the Rose to proceed on her voyage to

\(^1\) Ibid.
\(^2\) 2 September 1808, ibid.
\(^3\) In a despatch to Castlereagh dated 10 September 1808 Bligh expressed himself 'surprised to find that the present Lt-Governor has obliged Captain Brooks of the Rose to take home Acting Lieutenant James Symons, belonging to the Lady Nelson, Tender to the Porpoise in defiance of all propriety and decorum, Lieutenant Symons having no authority from me to proceed, as he is deeply implicated in Mutiny and other offences'. H.R.A., I, 6, p.654.
England.  

Brookes immediately received permission to proceed, without interruption, it suddenly being infinitely more pleasing to the Lieutenant-Governor that the matter of the licence be settled in England. At the end of his letter he added what must have been a galling caution to the already sorely-tried Brookes: the sergeant of the guard on board the Rose had reported 'some highly disrespectful expressions which you uttered yesterday against the present Government of the Colony'. Restraint was recommended to Brookes 'as a repetition of such language would most probably be productive of unpleasant Consequences'. At the same time Campbell & Co. had to enter into a bond of £4,000 to account, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State, for any 'irregularity' which might have been committed by the Rose. Foveaux sanctimoniously observed that he hoped the terms of the bond 'will confine the speculations of that house in future within limits prescribed by Law and the orders of His Majesty's Government'.

The Rose episode represented Campbell & Co.'s first real brush with the vindictive section of the anti-Bligh faction. For the first few months, under Johnston, the faction was concerned with consolidating its position, and grasping the administration. Johnston, too, seems to have refused to lend himself to obvious persecutions, and Campbell, himself, credited Johnston with the ability to be impartial. Therefore, for the first six months of the rebel administration Campbell had nothing more real to contend

---

1 3 September 1808, *ibid.*, p.650.
3 J. Foveaux to Viscount Castlereagh, 6 September 1808, *ibid.*, p.647.
4 Johnston's Court Martial, p.86.
with than his apprehensions. But with the departure of Johnston and elevation of Foveaux (arrived at Sydney 28 July) to the Lieutenant-Governorship the interests of party were unleashed with only the thinnest covering of hypocrisy. Some of the trading officers had long had reason to regard Campbell with disfavour. His presence in the colony had helped put an end to their tight monopoly and his close association with Bligh had given substance for their too-ready suspicions that by the power Bligh allowed Campbell he was paving the way for the latter to establish a monopoly of his own.¹ It became, therefore, a point of honour with them to supervise the operations of Campbell & Co. with a zeal that owed little to the altruistic notion of public service.

Almost immediately after assuming office Foveaux discovered, in the correspondence handed over by Johnston, details of a contract between Lieutenant-Governor Collins and Campbell & Hook concluded on 14 June 1808, to import five hundred Bengal cows to the Derwent.² In Foveaux's opinion the cattle were unnecessary when deficiencies could be supplied from Port Dalrymple or Sydney, where the cattle had had a chance to become acclimatised and hardier, especially in view of the fact that from a previous shipment of cattle from India to Port Dalrymple, nearly 200 cows had died on being landed.³ Furthermore, he felt these cattle would unnecessarily strain Collin's limited resources of manpower, while the £20,000 they

¹ Deputy Commissary Fitz to Under-Secretary Chapman 15 October 1807, H.R.N.S.W., vol.6, p.305.
'would probably cost Government' was a 'useless and extravagant' expenditure.¹

Foveaux immediately wrote² to Campbell & Hook (before they could communicate with India on the subject) to notify them of his disapproval of this contract, on the grounds that any extraordinary expense incurred by the Derwent settlement would not be sanctioned by the English authorities, unless previously sanctioned by the officer in command in Sydney; 'and as no sufficient reason can be assigned to justify the extraordinary expense of such an importation, I think it needful to acquaint you that it is my intention to take the earliest opportunity of conveying to H.M. Ministers my total disapprobation of such a measure'.³ Collins, he reprimanded for concluding the contract without reference to 'this Government'. He also told Collins of his attempt to forestall Campbell & Hook before arrangements could be put forward to carry out the contract, 'but whether the expression of my sentiments of the impolicy and disadvantage of the Contract to Government will deter them from executing it, I am unacquainted'.⁴

In a despatch dated 10 September, in which he explained his endeavours to cancel the contract, Foveaux wrote:

I must confess, however, that I am hopeless of its producing the desired effect, as, in addition to the advantages to be derived from the contract, there will be other contingent benefits to an amount not easily to be calculated, which will induce the parties concerned to run considerable risk rather than sacrifice the prospect.

¹ Ibid.
² 15 August 1808.
⁴ Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux to Lieutenant-Governor Collins, 8 September 1808. H.R.A., I, 6, p.644.
You may form a pretty accurate conception from whence these advantages are to arise, when you are informed of the circumstances attending the speculations of the Rose to this colony.¹

He then stated that the Rose had disposed of 'several thousand gallons' of spirits at Norfolk Island, notwithstanding that Governor Bligh had prohibited the importation of spirits to any of the dependent settlements, without prior permission. Some other observations on the traffic in spirits were followed by the deliberately incriminating sentence that, under Bligh, it was Campbell and Palmer who had derived the greatest advantage from the trade in spirits, 'both of whom have houses so situated that they can land any quantity without observation'.²

Campbell and Hook were left in peace for some while, but it was not to last. Charles Hook had arrived in Sydney on 25 June 1808, from Calcutta on board the Eagle,³ to find the Sydney business in no favour with the administration. Within a few months he was himself involved in opposition to the faction. When Bligh left Port Jackson for the Derwent in the Porpoise he left in sealed letters for the masters of ships and loyal civil officers of the colony a Proclamation declaring the New South Wales Corps in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and charging all masters of ships not to take from the colony any officer of the Corps or any person connected with the rebels or supposed to be, whose names were mentioned. These letters were left with John Palmer who, accompanied by Charles Hook, delivered them to the parties to whom they were directed on the

¹ H.R.A., I, 6, p.664.
² Ibid., p.665.
³ S.G., 26 June 1808.
evening of the 17 March 1809 (the day Bligh sailed). ¹ The following
day, charged on information, along with John Palmer, Hook appeared
before a Bench of Magistrates enquiring into the way in which
certain papers had been distributed amongst commanders of vessels
in Port Jackson. The enquiry elicited that the commanders had
received these letters, which the Bench considered as 'libellous,
seditious and inflammatory, tending to sow Sedition and Discontent
among His Majesty's Liege Subjects in this Colony', from Palmer in
the presence of Hook, and both were committed for trial before the
Criminal Court - being allowed a bail of £600 each, with two
sureties of £300 each.² Before the Court, held on 21 March, both
denied the competency of the Court to try them and refused to plead,
but nevertheless were declared guilty. Hook was sentenced to one
month's imprisonment and fined fifty pounds. Palmer, who was a
thorn in the side of the faction³ was sentenced to three months'
imprisonment and a fine of fifty pounds.⁴

¹ Rev. Fulton to Mrs Bligh (1809?), B.P., Brabourne Coll., vol.6,
pp.156-7.
² S.G., 19 March 1809; and C.G., 5 October 1809.
³ An interesting sequel occurred some six months later when John
Palmer's clerk, William Bennett, formerly a transportee, who lived in
Palmer's house at Woolloomooloo was examined before a Bench of
Magistrates (8 October 1809) 'on a charge of having written an
anonymous paper of a libellous and infamous tendency, corresponding
with others which he was also suspected to have been employed to
write'. S.G., 8 October, 1809. He was remanded until the 14
October (the Bench, however, already being unanimously of the opinion
that he was the actual writer), when it was clearly proved to the
satisfaction of the Bench that he was 'guilty of having written
scurrilous and libellous papers, tending to injure and defame the
characters of respectable individuals, and also tending to bring the
Government of the Colony into disrepute and to lessen the respect
that is due to the Executive Authority'. The Bench were also
'decidedly of the opinion' that Bennett had, 'in concert with other
suspected persons, been heretofore employed in writing papers of a
like improper kind'. It was recommended to the Lieutenant-Governor
that Bennett be sent out of the colony by the first convenient ship
and in the interim he was to be worked in the gaol gang and not
permitted to sleep out of the county gaol. S.G., 15 October 1809.
⁴ S.G., 26 March 1809 and C.G., 5 October 1809.
Perhaps it was the realisation that their time was running out, that their coup would never become 'popular', and that soon justification would be required of them, that induced Colonel Paterson to require Campbell to act as Coroner. He was notified of this by the Judge Advocate on 29 May.¹ To Bligh, jealously watching any endeavours to alienate his adherents, the reason was apparent. 'This order', he wrote, 'is supposed to have been contrived by Colonel Foveaux (who is the principal manager of the public concerns) to involve Mr Campbell by acknowledging their authority, or otherwise to punish him and distress his House'.² Campbell refused this office, 'as he dreaded the consequence of accepting such an office from rebels', according to Rev. Fulton³ so his friends, including the ex-Governor, expected to hear of his imprisonment and fining, as a reprisal. Certainly the faction were very persuasive. On 24 May 1809 Campbell appeared before a Bench of Magistrates⁴ 'to answer a charge of disobedience to the positive directions of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to officiate as Coroner, in conformity to a Precept sent to him for that purpose'.⁵

Certain of Campbell's letters were read, and also that part of the Commission authorizing the Governor to appoint Coroners. In reply, Campbell stated that he had not acted out of disrespect to the Lieutenant-Governor but that his attitude was dictated by

¹ Fulton to Mrs Bligh, B.P., Brabourne Coll., vol.6, pp.156-7.
² Bligh to Castlereagh 8 July 1809, H.R.A., I, 7, p.162.
³ Fulton to Mrs Bligh, op.cit.
⁴ Judge Advocate, Major Abbott, Charles Throsby, Robert Fitz, Alexander Riley.
⁵ S.G., 28 May 1809.
previously having been charged with certain crimes, to which end he quoted a letter dated 28 January 1808 and signed by Lieutenant William Lawson of the New South Wales Corps:

'As you may not be aware, that from the time martial law ceased you are not under any restraint from the military arrest, His Honour judged it prudent to place you in, I am commanded by His Honour the Lt. Governor to inform you of the same, and that you are now subject to the Civil Law only, for the offences with which you are charged.'

In consequence, Campbell argued he deemed himself incompetent to hold or sit in any official situation until the offences alluded to were done away. It was a shattering piece of strategy, but the magistrates refused to be discomfited, being of opinion 'that the reasons assigned by Mr Campbell are not sufficient to justify his refusing the legal orders of the Lt-Governor'. On a bail of £400 he was committed to take his trial before the next Court of Criminal Jurisdiction.

On the 8 June, Campbell appeared before the Court on a charge of misdemeanour. On the charge being read Campbell refused to plead to the information. He was three times challenged, but persisted in his refusal to acknowledge their authority. Disconcerted, the Court cleared and shortly after returned a verdict, guilty of the charge, for which it was determined Campbell should pay a fine of £50 to the King. It was a great deal of bother, and a comparatively mild fine.

Within a few months Campbell was being attacked from another angle. Two supporters of the rebels, Charles Grimes (Surveyor-

---

2 S.G., 11 June 1809.
General) and Lieutenant Minchin had gone to England carrying Johnston's despatches. There they had sufficiently influenced William Wilson (whom John Macarthur claimed as an old friend), to cause him to withdraw his agency from Campbell and send out one, Jenkins to do his business in Campbell's stead. This caused some stir amongst Campbell's friends, both Fulton and Gore being 'led to suspicions of a nature not the best', and Fulton requested Mrs Bligh in London to make enquiries which would either remove these suspicions or confirm them. They were also concerned that the letters which they had sent to Lord Castlereagh in the Brothers might have been suppressed. Their suspicions of underhand dealing were not allayed by the fact that Minchin had returned part of the way to Port Jackson in one of Wilson's ships, and that Grimes was reported to be already in Wilson's employ, bound variously for Rio or Timor. There is of course a possibility, that having had an account of affairs in New South Wales from the rebels themselves, and presumably being capable of gathering that Campbell was anything but persona grata, Wilson decided to employ in Jenkins an agent who was less likely to be restricted by these animosities.

Apart from the hazards which faced any trader, during this period Campbell, Hook & Co. had a number of unnecessary obstacles thrown in their way. There was the threat of the possible cancel-

---

1 M.P., vol.2, p.75, and vol.68, p.44.  
2 Fulton to Mrs Bligh, B.P., Brabourne Coll., vol.6, pp.156-7.  
3 Gore to Mrs Bligh, B.P., Brabourne Coll., vol.6, p.179.  
lation of their cattle contract. Both Campbell and Hook had their
time and money taken up by the legal demands of the faction, and
during the period of Hook's imprisonment Campbell had to request
permission to visit his partner in gaol on account of their
'mercantile concerns'.

The faction did not easily give up the attempt to implicate
Campbell, Hook & Co. in some semblance of illicit spirit trading.
Campbell & Co.'s early record was not at all good in this regard
and further offences would serve to damage them severely in the
eyes of authority. But the evidence for this was never forthcoming.
Undaunted, the faction did its best to manufacture it, and some
person laid evidence in April 1809 that the Hunter (from Calcutta)
had brought thirty to forty casks of spirits stowed illegally.
Campbell repudiated such 'wicked and infamous assertions', gave an
affidavit and requested that Paterson enquire into the matter.
Notwithstanding, the Hunter was threatened with detention and
Campbell was required to unload the ship at the Hospital Wharf.
This condition, as he pointed out to Paterson, would involve him in
even greater loss and inconvenience as the charter party would need
twice as long to unload the cargo (rendering the ship liable to a
greater demurrage) because of the distance of the Hospital Wharf
from the Company's storehouses, and because of the bad state of the
connecting road.

Paterson wrote to Castlereagh in July 1809 that because of a
flood of the Hawkesbury they had arranged for the importation of

---
1 Campbell to Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, 22 March 1809.
2 Memorial of Campbell & Co., 20 April 1809. Lieutenant-Governor
grain with a Mr J.C. Burton, a merchant of Bengal. This was possibly an indication to Campbell, that in spite of having a well-established India House and dealing in these commodities for years on account of the New South Wales settlement, he might expect no more encouragement in the matter of government contracts. By such irritations did the faction have its revenge. Prophesying that under the rebel regime merchants would be discouraged until the colony should feel the need of importations, Rowland Hassall wrote in 1808 that 'the House of Campbell & Company is the butt of envy for the present government who are constantly annoying their concern in one shape or other, notwithstanding they are the only respectable wholesale merchants in the colony'. One small piece of evidence, though by no means conclusive, suggests that the general level of Campbell's trading may have fallen sharply during the rebel regime. Between 27 January and 30 July 1808 Campbell & Co. only received £56.15s. for grain supplied to the government. This was the smallest amount on a list of eleven suppliers, all of whom (with the exception of Campbell) were associated with the anti-Bligh faction. If the faction had been able to prove a trading connection between Bligh and Campbell, as they attempted at Johnston's Court Martial, they might have killed two birds with the one stone. This assertion was hotly denied by Bligh, though

1 Burton had also been granted 500 acres to experiment in the cultivation of hemp.
2 Lieutenant-Governor Paterson's Letter Book, 1809, p.72a.
5 Johnston's Court Martial, p.52.
Campbell admitted without being pressed that Bligh's son-in-law, Putland, had intended investing in the Rose, which speculation never came to anything as a result of Putland's death.¹

So much of the evidence for Bligh's character has been obtained from hostile sources that he bids fair to become the Richard III of Australian history. Campbell's friendship and support for him are, therefore, doubly interesting. Nearly all Campbell's friends and associates were persons of outstanding respectability - Marsden, Hassall, Palmer. The connection between Bligh and Campbell must therefore have been one not only of circumstance but of actual friendship. Campbell was an unofficial adviser to Bligh, visited Government House so frequently that a critic was moved to write that he 'lived' there, and there was some intercourse between their families for Mrs Putland was given a shawl by Mrs Campbell 'in the way of a friendly present'.²

After Bligh's departure Campbell managed his stock for him, at least until 1812. This was quite a loose arrangement, there being no agreement, but an understanding that when the stock had been killed, Campbell was to recompense himself.³ In Bligh, despite the capital that has been made of his intemperate character and behaviour, Campbell found someone to whom he was prepared to give counsel and support, even after a long association and when the ex-Governor had been subjected to considerable strain. Given Campbell's preferences in society, his pride and independence of character, his friendship for the Governor is significant. The merchant was a

1 Ibid., p.85.
2 Ibid., p.52.
plain but proper man of business, forthright, and somewhat high-minded, but he found sufficient in Bligh and his motives to maintain his respect for the Governor.

But he was not only loyal to Bligh. In the period immediately following the insurrection his own stability was displayed in his humanity to victims of the faction, and in the support he gave to the pro-Bligh group. Edmund Griffin, Bligh's secretary, who was taken from Government House on 26 January and kept under arrest until 31 January, slept that night at Wharf House and had had leave to dine with Campbell on the 29 January. When pressed to admit at the Court Martial that Crossley bore an infamous character, Campbell refused to be drawn, and replied, 'I had a very extensive concern in the colony, and seldom troubled my head with the private affairs of others'. This was not strictly true, for when Bligh's Provost Marshall, Gore, was sent to the Coal River for seven years, his wife and four children at Sydney 'would be starved from want only for the humane support that Robert Campbell Esquire, allows them'. It was to Campbell that permission came for John Palmer's wife to visit him while he was in gaol, but his attention to the welfare of his brother-in-law's family probably did not end there. It was his friend and business associate, Rowland Hassall, who bestowed on him the eulogium that 'those who have suffered through the Revolution meet with a humane friend in Robert Campbell, esquire, who is always foremost to help the distressed and rejected'.

1 Johnston's Court Martial, p.109.
2 Ibid., p.87.
4 N.S.W. Colonial Secretary's Papers, 4, I.L., 1808-9, p.64.
CHAPTER X

'MAY BRITISH COMMERCE EVER FLOURISH ALL OVER THE GLOBE'

The dislocation and intrigue which followed Bligh's deposition made the settlement all the readier to welcome his successor, Captain-General Lachlan Macquarie, who arrived in Port Jackson in the Dromedary on 30 December 1809. In accordance with his instructions, one of Macquarie's first actions had been to reinstate those administrators who had been removed by the rebels. The Government and General Orders, published in the Sydney Gazette on 14 January 1810, gave notice of the resumption of their former offices from the following day by Palmer, Campbell, Gore and Fulton. Campbell was required to act as Treasurer to the Orphan School and Gaol Fund 'until further orders', and he and Palmer resumed their membership of the fund committee. Together with William Broughton they were re-appointed Justices of the Peace and magistrates. This was not an empty gesture, for Campbell sat as magistrate during the next two months. However, at the end of March Campbell resigned his magistracy and his position of Naval Officer, being publicly requested by Macquarie to 'accept of his best Thanks for the Zeal, Fidelity and Attention he has manifested in conducting the Duties of those Offices since his last Re-Appointment to them'. In relinquishing these positions Campbell was doubtless influenced by the fact that Macquarie had indicated the impropriety of a merchant

1 S.G., February, March 1810.
2 S.G., 31 March 1810.
holding the position of Naval Officer, though he retained the Treasurership of the Orphan Fund. The opportunity to free himself of time-consuming and unsought public positions in order to devote himself to his business again doubtless influenced Campbell, as well, perhaps, as the intention to return to England as a witness for Bligh. Palmer 'being shortly to embark for England' was at the same time preparing to hand over the Commissary's Department to his Deputy, William Broughton. Campbell's vacancy as magistrate was filled by his fellow-merchant Alexander Riley.

In the short period of Bligh's sojourn in Sydney before his return to England, Campbell and Palmer showed themselves still his active allies. Gore, as Provost Marshal, was required to convene an assembly (held 11 April 1810 at Sydney Market Place) to consider an address to be presented to Bligh 'that the Inhabitants might disavow the Charge of high Crimes and Misdemeanours of which they were accused by Lt. Colonel George Johnston in his Letter to H.M. Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that they might declare their Disapprobation of the Confinement of Governor Bligh, though many of them were through fear induced to sign their approbation of that measure, some time after it was put in execution'. This notice was signed by Palmer, Campbell, Hook, Fulton, George Suttor and Andrew MacDugall. A similar assembly was convened at the Green Hills, Hawkesbury on Saturday 14 April. Then

---

1 S.G., 7 April 1810.
2 S.G., 31 March 1810.
3 S.G., 7 April 1810.
4 S.G., 7 April 1810.
5 Ibid.
followed a spate of festivities for the returned ex-Governor. On 10 April Bligh gave a farewell dinner, succeeded by a ball and supper. Present amongst the 'select party of Fashionables' that included the Governor and his Lady, were Campbell, Palmer, Hook, Gore and their wives, the only guests singled out for mention by the Gazette from 'many others of the first respectability'. Campbell followed two days later with 'a splendid farewell Fete' in Bligh's honour, which included almost the same guests who had a week to recover before they joined the 'large company of Fashionables' who graced the 'elegant Entertainment' given by Palmer at his Woolloomooloo seat.\(^1\)

Notwithstanding the great misfortunes chiefly arising from the hardships and oppression he suffered in conducting his extensive Mercantile Affairs under the usurpation of the Government of the Colony by Colonel Johnston and from the numerous settlers he has so liberally supported in cultivating their farms, not having it in their power to liquidate their debts from their crops being so repeatedly destroyed by inundation.\(^2\) Campbell was now a man of considerable eminence in Botany Bay society. His standing as a reliable merchant ensured him a prominent place in the growing business community, and his personal property had expanded along with his mercantile concerns. An inventory of his property made in 1810 is evidence of the scope of his investments in the colony.\(^3\) It describes Campbell's home as a nineteen-room dwelling 'finished in an elegant manner with Colonades and two fronts' which, together with stables and coach houses is valued at £5,450. The site on which the house stood (valued at

\(^{1}\) S.G., 21 April 1810.

\(^{2}\) B.P., Sutro Coll., R. Campbell's Memorial to the Treasury, 11 March 1812.

\(^{3}\) Made by Thomas More and sent to Samuel Marsden, B.P., Sutro Coll.
£700) included a garden, a paddock and two wells. The grounds had been drained, and cleared of rocks and some of the land had been expensively reclaimed with broken rock. On the water frontage there were now two wharves - the old and the new wharf (100 ft. long and valued at £1,095 as compared to the old one at £105) - and a heaving down place for ships. The house sat just behind Campbell's old wharf and was approached from the land side by a driveway of paving steps and coping and from the waterfront by a separate landing to the driveway. Adjacent to the house there were the business premises consisting of a warehouse (167 x 30 feet valued at £2,777) and five storage vaults (26 x 12 feet valued at £520). There was an office at the end of the warehouse with access from the house, French rustic gatepieces embellished the landscape near the counting house. Also within the yard were two houses (25 x 15 feet) for the gardener and cooper respectively, a cooperage (126 x 20 feet) and a rope shed (124 feet long). The 'improved' value of the entire property was estimated at over £17,000.

The return of Campbell's lands and stock furnished to Governor Macquarie the previous month of the same year provides additional information. By purchase (the Canterbury farms), lease and grant Campbell held altogether 1,611 acres of land. Of this 1,486 acres were given over to pasture, 30 to maize, 11 to orchards, two to potatoes and 82 lay fallow. He had in hand 240 bushels of wheat and his stock was considerable. There were 263 oxen, 377 horned cattle, 266 sheep, 20 horses and 22 hogs. Even in 1806 Campbell had been the largest private holder of cattle. In his own words

the cattle arose from having so many rejected of the various contracts I had with the Government for supplying the Colony with cows from Bengal and at that time the Governor (King) refused to give me a grant of
land without a reference to the Secretary of State which obliged me to make purchase at a very considerable expense (sic) and a great detriment to our Mercantile Pursuits.¹

At the end of 1809 he had needed two stock-keepers for his herds. As was customary, his advertisements intimated that 'none but Free Persons need apply' for these positions.² He held but two convict labourers and neither these nor Campbell, his wife and four children drew rations from the Government store. His 'family', or household, totalled twenty-one, though at the distribution of church pews Campbell required seating only for himself, wife and four children, his nephew Robert Campbell Junior, his Head Assistant, and occasional friends.³

In the course of business Campbell employed some 126 free men which included sealing gangs and the crews of the brigs Fox, Perseverance and Brothers and occasionally he employed the government-built schooner Elizabeth and Mary, chartered to supplement the sealing activity to the southward.⁴ Beside these small vessels, employed in the sealing and inter-settlement trade, there were hardly two months when a ship did not arrive from India or England with a cargo consigned to Campbell & Co. Though the Sydney concern sometimes had an interest in these cargoes, those of the large vessels, owned by English or Indian businesses, were handled on commission.

Campbell and his family sailed for England with Bligh in the Hindostan on 12 May 1810, so that the merchant could be one of the

¹ B.P., Sutro Coll., Campbell to Marsden, 9 May 1810.
² S.G., 17 December 1809.
⁴ S.G., 8 September 1810 and 2 March 1811.
witnesses for Bligh at the court martial of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston. Campbell, against his own inclination was forced to depart too hurriedly to adequately set his business affairs in order before he handed them over to Charles Hook, the partner who had arrived from Calcutta in 1808. Though it was Campbell's intention to return to Sydney as soon as possible, circumstances were to detain him longer in England than ever he had expected. It was 1815 before he saw Sydney again, and though he lived in London through some of the most exciting years of England's history it is doubtful whether his own affairs, which generated a perilous excitement themselves, left him much time to appreciate the larger drama. Campbell and his family took up residence at 16, Walcot Place, Lambeth, and Campbell took advantage of his enforced exile to promote his own affairs. His official business was limited to appearances at Johnston's court martial at Chelsea between May and June 1811, and before the Select Committee on Transportation to which he was called to give evidence in April 1812. Sir Joseph Banks was approached again with a letter of introduction from the Reverend Samuel Marsden. ¹ Before his departure from Sydney he had asked Marsden for letters to his influential friends in England 'to second any Application I may find it necessary to make to Government'. ² In soliciting Marsden's support, Campbell particularly intended to try and obtain a grant of the land on which his business stood and which he held only in lease. Marsden, while invoking Bank's promotion of the Memorial which Campbell had prepared for this purpose, reminded Banks that on Campbell's earlier

¹ B.P., Sutro Coll., Campbell to Banks, 18 December 1810.
² Ibid., Campbell to Marsden, 9 May 1810.
visit to England (1805) he had outlined the benefits that had accrued to the colony and, in particular, the settlers, from Campbell's business. Marsden now suggested that as a result of the Bligh rebellion Campbell stood in particular need of Sir Joseph's patronage, for he wrote:

Private interest created Mr Campbell many Enemies in the country amongst the higher Ranks, whose characters you are intimately acquainted with, from the representations that have been made to you from the different Governors, and others in the Colony. I am aware that there are persons returning from this country who will try to make impressions at the Public Office unfavourable to Mr Campbell's character and Interest, from no other cause than the spirit of Party and Interest. Should it be in your power in any measure to promote Mr Campbell's wishes and to prevent the effects of mis-representations to those in authority, which will be made by his opponents, I am persuaded you will not withhold your Support. Mr Campbell's character for Honor and Integrity stands unimpeached in this Colony; I can, therefore, without fear of forfeiting your good opinion recommend him to your kind attentions.¹

But Campbell was soon struggling with conditions more inimical than the influence of his enemies. His London agent William Wilson had begun to protest many of Campbell's bills, though he acknowledged to Campbell balances held in his favour. This policy had apparently sprung from Wilson's own difficulties, for early in 1811 his business failed, being at the time, according to Hook, upwards of £30,000 in Campbell's debt.² John Macarthur who was friendly with Wilson blamed Campbell for Wilson's failure and claimed that Campbell owed £40,000. He wrote from London to his wife in April 1811 that she would soon hear 'of the failure of Poor Messrs Jacobs and an old friend Wilson, all have large Families - Wilson's failure is I think chiefly owing to his connexion with Campbell - the wretch

¹ B.P., Sutro Coll., Marsden to Banks, 9 May 1810.
² H.L.B., Hook to Captain Mackey, 17 October 1811.
is involved in Debt and how he keeps out of a Prison I cannot conceive. He owes our acquaintance Captain Pakenham £3,000 - Wilson tells me he has protested his Bills for near £40,000. ¹ £40,000, nevertheless, seems an exaggeratedly high balance for Wilson to have allowed Campbell to accumulate alone, for Wilson had extensive shipping interests of his own. It is more likely that he was one of the victims of the collapse of confidence that brought many houses to their knees in England at the end of 1810. This was the culmination of unbridled speculation in schemes for the development of South America after the expulsion of Spain, causing an excessive issue of paper currency which the Bank of England feared to check for fear of precipitating a serious commercial crisis. ² The suicide in September 1810 of Abraham Goldsmid, senior partner of a large mercantile firm, after losses from over-speculating in the Funds, touched off a series of financial collapses and created a general alarm in business circles, fatal for some houses already over-extended, which may well have included the firm of William Wilson. The general commercial unease of this period had been aggravated by the coincidence of the interruption of trade with America, exclusion of British trade from continental markets, high war expenditure and poor harvests which affected merchants more specifically by an unfavourable rate of exchange and high cost of bullion.

The noticeable commercial depression of 1810 to 1812, combined with Wilson's complete failure, should have annihilated the Port Jackson concern of Campbell & Co. immediately. Campbell, however,

struggled on for some time before he accepted the inevitable. In 1811 in London he immediately involved himself in trying to clarify his financial position and re-establish his commercial credit on any slender resource that remained. Next to credit, his greatest need was for capital. With great optimism but some cool-headedness he attacked the government for compensation for the Sydney, lost in 1806. In April 1812 he turned to Banks, invoking his support for a memorial on the subject ('which I had requested Admiral Bligh to present to you some weeks ago') because of 'my accumulated misfortunes'.

Campbell had originally applied for compensation to Bligh but had been advised to submit his case to England. All the relevant papers had been sent to William Wilson, 'who by his neglect omitted to apply to Governor King in his King's lifetime for his Report on the Subject.'

Charles Hook, who had been catapulted into control at Port Jackson by Robert's unexpected departure, had little inkling of these larger troubles until the end of 1811, though he took only a few months to realise that the business was by no means free from complications. His difficulties were intensified by the fact that when Campbell had left, the Sydney market was already dull and glutted by European importations. In one of his first letters to Robert Campbell, Hook wrote:

I perceive I shall have more trouble in the Execution of the Trust you reposed in me than I at first apprehended but Mr Gordon and Mr Robert are everything I could wish and trust by our united exertions we shall weather every Gale.

---

1 B.P., Sutro Coll., Campbell to Banks, 8 April 1812.
2 Ibid., Campbell's Memorial to the Treasury, 11 March 1812.
3 C.G., 12 April 1810.
4 H.L.B., Hook to Campbell, 27 July 1810.
Robert's nephew he at first found indefatigable, although his time was almost wholly absorbed by his position as assistant Naval Officer.¹ Hook's position was complicated by having to administer Campbell's private property as well as the business and in the period immediately following Campbell's departure he had more than his share of external distractions. The Canterbury estate was spasmodically subject to depredators who destroyed the trees and fruit of the orchard or the stock.² No sooner had Campbell left than two men (who said they had been sent by Campbell) purloined four ½ hundredweights from Mrs Reiby's yard.³ Even earlier, some men clearing the Perseverance of rats with sulphur were overcome themselves with the fumes.⁴ There was the constant problem of finding sufficient seamen 'clear of every embarrasment' (sic), for the fishing ships,⁵ and before the end of the year there was the disastrous loss of the Fox, while sealing off Amsterdam Island. She had been detained in Sydney by the rebel government in 1808 and had subsequently been burned while moored at Campbell's Wharf, as a result of which her insurance had expired by the time she was lost.⁶

Where currency was scarce and credit almost inexhaustible, debt-collecting was a time-consuming but necessary exercise for the colonial merchant. Before he left, Campbell had again advertised for

¹ Ibid., Hook to J. Campbell, 23 February 1811.
² S.G., 16 April 1809, 22 and 29 June 1811.
³ S.G., 9 June 1809.
⁴ S.G., 19 May 1810.
⁵ S.G., 8, 15 September 1810.
⁶ N.S.W. Col. Sec. I.L.1819, p.296 ff. The crew and most of the stores were taken off by passing vessels when the Fox was abandoned in August 1810, but Campbell was never able to trace the remains of the ship.
the payment of debts (or offer of security) due to Campbell & Co.; some of these, owing since 1802, had been previously advertised for in December 1807. Campbell explained that as no attention had been paid to the earlier notice, except in a few instances, 'but, on the contrary, advantages taken of my situation since the 26th of January 1808', he now felt justified in peremptorily demanding reimbursement from the Hawkesbury and Nepean settlers 'for the advances that were made to them for clearing and cultivating their farms', though he again gave them the option of paying with wheat.¹ Public notices of the transfer of Campbell & Co.'s business to Hook again referred to the company's outstanding debtors, especially those of pre-1805 whose 'Promises of Payment ... have hitherto proved evasive', and authorised Hook to prosecute all debtors who either failed to pay, or offer satisfactory security.² To alleviate a depressing lack of funds, Hook lost no time in taking these debtors to court. He informed Robert that

I have written to all your Up-country debtors and have had personal communication with many of them and I find that Coercive measures alone will have any effect on them. I have, therefore, commenced Hostilities and probably by the 1 January next, I may collect from £2 to £3000, hitherto it is with difficulty I can Glean a Sufficiency for Current Expenses.³

Unfortunately for his hopes, Hook only collected judgements for about £1,250 for this period.⁴ Permission was sought from Macquarie under the Colonial Regulations to lengthen the keel of a long boat (from 23 to 33 feet), named the Collector, which was employed in

¹ S.G., 7, 24 January 1810.
² S.G., 12, 18, 19 May 1810.
³ H.L.B., Hook to R. Campbell, 27 July 1810.
⁴ See Appendix, E.
bringing grain in lieu of debts from the Hawkesbury. Another boat, the Brothers, after an unfortunate sealing voyage, was despatched by Hook for 'a trip or two to the Hawkesbury for the Grain I am collecting there....'¹

Campbell and Hook's Derwent agency was adding to Hook's debt-collecting problems. William Collins had been acting as agent in Launceston, where trading had been so unsatisfactory (owing partly to the competition offered by Fosbrook and Ingle) that Hook was loth to send further shipments to that market. There was further difficulty in arriving at mutually satisfactory accounts with Collins for business transacted, which worried Hook the more when he heard that Collins was likely to leave the Derwent and that 'Whaling Stores and Casks were going to ruin thro' his carelessness and neglect'. Hampered by lack of documents he applied to Robert -

as you are perfectly aware of the trouble that the
Derwent Agency has given I hope by the first vessel
which leaves England for this place after your arrival
there, you will be able to transmit me such accounts
as will enable me to finally close those Concerns or
otherwise as you may direct.²

Matters dragged on unsatisfactorily for over a year, during which time Collins failed to estimate what he required as agency fees and increased his debt with Campbell & Co. to £693.9s.10½d. His failure to reduce this amount (with interest) in twelve months finally caused Hook to threaten him with a writ,³ which eventually produced a judgement in Campbell & Co.'s favour.⁴

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid., Hook to Campbell, 28 May 1811.
⁴ This was the same Collins whom Alexander Riley noted in 1814 had 'made a hopeless concern' of the Hope's cargo and from whom Riley did not expect to get money 'hastily'. R.P., Alexander to Edward Riley, 31 July 1814, Mss. vol.2, p.189.
The difficulties of conducting business at a distance and especially the need for Robert Campbell's detailed knowledge soon impressed themselves on Hook. It was no time before he was in difficulties over unfinished arrangements for previous cargoes. Sometimes without knowledge of earlier agreements and often without documents to aid his ignorance, he had to separate genuine from specious claims. When in doubt, however, his policy was always cautious. Barely had Campbell left when a letter from a certain Captain Carl had an agitated Hook writing to Robert that,

Having no idea that such demand was to be made I opened the Mortgage deed and found that you are saddled with Commission as well as obliged to pay £2,000 in the June quarter, to pay which I have no means whatever unless Captain Carl will take my Bill on the Executor in India to my Brother's Estate.¹

The accounts from Wilson, their agent and occasional partner, seemed to Hook to be full of inconsistencies which he referred to Robert. The 1808 account gave Campbell credit for seal skins sent by the Duke of Portland but none for oil sent by the same ship. The captain of the Rose returned to Sydney anxious for a settlement for his previous cargo, for which Campbell had been debited with four-tenths, though Hook believed this was without Campbell's knowledge. Hook was prepared to take this problem to law when he hoped the Captain would be directed to apply to Wilson for a settlement.² But Campbell & Co. lost their case, both in the lower Court and in the Court of Appeal, though Hook continued to vacillate between deciding to pay Brooks the amount decreed (£4,125.9s.10½d.) or delaying by a legal appeal to England. Recourse to the law had an almost personal appeal for Hook, although, in the best commercial tradition he used

¹ Ibid., Hook to R. Campbell, 27 July 1810.
² Ibid.
it sometimes less to obtain a judgement than to temporarily frustrate creditors.

Hook's first major problem was the arrival\(^1\) of the Hunter from India, 'with a small and ill-assorted cargo' which he claimed had been laid in at higher prices than Campbell usually retailed at. The cargo (under the 'same circumstances as formerly') was consigned by Gilmore and Wilson to the captain, with an option on Campbell to take the cargo at 50%. 'For the honor of the concerns in Calcutta and here, I have taken the cargo at that rate and it appears to the Publick the Hunter was consigned to you', wrote Hook to Campbell.\(^2\)

Thus began a long and tangled commercial episode. Against Hook's previous advice the Hunter carried some cattle.

> Although I wrote by the Hunter to put a stop to further providing in the Contract for cattle with Governor Collins, as it was on that express condition that he gave up the penalty forfeit by not fulfilling that contract in time, notwithstanding, John sent 200 cows on that very account. I had no room left for any argument to induce Government to take the cows, I therefore said nothing.\(^3\)

Most of the cows were left at the Derwent with instructions to sell at the best advantage, and the Hunter brought on only 23 head which were sold in Sydney for £11 each. In May 1811 Hook remitted Gilmore & Co. £400 realised on the Derwent cattle, admonishing that though the cattle had been sold at a great disadvantage, this was the outcome of their own instructions to the captain to auction the cattle if they failed to bring £10 a head.\(^4\)

---

3. Actually Hook approached Governor Macquarie but 'he being in possession of all the correspondence that had taken place re the contract, I durst say but little'. *Ibid.*, Hook to John Campbell, 19 November 1810.
The Hunter arrived in such bad condition that Hook was forced to repair her, thus retarding the launching of a schooner being built in Campbell & Co.'s yards. The Hunter sailed on 24 November for Fiji, for which she had previously been equipped to trade for sandalwood and beche de mer. Her departure was the occasion for Hook to write a sharp letter to John Campbell about the mismanagement of her cargo, particularly the cows sent in disregard of Governor Collins 'agreement to free us from the Penalty incurred by not fulfilling that contract in time upon the express condition that you should proceed no farther in it'. The bad state of the Hunter was also laid at John's door.

The Hunter's cargo was so 'wretchedly assorted and expensive' that Hook asserted that the captain would not have realised for the cargo in twelve months had he stuck to the letter of his instructions. Even so, Hook had considerable trouble in disposing of the cargo. He maintained that some of the articles would never sell at any price, and some had to go at half their cost price. At first he had made 'an excellent thing' of the cargo by being able to take advantage of the market. As the colony was empty of tea and sugar when the Hunter arrived, Hook was able to sell the tea at £40 to £45 a chest, and the sugar at 9d. lb. Fortunately, he got rid of it all just before the arrival of the Hibernia and the Mary and Sally.

1 S.G., 24 November 1810.
2 H.L.B., Hook to John Campbell, 19 November 1810.
3 The Mary and Sally was brought from Bengal by Thomas Reibey who had left New South Wales in the Lady Barlow in October 1809 to return with this shipment which he shared with Wills. At Canton Reibey had disposed of a cargo of sandalwood. The Mary and Sally had sailed west of Sumatra 'to avoid the swarm of privateers that infest the Straits of Malacca'. See S.G., 8 October 1809 and 6 October 1810.
'which brought an abundance and laid in at least 50% cheaper than the Hunter', according to Hook. Had it not been for the tea and sugar the Hunter's shipment would have been 'a most ruinous concern'. By sheer chance Hook managed to get a good price for a few cables, but the remainder of the cargo hung on his hands - especially the spirits, of which there were 60,000 gallons already in the colonial market.¹

Even by the end of 1810 Hook was feeling the need of capital. Though he undertook to remit as much as possible for the Hunter's cargo, he expected from the first to fall short of the complete amount. Though he assured the captain that the balance would be discharged by the following February, Robson was so uneasy at leaving so large a balance against his orders, that to exonerate him Hook directed the India branch to 'stop their [Robson's principals, Gilmore & Co.] mouths with £2,000 of the money you will receive on my account from my Brother's Estate'. In November 1810 he sent John Campbell bills for almost £3,000² towards the outstanding balance. These bills, however, had been previously refused by Robson as they were private bills, and Hook instructed that if they were rejected by Gilmore & Co. they were to be forwarded to Alexander Burnie (now their London agent) 'who will do the needful and account to our Robert Campbell for the same'. However, in the face of a gloomier outlook in Sydney and pressure from Robson, a creeping apprehension possessed Hook, so that he authorised John to pay the whole balance of the Hunter's cargo from his brother's estate, should Gilmore and

² The majority of these bills were ones drawn on William Wilson by the captain of the Spring Grove (Mattinson) in return for seal skins and oil.
Wilson refuse the private bills.\footnote{1} A year later Hook was regretting that he ever had had anything to do with the Hunter, though he continued to maintain that it would eventually realise more than if it had been left to the captain to dispose of. There was by then only £3,000 of the cargo unsold, but ‘at present it is totally out of my power to remit on that account’\footnote{2}.

One of the reasons for this impasse was the arrival in February 1811 of the Eagle from Calcutta, consigned by Fairlie Ferguson & Co. jointly to the Captain (Mackey) and Hook.\footnote{3} Her cargo was so well adapted to the market that Hook was able to harbour hopes of a 'profitable adventure', though there was the possibility that the market might be a little spoiled by the expected arrival of some other vessels from India and the presence of one from the Cape of Good Hope. Hook valued the prime cost of the cargo at £12,000, on which he hoped to realise £26,000, furnishing Fairlie Ferguson and Co. with a list of possible prices and indications of the expected disposal rate of their merchandise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selling</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rum</td>
<td>25 @</td>
<td>£1.10. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunpowder, tea</td>
<td>35. 0. 0</td>
<td>per chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyson</td>
<td>30. 0. 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souchong</td>
<td>25. 0. 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>10 lb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sell but slowly</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gurrahs</td>
<td>1. 7. 0</td>
<td>piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baftas</td>
<td>1. 5. 0</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>1. 0 lb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wax Candles</td>
<td>3. 9 lb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very little demand</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruffled Shirts</td>
<td>6. 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain Shirts</td>
<td>5. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nankeens</td>
<td>12. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandannoes</td>
<td>1.10. 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnote{1}{H.L.B., Hook to John Campbell, 19 November 1810.}
\footnote{2}{Ibid., Hook to Gilmore & Co., 16 October 1811.}
\footnote{3}{Ibid., Hook to Fairlie Ferguson & Co., 23 February 1811 and S.G., 23 February 1811.}
Sell very slowly       Salt Petre       2.0 lb.
                      Pepper            1.3
This will not sell       Pump Leather

The cargo also included 10,000 gallons of rum which Hook got permission from the Governor to sell at his own price.¹

The Eagle was loaded with 80 tons of coal brought from Newcastle by the Perseverance – a return cargo which Hook hoped would find a market in India as a species of remittance, 'so that we may have a small resource from that quarter'.² By return of ship Fairlie Ferguson & Co. were sent £2,171.2s.7d. in bills, on account of the cargo.³ Though this was a mere fraction of the outstanding balance Hook asserted that the people to whom articles from the cargo had been sold on credit were 'Good', so that he had hopes of collecting the whole balance in the current quarter. Some time earlier Hook had found it necessary to remind John Campbell of the changed state of the Port Jackson market:

I must observe that the market here is not now as formerly; that cargoes cannot be sold and realised immediately. There are now Resident Merchants in the place who are regularly supplied with goods proper for the Markets, besides the frequent supplies brought in by private adventurers.⁴

¹ Though Government would not buy any of the rum as a large supply was expected, Hook 'found it political to offer the Governor in the meantime a loan of any quantity he might want'. The Governor took 1,000 gallons giving Hook the option of being paid for it or have the same quantity replaced later. As he would have received only 8/-10/- a gallon in the payment Hook accepted on the basis of replacement. A few days later an American ship arrived with 10,000 gallons of spirits and Hook received from this 5,000 gallons of Jamaica Rum. 'The rum is of a bad quality and so long as there is any other in the Colony it will not sell, when mixed with water it becomes like milk.' This did not prevent Hook from requesting permission from Macquarie (April 1811) to import Bengal rum for the following twelve months. H.L.B., Hook to Fairlie Ferguson & Co., 4 May 1811.
² H.L.B., Hook to John Campbell, 7 April 1811.
³ Ibid., Hook to Fairlie Ferguson & Co., 23 February 1811.
⁴ Ibid., Hook to John Campbell, 19 November 1810.
Now he had to repeat all this in extenuation to Fairlie Ferguson & Co., because though Robert Campbell had 'given hopes in India' that a cargo such as the Eagle's might be realised in six months in Port Jackson, conditions there were already materially altered. Nevertheless, he was optimistic enough to suggest to them that two well-assorted cargoes laid in at moderate prices, of the same value as the Eagle's, if imported at two regular periods of the year might be realised in eighteen or twenty months. In May he sent £1,174.13.0\[1/2\] in bills to India followed in June by further bills for £1,484.15.0.\[1/2\] He explained that he had expected to send more, but the arrival of the Arabella and American had retarded both sales and collection of credit. This glut forced many importers to auction their goods and others still had merchandise on hand, 'for the Quantity now in the Port is still immense'.\[2/2\] Hook, though forced to lower prices, drew back from sacrificing the remainder by sale 'at the hammer'.\[3/2\] As a result, he still had goods from the Hunter and Eagle on hand when he learned in September 1811 (by the Cumberland) of the bankruptcy of William Wilson. The following month he wrote to Captain Mackey furnishing accounts for the Eagle. The outstanding balance the previous April had been £10,976. In now forwarding £5,864 in bills Hook accounted for £15,689 which, nearly nine months after the Eagle's arrival, was not a conspicuously successful disposal of the well-assorted cargo Hook had estimated to yield £26,000. Perhaps Wilson's failure accounted for the frank description Hook gave to the Eagle's captain of the state of Campbell & Co. at the end of 1811.

1 Ibid., Hook to Fairlie Ferguson & Co., 1 May 1811, and 12 June 1811.
2 Ibid., Hook to Mackey, 17 October 1811.
3 Ibid., Hook to Fairlie Ferguson & Co., 12 June 1811.
The lack of funds had been so great, he wrote, that to enable me to carry on the necessary business of their Concerns in so much that I have been obliged to discharge the Carpenters from the Vessel on the stocks, although it must be obvious to you that such a vessel is so much wanted at this present time and would be of infinite advantage to the Concern. And I would have been obliged to give up the advantages derived from the discovery of Macquarie Island had I not sent the Brig Perseverance at the time I did and 57 m. skins with part of which I look for that Vessel's return daily, must have been suffered to remain and rot there.

He painted a glowing picture of the advantages of the newly discovered Macquarie Island, and the reason for his effusion is made plain when he touches on the matter of the Eagle's cargo. Business, he writes, is so uncertain at the moment that he cannot tell when the Eagle's outstanding balance will be realised. He explains that being restricted to making remittances to India in Government, Navy or Pay Masters Bills has deprived him of another resource in that he has been obliged to refuse several private bills which he 'knew were unexceptionable'. To prevent getting into 'such a disagreeable dilemma' as he felt himself to be labouring under he promised that all future collections of debts and proceeds of sale of the cargo, as effected, will be paid directly into Mackey's hands while he remains in Port Jackson and into those of anyone he will appoint while absent; 'in which case' pursues Hook, 'as you are well aware who are the friends of Campbell and Co. and who are their Enemies here, I hope you will not appoint one of the latter, by which, the favourable inclination of the Creditors of Campbell and Co. and

---

1 In May Hook had sent the Boyd to Norfolk Island with a small investment to be disposed of by the master (Thomas Holford) who had a third share in the speculation. He was to bring back any cargo not disposed of and to bring in return hog and sheep lard, salt pork, planks and bars, money or Government bills, but no private bills. H.L.B., Hook to John Drummond, 29 May 1811 and Hook to Holford (n.d.).
Campbell and Hook may be frustrated. He deputed Mackey to explain all the circumstances to Fairlie Ferguson and Co. and concluded:

I hope and trust they will approve of my conduct in which I have not been obliged to study for the means, but have laid hold of those (?) which fortunate circumstances plainly pointed out to me for extricating the Concerns here and in Calcutta from the villainous conduct of Mr William Wilson has plunged them into by protesting so many of Mr Robert Campbell's bills, acknowledging large balances in his favour, at the same time, and now failing upward of £30,000 in his Debt.¹

Where the whole colonial economy was based on credit, timing was a critical factor. When the merchant purchased from his suppliers on credit and sold to the retailer or settler on credit, payment both for exports and imports was of necessity postponed by a lengthy credit period. This was recognized by the British Parliamentary Committee of 1823 that reported:

By far the greater part of our Commerce is aided by means of advances at some period between the shipment and the sale; and in many instances, there is, first, an advance by the foreign shipper or consignor to the foreign proprietor, then an advance by the consignee to the consignor, who is himself a factor, and subsequently an advance by some capitalist to this factor, in consequence of the difficulty of finding a ready and advantageous sale.²

In such a situation, while the merchant wielded considerable influence inside the colony by his disposal of credit he was, in turn, dependent on the tolerance of his overseas creditors. As Hartwell points out, the ultimate burden of credit was borne by the financial intermediaries of London (in this case through their Indian houses as well) who lent to the importers and exporters of London on security of colonial produce, and the brokers who accepted bills on this security in the knowledge that it could be up to two

¹ Ibid., Hook to Captain P. Mackey, 17 October 1811.
² British Parliamentary Papers 1823, IV, 452, p.8.
years before goods sold were actually paid for.\textsuperscript{1} The merchant, however, to ensure that credit would continue to be extended to him, had to be ready to meet the occasional short-term demand and secure an appearance of constantly available finance. To maintain this appearance, methods of financing required to be bewilderingly complex, both in time and space. Hook's letters reveal not only the peculiar means of financing overseas supplies, but the tortuous juggling resorted to to balance or clear accounts.

After the failure of William Wilson, Alexander Birnie of Grosvenor Square, London, acted as agent for Campbell & Co.\textsuperscript{2} They were immediately pressed into service to settle various overseas accounts. Campbell owed his tailor, Marmaduke Wilson, 'Clarges Street, Piccadilly' nearly £500 for clothes, which Birnie was instructed to pay with Treasury bills for £152 sent by Hook, and the balance from an account for £455 due from the bankrupt owners of the Spring Grove (for which purpose Birnie was furnished with a Power of Attorney).\textsuperscript{3} If Birnie could manage to secure this debt he was instructed to retain the balance from which, however, Hook requested him to purchase three lottery tickets.\textsuperscript{4}

Birnie was also required to provide finance as well as the facade of security necessary to prop up the already-tottering Port

\textsuperscript{1} See R.M. Hartwell, \textit{op. cit.}, p.167.

\textsuperscript{2} Robert Campbell wrote to Hook to consider Birnie his agent, according to a letter of Hook's dated 31 November 1811. H.L.B.

\textsuperscript{3} Hook promised to send another set of bills if a legal settlement for the first should be too long delayed, though he discreetly omitted to mention that the bankrupt was their ex-partner and agent William Wilson. The tailor was to be instructed to send all future orders in Birnie's ships. H.L.B., Hook to M. Wilson, 25 November 1811.

\textsuperscript{4} H.L.B., Hook to Birnie, 31 November 1811.
Jackson concern. Before Campbell left Sydney he had already been under pressure from India for immediate remittances. Through their Sydney representative Richard Jones, the Calcutta Insurance Office had required security for a debt which Campbell arranged to settle by consigning a shipment of skins and oil to David Scott & Co., London. Campbell, however, had reserved the right to transfer this shipment to his own agent if he could induce Birnie to issue bills for David Scott & Co., as he believed it would be more to his advantage if the skins and oil were sold by Birnie instead of Scott & Co.¹ Early in 1811 Hook shipped (on the Indian) 41 tons of elephant oil² to be delivered to Fairlie Ferguson & Co. at Calcutta, or their Agents at Bombay, on account of the Calcutta Insurance Office. Hook drew five bills on the oil at the low £9 a ton estimated by Mr Jones, but hoped for a better market, especially if the oil went to Calcutta. At that time he had on hand 1,000 salted seal skins to go to London by the first ship, also on account of the Calcutta Insurance Office, and intended shipping them immediately after the return of three of Campbell & Co.'s sealing ships³ which, if fortunate enough 'to wet all their salt', should have on board some 50,000 skins. With the judicious note of airiness that Hook reserved for awkward demands he assured his creditors 'but whatever number they (the ships) bring Mr Jones demand shall be satisfied'.⁴ From then on a steady stream of furs was shipped through Birnie,

¹ Ibid., Hook to Birnie, 22 November 1811.
² Brought up by the Perseverance from Macquarie Island. H.L.B., Hook to John Campbell, 7 April 1811.
³ Fox, Elizabeth and Mary and Boyd.
⁴ H.L.B., Hook to Fairlie Ferguson & Co., 23 February 1811.
mainly to satisfy the demands of the Calcutta Insurance Office.

Towards the end of 1811 Hook shipped on the whaler *New Zealander* 12,000 salted fur seal skins, consigned to David Scott, drawing on Birnie two bills amounting to £6,000 in their favour, in the hope that when the skins arrived the English market would be favourable enough to induce Birnie to honour the bills and take the consignment from David Scott & Co. 1 Another 3,000 skins were consigned to Birnie on the same ship, for which Hook drew bills for £1,000 on Birnie in favour of Captain Barclay of the *Providence*, requesting that even if the skins should fail to realise this amount Birnie still pay the bills for the honour of Campbell & Co. in which case Hook undertook to supply further shipments on their account. 2 The *Indispensable* carried 2,550 skins consigned to Birnie on whom Hook had drawn a further £800 in favour of Barclay, 3 and 12,000 skins consigned to David Scott & Co. for the Calcutta Insurance Office, against bills drawn on Birnie. 4 The *Admiral Gambier* went out laden with Campbell & Co.'s skins. There were 14,574 skins for David Scott & Co. on account of the Calcutta Insurance Office against which the bills had been drawn on Birnie for £3,500, which may have been on account of the *Eagle*’s investment. 5 Hook drew further bills for £2,500 on Birnie against another 10,000 skins consigned to the captain of the *Admiral Gambier* reserving the right to withdraw from

---

3 *Ibid*.
4 *Ibid*., Hook to Robert Campbell, 23 November 1811. In the same letter he told Robert to expect the shipment of up to 80,000 further skins.
5 *Ibid*. 
the captain to his own agent (Birnie) on Birnie's acceptance of the bills drawn in Hook's favour. All that Hook required was that the market should be sufficiently profitable to induce Birnie to accept the bills and make him withdraw the consignment from the captain.¹

The marketing of colonial produce was looked to by everyone who held or issued bills as a means of debt redemption. Campbell & Co. had direct access to the colonial products of the fishery and their sealing was promoted, in spite of considerable difficulty, by Hook, who saw in it possible salvation from bankruptcy. Conditions were inauspicious, for in January 1810 the colony learned that a duty of £20 a ton had been laid on all oil, 'the produce of these Seas', procured by colonial vessels, and simultaneously seal skins, which had been averaging 30/- each in England fell to 3/- to 8/- a skin.² In 1810 Campbell engaged three colonial ships (the Perseverance, Brothers, and Fox) in the sealing and conducted an agency for whaling ships coming from England, in particular those of William Wilson's, in which Campbell sometimes had a part share. One such was the Spring Grove³ managed by Wilson, which arrived in Sydney on 30 July 1810 with 53 tons of oil, mainly procured off Norfolk Island and Middleton Shoals where she earlier had been directed to search by Campbell. Perhaps because of this Hook was able to arrange with the captain (Mattinson) that in future one quarter of the oil procured by the ship would be credited to Campbell, to be forwarded either to London or Port Jackson.

¹ Ibid., Hook to Alexander Birnie, 22 November 1811.
² S.G., 19 March 1809, and 24 January 1810.
³ John Macarthur apparently had some connection with this ship, though it may have been no closer than using her to freight an investment. See M.H. Ellis, John Macarthur, p.418.
Mattinson, whose co-operation Hook commended to Robert, so willingly granted bills of lading for Campbell's share of the oil that Hook requested Campbell to support him if he should be attacked for so doing by Wilson.¹

One of the drawbacks of an agency lay in having to fit out the ship, in this case, for a twelve months' cruise off New Zealand before returning to England. The *Spring Grove* had arrived in port 'desstitute of every necessary' and with her casks so rotten that the greater part of them had to be started, or little of the oil would have reached London. Hook cast some unflattering reflections on Wilson's London cooper, whose negligence meant that Hook had to part with some of Campbell & Co.'s expensive new teak casks from India. Victualling the *Spring Grove* had been attended with some difficulty. Hook maintained to Robert that no house but Campbell & Co. could supply the ship, 'and I conceived it would be hurtful to your credit if Captain Mattinson should apply to any other House', but before contracting to supply, Hook had to consult with the Reverend Samuel Marsden and the Judge Advocate on the means of payment to be adopted by the captain. After some confusion the captain eventually drew bills on Wilson in favour of Mr Jenkins who was to indent them to Hook. Jenkins declined this financial responsibility and Hook was apprehensively left with the bills on Wilson drawn in his own favour and approved of by Jenkins as Wilson's agent.²

The sealing trade was operating under an aggravation of the old disadvantages during this period. Colonial ships equipped for

¹ *H.L.B.*, Hook to R. Campbell, 26 October, 1810.
sealing were voyaging longer for a lesser return. Vessels frequently ranged further off the coastlines in search of sealing grounds not already overrun by gangs. Scarcity was alleviated for Campbell & Co. in 1810 when the master of the Perseverance, Frederick Hasselburg, discovered and named Campbell Island, though Hook suffered a setback when the Brothers returned in July 1810 with only 1,654 prime and 500 pup seal skins on board. Hook had to discharge her master (Mason) for inefficiency which he calculated (probably extravagantly) had cost Campbell & Co. £1,000 more expense for the voyage than need be. The Brothers was sent to the Hawkesbury to collect grain while Hook was transferring the command and deciding 'whether to sell or otherwise employ that vessel', but the problem was solved when he had to deliver her up to William and James Jenkins in October, on a decision of the Court of Civil Jurisdiction.

Previous to 1811 (by which year only the Perseverance remained) Campbell & Co.'s fishing boats were constantly employed shifting sealing gangs, provisioning them and collecting the efforts of their labours. Their main grounds were the Solander and Campbell islands or the Foveaux Straits of New Zealand.

1 The Governor Hunter (Isaac Nichols owner) returned to Sydney in April 1810 after a seventeen month voyage, with only 2,000 skins. The Endeavour of Norfolk returned earlier with less than 700, though the Endeavour of Sydney did better with a cargo of 4,000 skins and some oil, at about the same time. See S.G., 7 April 1810. This was quite a contrast with the previous year when a week's complement of skins might total 45,000. S.G., 19 March 1809.
2 H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 27 July 1810; Hook to Mason 18 and 19 July 1810.
3 Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 27 July 1810, Hook to William Jenkins, 9 October 1810.
In July 1810 Hasselburg returned in the **Perseverance** (which had sailed for Campbell Island in June) with news of another discovery, which he had named Macquarie Island. He had found such abundant fur seals there that after depositing a gang he returned to Port Jackson for further supplies of salt. Hasselburg, a man wise in the ways of fishing ports, circulated a story that he had returned in distress after losing a boat and six men 'to amuse the public and give me (Hook) an opportunity to procure all the Salt in the market at a reasonable price'. Hasselburg left again with 35 tons of salt (including 12 tons of English salt from the Government Store granted by Macquarie) and the instruction on no account to let any 'new Discovery' divert him. He was to try and return with skins soon enough to ship them immediately to India on the *Hunter*.\(^1\) Hook, for once, threw off his caution and was wildly jubilant. 'By Captain Mattinson's report of this Island the Penantipodes when first discovered was not equal to it either in quantity or Quality of the fur seals that may be procured on it.' The schooner *Elizabeth and Mary* (88 tons) 'a new vessel and considered the best put together of any vessel belonging to the Government' was chartered for six months and sent after the **Perseverance** in October to help bring back the harvest Hook expected. The two ships carried enough men and salt to cure up to 80,000 skins and as the situation of the island was the secret of Campbell & Co., Hook told Robert 'if we can keep it for two seasons we shall be able to cover the many heavy losses you have hitherto met with'.\(^2\) How long Campbell & Co. were able to

---

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, Hook to Hasselburg, 4 September 1810.
\(^2\) *Ibid.*, Hook to R. Campbell, 23 October 1810. By the *Atalanta*, Hook sent Robert Campbell a small cask with 26 skins of the Macquarie Island seals 'as a muster to shew the quality of the Fur'. Robert Campbell was required to decide about the amounts of insurance necessary, including a coverage of £2,000 for the *Elizabeth and Mary*. 
keep the location of Macquarie Island secret is doubtful. Both Campbell and Macquarie Islands were visited by Captain Smith of the American ship Aurora and the Sydney Gazette for 5 January 1811 carried his descriptions of both islands and the location of Campbell Island, in which it was pointed out that seals were outnumbered by sea-elephants. This aspect of the report was confirmed by the return of the Perseverance laden with elephant oil, advertised for local sale by Campbell & Co. 'in quantities of not less than 20 gallons'. The Gazette, in March, gave notice of the presence of Kable & Underwood's ship, the Sydney Cove at the island, in company with another colonial ship the Unity.

The Elizabeth and Mary returned with 19,952 salted fur skins which, together with 4,644 'purchased from Benn' and those previously in hand amounted to 36,000 which Hook hoped to get to a market in London by the Sydney Cove, the Providence or a vessel of Captain Birnie's, all of which were expected at Port Jackson. Exporting the skins was now a problem. The Boyd returned with 900 skins and Hook expected between 6-10,000 skins with each return of the Perseverance. In November 1811, according to the Sydney Gazette she arrived back from Macquarie Island with no less than 35,000 skins.

---

1 S.G., 12 January 1811.
2 S.G., 2 March 1811.
3 Hasselburg, her dependable captain, was drowned along with three others on 4 November 1810 when his boat capsized at the mouth of the harbour at Campbell Island. See S.G., 5 January 1811. The command was transferred to the mate Miles Holden, but the Perseverance had to be withdrawn from sealing for nearly six months while this was accomplished. H.L.B., Hook to Gordon, 2 June 1811.
4 S.G., 2 November 1811.
Owing to the gradual collapse of Campbell & Co.'s credit and the inundation of the market, Hook found it increasingly difficult to satisfy creditors sufficiently to appropriate enough funds to continue the sealing. But the measures he adopted to secure the advantages of Macquarie Island were more successful than even he expected.

On Macquarie and Campbell Islands 1000 Tons of Elephant Oil may be procured annually. I have brought the business of Oiling and Skinning on These Islands into such Train, and have plenty of Casks and Salt both here and on the Islands that two vessels such as the Perseverance may be employed for two years to come and be sure of fine Cargoes at least and of Skins according to the quantity of Seals which come up during the Pupping Season.¹

By November 1811 there were 120 tons of oil on Macquarie Island and 20,000 skins to which Hook expected to add 30,000 more. But already he was hampered by having only the Perseverance to do the collecting which, even so, had to be postponed until the following September because it was too dangerous to send a frail vessel to the Island in the winter season.

¹ H.L.B., Hook to Captain Mackey, 17 October 1811.
CHAPTER XI

'MY ACCUMULATED MISFORTUNES'

The clouds were only beginning to gather in 1811. It was in the following year that the deluge fell, and increasing desperation was apparent in Hook's letters to John Campbell in 1812. At this crucial time John's affairs in Calcutta were so involved that Hook found the Indian connection of little help. His first letter to John referred to the fact that 'so heavy a Cloud still hangs over you, nay: that it seems to thicken and threatens the most serious consequences. I hope and trust, however, that you have given too deep a shade to the Picture, and that the issue will be more satisfactory than your representation gives room to apprehend'.

This black cloud of official displeasure had in no way dispersed. It is an indication of the depth of the problems that Hook was immersed in in Sydney that he commiserated with John so shortly and almost detachedly. 'I am sorry to learn that the Court of Directors are still inimical, but I do not think the Governor-General will ever put their orders into execution, nor that your Creditors will put you in jail on that or any other account.'

John was assured that Gilmore & Co. in Calcutta need not be alarmed because of Wilson's failure at the fate of the bills the captain of the Spring Grove had issued as all the owners were equally

1 H.L.B., Hook to John Campbell, 12 November 1810.
2 This conceivably was an order to quit India for exporting spirits to New South Wales.
3 H.L.B., Hook to John Campbell, 18 February 1812.
liable, Wilson only holding a small share. Hook, however, omitted to mention, as he must have known, that Robert's only details of Wilson's bankruptcy included the news that he could not obtain any of the accounts from the assignees of those for whom Wilson was agent, and that none of them were admitted as creditors. There were reasons for Hook's delicacy. The state of affairs in Sydney and London was so shaky that pressure by Indian creditors at this stage would suffice to wind up the concern of Campbell & Co. Not unnaturally, Hook dreaded the consequences unless Fairlie Ferguson & Co. and Gilmore & Co. in Calcutta, and Fairlie Barham & Co. in London could be persuaded to 'take the matter into their consideration and see that their own interest is concerned to support the concern here'. John, doubtless did not need to be reminded that 'Credit is the main spring, the vital principle of mercantile enterprise and speculations; and is as necessary to their success or extension, as the circulation of the blood is to animal existence'. If Campbell & Co.'s credit continued to be supported by the Indian houses Hook intended to re-establish the Port Jackson concern by shipping remittances in the form of oil to India and skins to London. In the same way he hoped to recompense Birnie for bills drawn to liquidate securities given Captain Mackey for the Eagle's cargo and perhaps secure a surplus. Hook expected to realise far more on the actual sale of skins sent in the Indispensable and New Zealander than the £9,500 drawn against them in bills on Birnie. Likewise, he had hopes of a better price for skins on the Admiral Gambier on account of the Eagle's cargo, which

1 Ibid., Hook to Smith, 18 February 1812.
2 Ibid., Hook to John Campbell, 18 February 1812.
were shipped at a minimum value of five shillings each. Hook had to ship 5,500 skins (on the Indispensable and New Zealander) for £1,800 worth of Birnie's bills to complete the £4,300 needed just to pay the sealing lays.¹

In spite of Hook's attempts to reassure John the condition of the Sydney branch was clearly desperate. Hook indicated as much when he told John that his intention to join Mr Gordon 'in the trust reposed in me by your Brother' had been declined by Gordon, who was nevertheless prepared to use every other exertion on Robert's behalf, short of actually sharing his debts. Hook's attitude to Sydney at this time was quite explicit, if unflattering: 'If I had time I could amuse you with numerous anecdotes of this vile place and of the still viler people in it but I have no doubt Captain Mackey will give you a full Budget.'² Affairs in Sydney were almost stagnant. Goods on hand were mainly unsaleable articles and the remainder of the Hunter's cargo could not be sold on any terms. By the beginning of 1812 the effect of Wilson's failure began to make itself more felt, there was a gap in the sealing returns, and perhaps because he was 'not a regular bred merchant' Hook found the pressures more and more intolerable. He longed for the return of Robert ('whose presence I never conceived would be protracted beyond 15 months') whose able presence could clear up their difficulties. He indulged in optimistic fantasies, lamenting that if he had only had the proceeds of all the skins shipped for London, after the discovery of Macquarie Island, he could have 'purchased at from 25% and 40% most of the Europe cargoes that have arrived here since March last

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid., Hook to John Campbell, 14 December 1811.
and have secured most of the Money in the Colony'. However, securities he was under to Captain Mackey (on account of the outstanding balance for the **Eagle**) so completely tied his hands that he was hard pressed to find enough to carry on the necessary routine business of the concern which he curtailed as much as possible to fit out the **Perseverance** for sealing.\(^1\) Even the **Perseverance** was temporarily detained by 'a most infamous combination of her Crew and Conspiracy of a Petifogging Attorney' which took up all Hook's time for five weeks. But to John he admitted that conditions were so bad that, in any case, he dreaded the return of the **Perseverance**, 'for, if your Brother does not arrive before then, having settled his affairs with Wilson to his satisfaction; in short, if he has not arranged his matters in London so as to bring out a ship and Cargo, the situation of things here will be most alarming'.\(^2\)

A few months later this hope was dashed when Hook learned by a letter from Governor Bligh that Robert had been arrested in Scotland 'for one of those cursed Protested Bills, that he had extricated himself from that difficulty by some means or other, and was expected in London in a few days where nothing would detain him but his business with Mr Wilson of notorious character; but how that business was likely to end the letter did not mention'. He continued 'I have hitherto supported both the Credit and Character of the House here, as far as I could, and I flatter myself not unsuccessfully; but I cannot do either much longer'.\(^3\)

---

\(^1\) **H.L.B.**, Hook to John Campbell, 14 December 1811. In November 1811 the **Perseverance** returned from Macquarie Island with 35,000 skins, forced to leave behind another 22,000 and the expectation of another 30,000 being collected in the meantime by the two gangs being maintained there under William Rook and Robert Murray.

\(^2\) **H.L.B.**, Hook to John Campbell, 14 December 1811.

\(^3\) **Ibid.**, 25 March 1812.
In the midst of this despair Hook was revived by 'one of those lucky circumstances occurred that you have several times observed to happen just in the nick of time to release us from distress'. The ship *Peggy* arrived in Sydney from the Cape of Good Hope with a cargo of wine. He contrived to become joint purchaser with Captain Cripps and Mr Abbott from which (he encouraged John) 'we expect to make something handsome, at all events it will enable me to go on smoothly till your Brother return'.  

Hook's arduous and depressing situation was alleviated somewhat by the discovery that Gilmore & Co. were not disposed to be inimical to the Sydney concern, but were prepared to allow time if assured of eventual satisfactory payment. (Out of sheer gratitude Hook declared himself virtually as much as their agent as that of Campbell & Co.). Fairlie Gilmore & Co. claimed a debt of £19,891.12s.6d. sterling which Robert and John Campbell and Charles Hook undertook to pay, with interest at twelve per cent, from 10 October 1809. Campbell & Co. was also indebted by account current to John Gilmore & Co. for £8,414.12s.6d. sterling, with interest at the same rate. In consideration of the full amount of £28,306, Hook, acting for himself and his two partners, had made a deed of indenture on 30 April 1811, to John Mackey as agent for both these creditors, transferring a mortgage on John Palmer's property (for over £15,000) and making over all the lease and leasehold estate and premises of Robert Campbell. By this agreement all Campbell's houses, warehouses, vaults, wharfs, stables, outhouses, gardens, appurtenances, oil, skins and other merchandise procured in the South Seas by Campbell's employees as well as all goods intended for the London or China market were subject to

---

redemption on payment of the debt to both Calcutta firms before 30 April 1813. Whatever goods shipped to the London market for this period were to be consigned to David Scott & Co. to be sold for credit of the creditors, until the full sum was paid.¹

The liberality of Captain Mackey, Gilmore & Co.'s agent, was helpful and Hook at first had no apprehensions about the securities he had to give the captain as the documents specifically provided 'that they are not given or meant to impede the business of the concern of Campbell & Co.',² which Hook assumed to mean that all the funds of the concern were still at his own disposal for general business. He was, nevertheless, a little apprehensive of the treatment he might expect at the hands of the agent Captain Mackey would have to appoint in his absence. The most obvious candidate was Richard Jones³ who was 'only a clerk in the House of Captain Bimie' and could be expected to adhere perhaps too strictly to the letter of his instructions. Hook's fears were soon justified. The natural increase of Campbell's cattle made it possible for Hook to dispose of a hundred heifers.⁴ With the proceeds he intended paying the expense of keeping the cattle and trying to fit for sea the brig still on the stocks, for if it went to Macquarie Island it could bring off the oil and skins already procured, which the Perseverance, on its own could not do in any reasonable time. But Jones insisted

² The phrase written into the agreement ran 'intended not in any wise to molest hinder or impede the said parties in carrying on their trade and merchandize on the premises assigned'. S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 32, Document 13.
³ Jones had come to New South Wales with Bimie in the Mary and Ann in 1810.
these proceeds should be sent to Calcutta in liquidation of the mortgage he held. Hook never intended that the number of cattle mortgaged should be diminished but to have managed 'the Flock and Funds arising therefrom for the benefit of the general concern'.

Just at this stage the Perseverance returned to Sydney with 9,000 skins and about 60 tons of oil. Because of the insolvent state of the concern, Hook feared he would have to lay her up and abandon the remainder of the rich harvest at Macquarie Island. But the arrival of the Eagle a few days before the Perseverance was too great a temptation and Hook used those funds of the Eagle's previous investment, due to Mackey, to fit out the Perseverance again in the hope of collecting sufficient skins to make up a full cargo for the Eagle to take back. His anxiety to send out the Perseverance stemmed partly from the fact that the time of reckoning with Mackey was fast approaching and he could not otherwise retrieve the potential profit from the Island because the low price of skins in London would not allow the expense of chartering a vessel to assist. The Active (purchased jointly by Gordon and Abbott) accompanied the Eagle to the Derwent seeking right whale oil or sperm oil from New Zealand. The Active was furnished with casks and whaling gear from Campbell & Co. which was to receive one-third of the oil in return. In this way Hook hoped to produce a means of remittance for London or India, if not for both.

The mail that Hook received in the middle of 1812 was not at all pleasant. The consideration of the Calcutta creditors had

1 H.L.B., Hook to John Campbell, 25 March 1812.
2 S.G., 9 May 1812.
3 The Active was sold to Gordon and Abbott by Rev. S. Marsden in 1812. See Marsden Papers, vol.9, pp.11-14.
diminished in the absence of regular payments from Port Jackson. John Gilmore & Co., losing faith in Hook's competence and intentions, told him that such conduct as his deserved no further confidence and commissioned Captain Robson as their agent to straighten out affairs at Sydney. Hook was told by Richard Jones of a letter written by Fairlie Ferguson & Co. to Captain Mackey confirming that the Eagle's cargo had been wholly consigned to the captain and that they understood that Hook had been appropriating the proceeds to his own use. Apparently, even John joined his persecutors by writing that Hook had 'lost Cast for the present'. Poor, confused Hook claimed that none of these strictures affected him in the least. He believed he could justify himself if he could once extricate himself from the miserable situation his mistaken zeal had got him into, and could return to Calcutta, to satisfy his creditors there 'with my Purse as far as it will go, and with my person in goal (sic) if they choose, for the remainder, I shall then have an opportunity of telling them ...' all?, with a heart almost broken and with feelings the most painful, more on your Brother's account than my own' he told John.¹

Creditors dunned him and Captains McLardie (Eagle) and Robson (Hunter)² both arrived loaded with demands. There was nothing for the former and Robson was directed to the remainder of the Hunter's cargo, for Hook maintained there was nothing that could be mortgaged to either. The property not already mortgaged amounted to 'a few

¹ H.L.B., Hook to John Campbell, 30 July 1812.
² Two-thirds of the Hunter belonged to John Campbell and the other third to the captain, to whom the cargo was consigned. H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 28 November 1812. She arrived at the beginning of July 1812. S.G., 18 July 1812.
Mares, the Perseverance, and Brig on the Stocks and the Farms.'
Hook was uneasy about granting a lien on any of these before he heard from Robert whether he had previously committed them in any securities to Alexander Birnie & Co. in London ('I could only grant it subject to any former Lien your Brother may have granted on the same.'), for he understood that Campbell had been assisted 'to a considerable amount' by the House of Birnie & Co. to whom he had entered into securities. This information partly alleviated Hook's fears for the future, as he assumed it to be a final indication to expect Robert's return daily. His optimism, nevertheless, alternated rapidly with fits of pessimism, for, at the same time, he complained that there was little hope of Robert being able to arrange matters in London to bring out a ship and cargo, and that even if he did it could not arrive in time to mend matters in Sydney. His grievances mounted - 'His having written to me that he would send such a cargo as never came to New South Wales. His failing in that and his not writing although he had several opportunities has been most injurious and distressing', Hook complained to John Campbell. ¹

Hook knew the debts due to Campbell & Co. in the colony were hardly worth the trouble of collecting. In most cases he felt that attempts at collection would be only throwing money away, for 'the state of the colony was never so deplorable', he wrote in November 1812. ² But for the past months he had dutifully been exerting pressure on Campbell & Co.'s debtors. Lieutenant Purcell was approached for a sum due Robert Campbell, Hook indicating that the need to make up a large sum before the Ruby sails forces him to be

¹ H.L.B., 30 July 1812.
² Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 28 November 1812.
urgent.\textsuperscript{1} Unmoved, Purcell had to be threatened two months later that unless his account was immediately paid the matter would be put in the hands of an attorney.\textsuperscript{2} Robert Fitz was required to disburse £43, being his unpaid balance for 1810.\textsuperscript{3} The Rev. Henry Fulton's 'large balance of arrears' called for some liquidation, and the minister was pressed for a settlement.\textsuperscript{4} Likewise, Hook wished to know how William Gore proposed a speedy liquidation of his 'considerable balance' and explains, as he did to Fulton, that Wilson's failure has placed Campbell & Co. in serious difficulties.\textsuperscript{5} But Hook found that even court judgements were not to be depended on. During July 1812 he sat on the Civil Court\textsuperscript{6} and had the mortification to hear judgements given against most of the settlers who were still indebted to Campbell & Co., and against whom he had obtained judgements 12 months previously. He reflected bitterly that he might have sold these people off, 'to their utter ruin', and in most cases not got enough to pay the costs.\textsuperscript{7}

By the middle of 1812 Hook found it necessary to abandon his previous optimism, designed for the India mail, and explain to John Campbell that an earlier letter had been intended

... to apprise you of the state of Insolvency that the Concern of Campbell & Co. was likely to fall into,
without at the same time, giving you too much alarm. Did the Bankruptcy laws extend to this Colony. I must long ago have declared the Concern in that State. I have done everything in my power to avert the evil day in hopes of yr. Brothers return and I have even entered into some personal securities on account of the Concern which probably may send me to Sydney jail for life.¹

Such misery and distress he believed could not be aggravated, but his next letter showed him almost distracted at information conveyed by Captain Birnie of the Mary and Ann. The ship had brought letters from Robert, none of them indicating when he intended to return to the colony, and 'Captain Burnie thinks it cannot be in less than six months that he will be able to leave England, if even then; Gracious God! how shall I get over the intervening period?'

Robert told Hook of the 'litigious characters' he had to deal with in London, which continued to delay settlement for the Spring Grove.² Hook learnt, too, that Campbell & Co. were involved in heavy amounts to Birnie & Co., because he was instructed by Robert (who terms them 'pucker men') to prepare Deeds of Mortgage on the Perseverance, the brig on the stocks, the house in Pitt Street, the breeding mares and the landed property, as a security to Birnie & Co. for their 'engagements and Advances'. Hook was appalled at the possible effect these involvements would have when the other heavy demands he expected from Calcutta came in, so he suggested to John that in spite of the complications 'if time was given, and a little support from your quarter granted, matters might be retrieved'.

There are now here so many Agents for the Calcutta concern from whom I must conceal nothing and who will no doubt inform you of everything, and as I have lost Cast!! to their information I beg leave to refer, and with a heart almost broken subscribe myself.³

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid., Hook to Alexander Birnie, 18 August 1812.
³ Ibid., Hook to John Campbell, 18 August 1812.
By the end of the year, however, the calamity Hook dreaded obviously could no longer be postponed or averted. It was accelerated by the contending claims of Campbell & Co.'s creditors. Captain Birnie was prepared to be satisfied with the securities covering Robert's commitments (though in value they amounted to much less than the latter), but Captain Robson, refused the residue of the Hunter's goods as balance due on its account (although there were sufficient goods left to cover it, even at invoice price). Unknown to Hook, he commenced an action (according to his victim) with 'the most hostile intents', which gave him a judgement for £2,400, though Hook secured a stay of execution for three months.\footnote{Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 28 November 1812.} If Campbell had not arrived back in New South Wales within this time, three more months were to be granted, for which favour Hook gave a mortgage on ten cows and their increase. The cattle had been bought by Campbell for Hook with his share of the commission on the Eagle's investment and had been presented by Hook to Miss Sarah Palmer 'long before I had the most distant idea of marrying her'. As well, Robson was given a letter to John Campbell and John Mackenzie authorizing them to pay him 8,000 rupees from an earlier speculation, as well as all the oil due Campbell & Co. from the agreement concerning the Active.\footnote{Ibid.} Simultaneously Captain McLardie began an action (without notice) for the recovery of 'Mr McNabb's claim'. Though Hook managed to have the matter postponed until January, he knew McLardie was certain to obtain a judgement, to satisfy which as Hook informed Robert 'he will, of course seize the Furniture in the House, the only property now remaining'.\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{1}Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 28 November 1812.  
\footnote{2}Ibid.  
\footnote{3}Ibid.
But when James Birnie discovered the activities of his fellow creditors, knowing that his brother Alexander Birnie was not fully covered for the assistance extended to Campbell & Co., he determined to be ahead of the other two, to prevent the loss of his share of the spoils through any court execution secured by Robson or McLardie. Hook was, therefore, forced to give up to Birnie, as security, every remaining article except the furniture. Hook, in a letter to Robert, smarted at the recollection of this humiliating situation.

The assignment from Crossley even, which you sent to be executed and returned to Mr Fairlie was wrested from me with language the most provoking which I suffered patiently and with threats of vengeance if I did not immediately comply with his demands. Well did you observe 'they are Puckah men', but when you smuggled this man out of the Colony in a Cask, had you sunk him and the Cask in the Cove, Humanity, Charity and Philanthropy would have lost their brightest ornament.¹

Though completely reduced by affairs in Sydney, Hook's heart could still bleed at the thought of the 'many severe trials' Robert had met since he left the colony, and of the trials and sufferings to which they were both likely to be further exposed. He apologized to Robert for his powerlessness to alleviate matters for his partners in India and England - 'Your Brother John writes for Remittances to procure him Rice and Curry you write for Remittances to enable you to leave England; I have not the means to comply with either.'² To deal with a list of debts amounting to several hundreds of pounds, which Robert sent him for settlement, Hook retired some of Wilson's protested bills by a most complicated method, which if it did not procure payment, at least provided a

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 18 November 1812.
little more time in which to manoeuvre. By now so much of Campbell & Co.'s property had been tied up in mortgages that Hook found himself 'put to the severest shifts for a bare subsistence'. To his chagrin he was unable to touch his own or Robert's cattle and wrote bitterly that the only concession he was allowed was a little butter monthly from the five or six hundred cattle on his farm. He and his wife, one servant and a gardener were chiefly supported by the sale of butter and garden produce. The earlier hopes nourished by Hook of a recovery aided by their fishery returns were fast fading. The skins originally sent on the New Zealander brought such a low price that, unless those on the Admiral Gambier and Indispensable turned out better, Hook explained 'dreadful will be the consequences as I had raised £4,300 on them here and drawn on Alex. Burnie to that amount'.

To Robert, who learned of most of these misfortunes from distracted and incoherent manuscripts, Hook apologised for not having written as often or as explicitly as he ought, under the expectation of seeing his partner returned within fifteen months. In his final letters to John Campbell, Hook expanded emotionally on his own sufferings since Robert's departure from Sydney. As he now felt sure that Robert would not return, he resigned himself to the knowledge that his sufferings must continue to accumulate, and would end 'only when I am no more'. The 'false and malicious misrepresentations' of Hook's character and conduct apparently circulating in Calcutta's commercial circles prey on his mind, and

1 Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 25 June 1813.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 28 November 1812.
he asserted that Robert's return would be sufficiently welcome if it only allowed him to return to Calcutta, where 'The worst dungeon in Calcutta Jail will be preferable to my wretched situation here!!'.

It was a further shock to Hook during this disastrous year to discover that Robert Campbell Junior, Robert's nephew, had been quietly trading on his own account for some time past. To Hook's consternation the Eagle, when she arrived at Sydney in the middle of 1812, this time was consigned to Robert Junior, who was apparently fairly well established commercially. To Robert Campbell, Hook wrote:

You mention your surprise at your Nephew Robert having become shopkeeper & etc., I can only say, his trafficking on his own account was, not only without my consent, but was without my knowledge, until it became too glaring to be concealed. I then told him the impropriety of such conduct in a Confidential Clerk in a Counting House, and that Counting House his Uncle's, when he told me he had done so in that Uncle's time, to whom he did not consider himself under any engagements, that he had a Father and Sisters for whom he thought himself obliged to do something. I could say nothing about this.

It is difficult to see how Robert Campbell Junior concealed his activity in Sydney's small commercial circle. He advertised frequently and openly as an independent agent in the Sydney Gazette, though his first appearance seems to have been on 23 November 1811 as debt collector for Edward Lambe, of 15 Hunter Street. Lambe, however, was apparently set up in a shop by Campbell Junior in March 1811 to retail the goods supplied to him on a one-half share of the

1 Ibid., Hook to John Campbell, 6 December 1812.
2 Arrived May 1812 and left June 1812 for Calcutta. See S.G., May, 4 July 1812.
3 S.G., 23 May 1812.
4 H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 28 November 1812.
After this date Campbell Junior, appeared at decreasing intervals advertising cargoes and stock for sale. The Hunter Street shop was advertised for sale in July 1813 by Campbell Junior, 'whose Business will in future be transacted at his house No.8 Bligh St.' At the same time he was prepared to sell three of his ships (Fly, William & Anne and Geordy). Bligh Street became Robert Campbell Junior's permanent establishment, and the centre from which he went on to build a considerable commercial interest.

For the next six months the almost paralysed business of Campbell & Co. was limited to trying to call in more of their outstanding debts and settling sundry commissions. John Smith, the Assistant Surgeon at Port Dalrymple, whose account amounted to over £350 (on which Hook decided to charge interest at 8 per cent) was pressed for a settlement. William Wilson had been Smith's agent and it was usual in such situations for a business house, such as Campbell & Co., to act as banker, crediting allowances from agents to their own customers to whom they extended credit in the interval. Hook explained to Smith that Campbell & Co. had not been admitted amongst Wilson's creditors and could expect no dividend, which was doubly serious for their customers as Campbell & Co. were further unable to recover a penny from Wilson on account of those in the colony for whom he was agent. William Hopley who had a debit account for £372, and John Benn who had long owed £160, were likewise approached. Hook also took out a writ against William Gore,

---

1 S.C.P., Court of Civil Jurisdiction, vol. 10, case 288 (21 October 1812). By October 1812 Lambe was no longer in Campbell's employ. 
2 Ibid. 
3 H.L.B., Hook to J. Smith, 3 January 1813.
refusing to believe that Gore had taken out a bond to Robert Campbell in London, because he had not been notified of this by Robert.¹

The fishery, which had provided an intermittent export, had almost come to a standstill. The Perseverance had returned previously with 17,000 skins and 30 tons of oil, out of which Hook paid the sealers the value of their lays in kind. Richard Jones accepted 23 tons of oil to be shipped on the Eagle on account of her earlier consignment, but despatch of the skins was delayed as Hook could not find an empty ship to freight them to England, though he had earlier managed to send 9,000 skins by the Isabella consigned to Fairlie Bonham & Co. of London. Another 10,552 skins were shipped on the Minstrel for Fairlie Bonham & Co., though Jones refused to allow Hook to ship 35 tons of oil on the same ship for Calcutta, on the Eagle's account.² Hook also suspected that Jones had written to Birnie in London to influence him against a connection with Robert Campbell, but conceded that Jones might have felt it his duty to do so.³ The Perseverance was sent on one last trip to Macquarie Island to clear it of all remaining Campbell & Co. property (about 500 skins and 40 tons oil), after which, Hook advised Robert 'our hopes from thence must end'. The sealing gangs were all paid off, but their claims were settled only after infinite trouble and numerous law suits.

With the cooperation of Captain James Birnie, the vessel that had been on the stocks all this time was finally finished at the end

¹ Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 25 June 1813.
² Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 29 June 1813.
³ Ibid.
of January 1813. Named the Queen Charlotte (136 tons) and valued at £1,000, she was sent off to the fishery, being fitted out by Birnie. Under a written agreement with Captain Birnie, Campbell & Co. holding £1,000 in the Queen Charlotte and £2,000 in the Perseverance were to share accordingly in the profits of their voyages, the Captain's share to be proportionately equal to the amount of his outfits for each. Hook, at a loss to know what to do with the Perseverance sent her off in April 1813 on a voyage to explore the coast of New Zealand 'to ascertain to what extent a speculation in the Flax of that country is practicable'. Apparently, the trip was undertaken with Jones's consent to see if the business could increase its assets. The Gazette noted her return from New Zealand at the end of July 1813 'with Messrs Jones & Gordon who sailed from hence ... to examine the flax that grows there'. This anticipated Blaxcell's scheme of the following year to form a Joint Stock Company in Sydney to trade with New Zealand and form a settlement there to procure flax and timber. The concern was still so lacking in funds, however, that when Macquarie received instructions from England to levy duties, Hook had to ask for time to discharge a

1 She was launched at the end of January 1813, going off 'in a very handsome style'. S.G., 30 January 1813.

2 The Queen Charlotte returned from Tahiti in February 1814 with about 70 tons of pearl shell, 'as large a quantity of pearls as has ever yet been procured by any single vessel'. She had been temporarily captured by the treachery of the native divers and had lost some of her crew, returning with the news that Pomare had lost his authority and the islanders were no longer to be trusted. S.G., 19 February 1814.


4 S.G., 24 July 1813.

5 See S.G., 18 June, 23 July, 27 August 1814.
bill for duty on sandalwood imported by the Duchess of York in 1807. ¹ On Robert's sage advice, Hook rented the company's lower stores to Captain Birnie, though he could prevail on him for only a reluctant £200.

In the middle of 1813 Hook learnt that two of the bills (for £800 and £400) he had drawn on Alexander Birnie in favour of Captain Barclay had been protested and that a further one for £600 could be expected to meet the same fate. Hook was totally without the means to retire the bills, but was greatly agitated that Captain Barclay should think he had acted deliberately dishonestly, 'for I understand he has made very free with my Character in the Jerusalem Coffee House, classing me amongst the Swindlers of Botany Bay and has given his Agent instructions to shew me no quarter'.² Hook had shipped the skins on account of Campbell & Co. but had drawn the bills in his own name to avoid the expense of sending three attested copies of his authority to act for Campbell & Co., as was necessary when acting as their agent. He maintained that the securities he had given to Captain Birnie were still quite ample to cover this risk and if taken into consideration by Alexander Birnie would have preserved the 'mortal wound' to his character.³ Under the misrepresentations spread by creditors - especially Captain Mackey - Hook likened himself to 'a Bear chained to a Stake and Baited by every Dog in the Colony'.⁴ In explaining to Robert this tangle with

¹ H.L.B., Hook to Captain H. Glenholme, N.O., 28 June 1813; Hook to Robert Campbell, 29 June 1813.
² Ibid., Hook to Alexander Birnie, 18 June 1813.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 25 June 1813.
Birnie over Barclay's bills, Hook admitted that in his eagerness to exploit the discovery of Macquarie Island, once it had become known, he perhaps engaged too deeply in keeping three articulated gangs there for a long time. Once committed, he had had to continue. As most of their funds by then had been locked up he had appropriated the funds owing on account of the Eagle's cargo, consigning skins to Birnie in order to draw bills to replace this money, not knowing that Robert had meanwhile been calculating on the value of the skins in his agreements with Birnie, so that, in effect, they had been drawn on twice.¹

Though there are particular unique features (the bankruptcy of their agent, Campbell's enforced absence from Sydney and Hook's inexperience) in the reduction of Campbell & Co., their collapse is indicative of general effects in the commercial world which left their full impression on Port Jackson. In spite of a toast of 'Prosperity to New South Wales and the speedy establishment of an Export Trade' drunk by 'a democratic gathering' celebrating the anniversary of Macquarie's assuming command, in January 1813, by the middle of the year the market was glutted and commerce generally at a standstill. It had not quite recovered from an overflow of shipments from India the previous year, during which the captain of one ship was left with about £6,000 worth of goods on hand after having unsuccessfully offered the remainder of his cargo at Calcutta prices with a credit of first three, six, then nine months' credit, only to find that 'no person will venture'.² About three months after

¹ Ibid.
² R.P., Alex. to Edw. Riley, 18 February 1812. 'Letters from Sydney', p.27. During the same period Hannibal Macarthur complained to his uncle that he could not sell for ready money when other merchants sold on credit. He found that he could not collect money
the Eagle's first arrival so many ships had descended on the Port
Jackson market that many 'Melancholy Sacrifices' had to be resorted
to to dispose of most of the cargoes, which state of affairs had
considerably impaired the sale of the Eagle's cargo. The closing
of the public store against wheat was no aid to harrassed sellers
one of whom added this to the 'Conjunction of many other circum­
stances all tending to affect our Funds' so that 'Cash has not been
so scarce in the Colony since 1800'.

Hook was of the opinion that
during this period 'there has been more Cargoes imported than in any
ten former years'. He calculated that Robert Campbell Junior, to
whom the Eagle's second cargo had been consigned, could not expect
to realise much above prime cost.

By the end of 1813 the market was just beginning to settle
down, though still struggling against a scarcity of government cash.
This latter need merchants tried to repair by gleaning what they
could at Hobart, once vessels were allowed to break bulk there.

---

R.P., Alex. to Edw. Riley, 28 March 1812, 'Letters from Sydney',
P.19. He had written a month earlier of conditions in Sydney that
'India commodities must therefore have unavoidably a considerable
depression for some time and he will be an unfortunate man who comes
here with any more until the market recovers.' loc.cit., p.27.

Alexander Riley wrote: the 'Eagle took such bad accounts and such
little Cash and the Frederick being the Bearer of worse tidings and
less Money I apprehend the Gents in India will pause before they
deluge this place again ...' R.P., Alex. to Edw. Riley, 2 August

By the middle of 1814 this market was completely exhausted, one
captain collecting only £1,100 after eight days. R.P., Alex. to
These commercial problems coincided with the onset of a drought that was to last to 1815 and directly affect the consumer side of the market. The failure of the harvest sent the price of local wheat up to £2 a bushel and forced Macquarie to send to Bengal for grain, and the Sydney Gazette likened the scarcity to that which had prevailed in 1806. During the next two seasons the settlement lost 5,000 sheep and 3,000 cattle. The Sydney market was further contracted in 1814 when the 46th Regiment was relieved by the 73rd - only half the strength of the former - which departed with its attendant women and children. Not only did this reduce the amount of money circulating in the colony but 'the loss of Mouths is a serious loss indeed to Stockholders!', as one merchant lamented.

By the end of this year there was a general stagnation of trade. India sales were quite stationary because several ships were expected from the same place. Two ships (Betsey and General Browne) which arrived with 20,000 bushels of wheat between them caused further dislocation of the available currency as the public store immediately closed against the settlers' grain until the following March.

These internal conditions were immediately reflected in Sydney's commercial circles, already beginning to appreciate credit difficulties arising out of the British collapse of confidence of

1 26 February 1814
2 R.P., Alex. to Edw. Riley, 2 April 1814, Mss. vol.2, p.65.
3 Ibid., Alex. to Edw. Riley, 17 December 1814, Mss. vol.2, p.189. Riley at this time still had the cargoes of the Eliza and Morning Star on his hands. The greater part of their sales had been on credit until the end of the year but the remittance they produced was so small Riley postponed making up his accounts. Ibid.
1810-12. It took nearly twelve months for European conditions to affect Australian trade, and sometimes considerably longer when they were relayed through Indian houses, several of whom now had connections with Sydney interests. These Indian houses, feeling the pinch themselves, were quick to call up their capital from their own debtors or to refuse to underwrite further speculations - often the only means which debtors relied on to settle their accounts. Alexander Riley complained in 1815 of the unwillingness of Palmer & Company (probably as a result of irregular remittances from Port Jackson) to back their investments, and toyed with the idea of giving his business to Fairlie Ferguson & Co. Alexander wrote to his brother, Edward, acting as Indian agent, 'I could not have thought such backwardness in yr. Wealthy Calcutta Merchants possible. Why myself a humble Port Jackson Merchant would not have spoiled a speculation for the Sake of such a petty quantity of Rupees'. By 1815, however, there had been an almost total collapse of Sydney's commerce. Few of her entrepreneurs had been able to escape the cumulative pressures of the previous years. Campbell & Co., the oldest regular house had gone, Alexander Riley, a mercantile man for the past five years was treading gingerly between his own losses and those of his debtors. In the middle of 1814 he was glad to join Jones & Walker (both agents for Indian houses) when they branched out in speculations of their own with fresh capital and credit. The prominent emancipist combination of Lord, Williams and Hutchinson had crumbled at the same time. Riley wrote to his brother that

---

1 R.P., Alex. to Edw. Riley, 7 June 1815, Mss. vol.2, p.214.
2 Ibid., pp.131, 189.
Lord as a Merchant is utterly gone Verdicts to large amounts are against him - Williams has gone as a Settler to the Derwent - The great Firm is dissolved and Mr Simeon has thrown his third Partner into Sydney Gaol for a paltry few pounds debt, after having failed to prove a charge of Felony against him.¹

Garnham Blaxcell, the erstwhile partner of John Macarthur had sunk in disorder under the accumulated demands of his creditors. John Macarthur had suffered a series of reverses. His nephew, Hannibal Macarthur, had arrived back in New South Wales in 1812 to engage in business with his uncle. He left Sydney in 1816 after drastic failures, blaming the bad seasons and his own inexperience, but above all the difficulty in realising on cargoes.²

For most of Sydney's commercial speculators, as for Campbell & Co., the insubstantial state of their concerns had been revealed by the arrival of agents appointed by their creditors. Hook sent Robert a letter from Fairlie Ferguson & Co. (dated 29 August 1812) urging settlement of the Eagle's account before the arrival of their agent Macpherson, who was to act 'as to that and other heavy claims against your Concern'. One of these claims included demands on account of the Hunter's cargo of 1808.³ Macpherson was lost in a wreck off Mangalore and William Walker, who was to build up a substantial commercial business of his own, arrived in the Eliza in 1813, in Macpherson's place.⁴ Walker's arrival contracted affairs even further for Campbell & Co.. He took immediate actual possession of all their cattle (1,203), progeny of those which the company imported at heavy cost from India, with the intention of

¹ Ibid., Alex. to Edw. Riley, 3 July 1814, Mss. vol.2, p.90.
³ H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 25 June 1813.
⁴ Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 10 August 1813.
selling if he could get an adequate price and sterling money. Hook, who felt it 'very hard to sacrifice so fine a property', strongly remonstrated with him 'as in the present state of the Colony he can get neither one nor the other'. Hook's solution was to have them put under the charge of Rowland Hassall, in the hope that he would manage them more economically than Robert Campbell Junior had done previously, especially if the bullocks and old and barren cows were slaughtered as they became fit for the butcher. But they were sold the following year to Captain Brooks for £8 a head which, though considered a good price for the time, was probably little consolation to the man who had imported most of them at a cost of over £20 a head.

Hook thought he had found an ally in John Oxley, who brought a claim by his principals Maude and Robertson of London, for a bill for £700 (plus interest) drawn on Wilson on 31 October 1809. According to Hook, Oxley was apparently sufficiently satisfied by a list of the debts due to Campbell & Co. that he promised to write Maude & Robertson not to trouble Campbell in England. But in a letter dated a day later than Hook's, Oxley informed his principals that he could lay hold on nothing from Campbell's concerns because they were so tied up already by his East Indian creditors. Oxley said that he had accepted Hook's offer to pass on all debts as collected, though not on behalf of Maude & Robertson, who might prefer to take steps against Campbell in England where they would be better able to compel payment. A copy of their account was sent

1 Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 10 August 1813.
2 Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 27 May 1814.
3 H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 25 June 1813.
to Maude & Robertson in case they wished to act on it. ¹ Within a year Oxley received good bills from Hook for £280 though he told Maude & Robertson that there was little hope for other bills they held of Campbell's being paid in New South Wales, and should therefore arrange the means of discharging them with Campbell. Hook, he wrote, 'throughout the Business as (sic) shewn every disposition to do Justice', though the estate was by this time almost entirely out of his hands. ²

Family relations were inextricably entwined with financial ones and proved to have their drawbacks as well as advantages. John Palmer, now related by marriage to both Robert and Hook, was deeply indebted to Campbell & Co., for which he had given Robert a mortgage on all his property. ³ As no interest had been paid the deed of forbearance had become void, and Captain Mackey instructed Hook to sell off Palmer's property to the amount of the debt. But Palmer's son, George, refused to fulfil the covenant of the mortgage by giving actual possession of the stock or even a return of them, so Hook, as Campbell & Co.'s agent, was forced to start a civil action to recover the debt, even though John Palmer was still absent in England. ⁴ Hook with his own activities paralysed by mortgages felt that if foreclosure could not be postponed on these, then Palmer's mortgage ought to be sacrificed first. However, the balance due on

---

¹ Oxley Papers. Oxley to Wm. Robertson, 26 June 1813, pp.7-8, A5322-1.  
² Ibid., 8 April 1814, p.23.  
³ The indenture between John Palmer and Robert Campbell, dated 9 May 1810, recognized a debt of £15,758·15s·7½d. If Palmer paid the interest due yearly, the principal was to be allowed to remain up to seven years before foreclosure. See S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 32, Document 13.  
⁴ H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 25 June 1813.
the Campbell mortgages could not be clearly ascertained, as Walker was not yet in possession of the accounts for the seal skins already in England, or those sent recently by the Isabella and Minstrel. Hook continued to play for time, urging Robert Campbell's imminent return, but remarked, 'I much fear that neither delicacy nor lenity will be shewn in regard to poor Palmer's Mortgage longer than till the necessary steps are taken previous to foreclosing.'¹ It took nearly twelve months to evolve a solution over the Palmer mortgage. In 1814 Hook told Robert that 'An arrangement is forming between Mr Palmer and Mr Walker on the ground of the former giving up the whole of his Landed Property and the latter taking it at a valuation and grant a general release'.² But this could not be finalised without Hook's concurrence and he had not sufficient power to proceed without communication with Palmer, or until Robert's arrival, when his own powers would be superseded.³

As Campbell's horses at Canterbury had become expensive to keep, Hook got the Governor's permission to graze them on Emu Island.⁴ The price of horses had fallen so greatly ('two-thirds since you left us') that it was recommended to Hook to sell them and purchase a flock of sheep. Hook agreed to the sale and Captain Birnie, to whom they had been mortgaged received the money, 'but when I talked of the Flock of Sheep he told me he never had such an

¹ H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 10 August 1813.
² Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 27 May 1814.
³ Ibid., Hook to John Campbell, 11 August 1813.
⁴ This was the present Emu Plains, on the left bank of the Nepean River, from which Macquarie intended constructing a road in 1814, at which time he gave notice of the change of name from the previous 'erroneous' one. S.G., 16 July 1814.
idea - he has been tampering with me to admit the sale of Canterbury which I have obstinately set my face against'.

In this last struggle, Hook succeeded, for the farms (1,200 acres in all) remained free.

In many other ways Hook found himself hampered. He was unable to give John Campbell an account of the sales of the Hunter's cargo of 1809. On laying Robert's sale book before Walker, the latter agreed that no one could make out the account correctly but Robert Campbell himself. Hook had practically no information about the arrangements being made in London, and had to depend, apart from an occasional out-dated letter from Robert, on gossip from visiting captains. It was John Palmer, who returned in the Catherine in May 1814, who supplied Hook with his first detailed account of Robert to whom Hook immediately wrote, 'his account of your sufferings pains me beyond expression'. Palmer, at least, could set Hook's mind at rest on the crucial point, for he assured him that nothing detained Robert in England except a decision by the Government concerning the claim for compensation for the Sydney, on learning which Campbell intended to take his passage in the first ship for New South Wales. Reassured, Hook decided this would not delay Robert beyond two or three months, in which case he need write no more. A tiny doubt flickered, however. So often had he been buoyed

1 H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 10 August 1813.

2 The Canterbury estate was advertised for renting 'for any term not exceeding 5 years' in the Sydney Gazette in August 1812. In January 1814 it was advertised for sale by auction unless previously disposed of by private sale. The terms of payment were sterling money, 'One half Prompt and 6 months credit for the Residue, on approved Security'. S.G., 22 January 1814.

3 H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 27 May 1814.
up by the same hope, only to be disappointed, that he had learnt not to trust in it too much. In spite of Palmer's news, he was still without detailed knowledge of Robert's business affairs, though he touchingly assumed these would be successful. He had heard from Robert that Fairlie Ferguson & Co. had consented to send back the Eagle from London with a cargo entirely of 'eatables and drinkables', but when the Eagle's destination was altered Robert tried to prevail on Birnie to send another ship instead. As late as 1813 Campbell had told Hook of his 'strong hope of at last obtaining compensation from the Government for the loss of the Sydney and Venus'. Though the matter had not been mentioned by Robert, Hook told John that he was certain an action had been commenced against Mr James Wilson, the uncle of William Wilson, who was revealed to have always been a partner in Wilson's House, and who offered £16,000 to compromise, which offer was refused by his desperate creditors.¹

But the situation had gone past saving, even by Robert Campbell's exertions in London. Trade was becalmed in Sydney and too many people knew of Campbell & Co.'s precarious state to continue in financial tolerance. There were too many creditors to be satisfied and too few assets to make them easy about their securities. The debts still due to Campbell & Co. were parcelled out in abstracts to Oxley (acting for Maude & Robertson), Jones (acting for Captain Robson and Gilmore & Co.) and to Walker (Fairlie Ferguson & Co. of Calcutta), who took their duties so seriously that Hook complained 'I am watched and questioned by them daily to know how I get on in the collections'. Nevertheless, Hook

¹ Ibid., Hook to John Campbell, 11 August 1813.
managed to secure sufficient debts to cover a promissory note held by one of their smaller creditors whom he felt strongly ought to be provided for because he has never once mentioned his claim.¹

Hook's letters to their agent in London, Birnie, produced no replies and the creditors grew more suspicious. Birnie, far from answering Hook's bulletins, had been sending final instructions to his brother to arrange for the recovery of some capital from the business in New South Wales. In the middle of 1814 Hook wrote to Robert that Birnie in London

... tells Captain Burnie in a paragraph of a letter which that Gentleman read to me a few days ago that 'as no part of the money for which he was under engagements on your account could be recovered in England, it must be recovered from the Property here, and he (Captain Burnie) must use every exertion, without any delicacy, to that effect'.

The Captain did not scruple to do his duty, however painful, and seized all the furniture, plate, crockery and glassware which he deposited under lock and key in Robert Campbell's own bedroom and adjoining room. Fighting to the end, Hook managed to rent him both the rooms 'as I will not give my consent to the sale of any part'.²

Where the Calcutta branch stood financially in relation to the Port Jackson collapse is too vague to determine. Certainly, it seems that John Campbell was in no position himself to bolster the efforts of his partners, any more than he could use his own credit to secure the forebearance of Fairlie, Ferguson & Co. or Gilmore & Co. The decline in the activities of the Calcutta house, after 1806, has already been mentioned and it doubtless received a coup de grace in 1810 with the failure of Wilson, regardless of the peculiar cloud


of official displeasure alluded to in the correspondence between Hook and John Campbell. There are difficulties in determining the solidity of the Calcutta concern, for lack of accurate records. Its interest in ships it officially 'owned' was often partial, shared with the captain\(^1\) or another agency house - such as Fairlie, Ferguson & Co., or Gilmore & Co. - which supplied a cargo, so that it was possible for their credit to be more impressive than their invested capital. The Eagle's investment, underwritten by Fairlie, Ferguson & Co., cost £11,000 and sold for about £24,000. When it was finally paid, Hook wrote to Robert, 'It may be all our own as Mr Fairlie says but the concern here has no advantage from it further than Commission. I suppose he means that the profits will go in liquidation of the Debts of the House in Calcutta.'\(^2\)

The actual arrangements of finance between the Sydney and Calcutta concerns are as difficult to determine as the understanding on which the partnership operated. There are references to Campbell & Co., Campbells & Hook, Campbell, Hook & Co., as well as occasional indications that each partner undertook individual speculations. The different titles under which the business operated may, indeed, indicate separate undertakings, or merely be the accidental effect of a common disregard for accuracy in the compilers of directories and almanacs. The personal and somewhat loose bases on which commercial speculations stood before the

\(^1\) Captain Austin Forrest revealed in 1809 that in conversation with John Campbell he had been led to expect command of the Hunter on her return from a voyage to Penang, because he already had become purchaser of half the ship. He did not get the command, however, because 'I (Forrest) thought the money Mr Campbell asked was too much'. See S.C.P., Court of Civil Jurisdiction, Papers at end of vol.5, dated 22 May 1809.

\(^2\) H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 25 June 1813.
development of limited liability companies, when combined with a lack of connected records, furnishes no real grounds for conjecture about the origin and disposal of Campbell & Co.'s capital.

Records of the financial arrangements between the two branches are hopelessly inadequate. In October 1811, Hook sent John Campbell bills for nearly £3,000, being mainly those of Mattinson of the Spring Grove on Wilson. Hook allowed John Campbell to handle a Power of Attorney on his brother's Indian Estate to find funds for the most pressing demands on the entire concern, Indian as well as Australian. Hook also furnished John with accounts of business and transactions in Sydney, though they were less detailed than his letters to Robert. John handled the acquisition of cargoes in India and received remittances for them himself. In reply to one of John's letters raising the question of a balance on one of the Hunter's cargoes, Hook's replied: 'You mention never having received a Rupee Remittance on that account - Pray was not the 75 tons of Sandal Wood delivered the Hunter at the Fejees by the Perseverance meant as a remittance on that Account?' But almost a year earlier, Hook had informed John that, 'I have given Captain Robson 200 Whale Teeth and have requested him to be particular in the expenditure of them so as to be able to inform you as to the quantity of Sandal Wood etc. he procures with them in order that you may compensate C. & Co. (sic) accordingly.' This seems to indicate that there was an understanding that the two concerns were responsible for their separate survival. This interpretation is strengthened by a

---
1 Ibid., Hook to John Campbell, 17 October 1811.
2 Ibid., 14 December 1811.
3 Ibid., 19 November, 1810.
letter written to Robert by Hook concerning the purchase of some sealing lays. Hook gave credit for money formerly advanced by Campbell to a crew, for the purchase of their lays; he felt that he had purchased these keenly and left it to Campbell to decide, from an abstract he furnished, 'whether you will keep the advantage of this purpose, or throw it into the General Concern'. There was continual trouble from India for the Sydney partners. Hook's brother's legacy was seized on by the India House of Traill, Palmer & Co. for a debt due to Paxton, Cockerill & Traill, contracted by Hook & Finney, which according to Hook, 'those gentlemen at the time joined to Campbell & Co. assured me I never would be called on for'. There is no information as to when the Finneys were involved in the Calcutta concern, but it was presumably before Hook arrived in New South Wales in 1808. There was a further claim by Hogue Davidson & Co. for a debt due to them by Campbell & Co. for insurances. To Robert, Hook wrote in 1813, 'Your Brother thought the Port Jackson Concern so advantageous that I could not be allowed a share in it unless I advanced a valuable consideration and he kept the transactions of the two concerns distinct from each other; but it appears he has blended both into one Concern.'

In 1809 and 1810 the Calcutta firm still owned, wholly or partially, the Eagle, Duchess of York, Hunter and Lady Barlow. The other ships had either been lost at sea or gone to new owners. The following year the Eagle was taken over by another company. From 1813 onwards, in the Annual Registers and Directories the firm appears under the name of John Campbell, only, with one ship, the

1 H.L.B., Hook to Robert Campbell, 2 October 1810.
2 Ibid., Hook to Robert Campbell, 25 June 1813.
Hunter. This state of affairs continued until John's death in 1822, when the Hunter reverted to Ferguson & Co., to whom John Campbell was possibly indebted.\(^1\) Presumably the Indian connection was severed in 1813 when the Sydney firm became insolvent.

The second last record of contact with the Indian branch is a bitter letter from Hook to John Campbell dated 11 August 1813, in which Hook examined the reasons for the collapse of the Sydney concern. He wrote

Mr Robert Campbell's honourable and true Mercantile mode of conducting his business here was a perfect Contrast to and satyre on the practice and principles of others and consequently subjected him and this Establishment to their bitterest rancor and Malice, but which his prudence and experience enabled him to combat. The same rancor and malice has been practiced since his departure and with reiterated virulence but without the same power in my part of counteracting their effects.

He upbraided John for not giving him more information to work on, and for repeating stories circulating in Calcutta, when a real friend would have given Hook sufficient particulars to enable him to answer them. John was charged with injustice and cruelty for listening to such reports of Hook's character and credit, which Hook asserted would be found 'false and malicious and fabricated from the vilest motives'. Hook, though refusing these reports, was prepared to admit that 'I may be considered as having acted in some instances imprudently and in others from ignorance is very probable', but he concluded his defence with a thinly-disguised reflection on John and the Indian branch, to the effect that his own 'arduous conduct' of Campbell & Co.'s concerns had been 'aggravated too from

---

\(^1\) The Hunter had been built in 1780 and by 1822 was easily the oldest ship registered in the Calcutta lists.
a quarter least to be expected.' So the Indian connection of Campbell & Co. of Sydney, already strained, prepared to snap. When Robert Campbell was eventually able to set up a mercantile house again it was an independent Australian one.
Campbell eventually returned to New South Wales on 18 March 1815 with his wife and three of his five children, to a society which had evolved considerably in his absence. The arrival of Macquarie at the end of 1809 had marked a new state of colonial development which Campbell could barely have had time to appreciate before his departure in 1810. Macquarie (not a man given to understatement) 'found the Colony barely emerging from infantile imbecility and suffering from various privations and disabilities; the country impenetrable 40 miles from Sydney; agriculture in a yet languishing state; commerce in its early dawn; revenue unknown; threatened by famine; distracted by faction; the public buildings in a state of decay; the few roads and bridges formerly constructed rendered almost impassable; the population in general depressed by poverty; no public credit nor private confidence ...'¹ The ablest Governor since Phillip had already left his mark on the colony. In New South Wales under Macquarie emphasis had shifted so markedly from penal institution to dynamic society that even Lord Castlereagh wondered whether the place had 'not acquired a character more colonial than should belong to a gaol'. The emergence of a free society was implicitly assumed in Macquarie's emancipist policy, and the way for its emergence was opened up by his encouragement of expansion and regulation of the colony's economic activities.

Macquarie's rule, though paternalistic, was still a radical departure from previous administration, and the Governor showed much the same tendency towards liberality in his economic policy. As a military man, Macquarie had a more urbane attitude towards trade than his naval predecessors. Macquarie was a product of a laissez-faire society to which the idea of a welfare state was as realistic as plans for Utopia. The majority of men, even in high position, were barely provided for by their own societies and the ambitious accepted the necessity to supplement their daily bread with whatever advantage their position afforded. The extent to which everyone engaged in supplementary trade was naturally far more marked in a colonial environment. Here, the regular merchant tended perforce to be 'primus inter pares', and this to some extent explained his insistence on a jealously defended mercantile status and code. New South Wales under the Rum Corps showed certain elements common to the early administration of India where Clive had openly sponsored the 'Society of Trade' for officers, who accepted as an economic asset the undue influence exercised by persons in authority that exposed them later to the criticism that they had 'graduated in chicanery or grown grey in fraud and corruption'. Macquarie, in India, never pretended to underestimate the acquisitive instinct of the ambitious any more than he did in New South Wales. But, unlike the Indian administrators whose ambition had always been 'to unite economy and despatch with efficiency and integrity', the previous governors of New South Wales (with the exception of Arthur Phillip) had chosen to ignore these last two qualities until Macquarie imported them from India.

The restrictiveness of Macquarie's land policy was never extended to trade, for he recognized a prosperous commercial class
as the mainspring of an economically healthy community. His pursuit of this objective was aided immensely by the East India Company's loss of its monopoly in 1813. Macquarie's importation of specie showed that he was prepared to tackle the main internal commercial problems, though his instructions from England concerning economy, combined with rising colonial expenses, forced him to pursue policies that were disruptive to trade, such as the imposition of duties and closure of the stores against grain. The slump of 1812-14 that dislocated Sydney's commercial life was a result of external factors as much as of the scarcity of local money which was aggravated by government policy. Though the merchants were always ready to blame the latter, it was during Macquarie's period that Sydney's commercial basis changed from the individual, speculative adventure to the humdrum routine of continuous calculation on an even volume of trading and profits, underwritten by permanent partnerships. That it was possible to adapt successfully is indicated by the houses of the early period which managed to consolidate themselves, and by the increase of those like Berry and Wollestonecraft,¹ and the Walkers,² who established new houses towards the end of this decade.

Campbell was to find the governor's policy a distinct aid in rebuilding an almost non-existent business, though at first, the

¹ Alexander Berry (1781-1873) and Edward Wollestonecraft (1783-1832) set up in Sydney in 1819 as general merchants.
² Richard Jones joined Alexander and Edward Riley in 1815 in the mercantile house of Jones & Riley. Alexander retired to England in 1819 and his place was taken by William Walker; Walker was joined by his nephew Thomas Walker in 1822. On the death of Edward Riley in 1825 the firm became Jones & Walker. In 1835, with Thomas as senior partner it became William Walker & Co., though William Walker, himself, retired to England in 1831.
governor's espousal of the emancipist cause altered the social situation in which the merchant found himself. Campbell had left New South Wales as an associate of faction, a symbol of that apparently stagnant society which so grated on Macquarie that he had not cared to clarify his own mind about the causes of the upheaval of 1808. Besides, Campbell had been the most successful merchant in the colony. He had been free and therefore privileged. His most successful rival, Simeon Lord, now protege of Macquarie, along with his fellow emancipists, were not the men to have the most detached opinions of Campbell's previous benefit to the colony. The fact that Campbell's business crash had coincided with Macquarie's period of enlightened government might well have made the Governor sceptical as to the integrity of Campbell's merchanting.

Campbell's homecoming then, was not a warm one. Times had changed, the free civilian no longer had automatic access to the Governor's society. The delicate network of influence had been rent by the rawer practicalness of the rising emancipists whose initiative was now recognized legal tender in a freely competitive economy. Not only was Campbell's commercial situation overturned, his social position was no longer assured in this brasher society within which he had to compete for a livelihood. Not for him was it possible to make a dignified withdrawal to a pastoral life and an exclusive society. The adaptable Scot accepted the challenge and fashioned his tools anew. In 1816 when, significantly, his fellow-countryman the Governor was already pioneering the name of Australia - a nation, not a port - Campbell wrote the words, 'As I may spend in all probability the remainder of my life in the Colony'.

1 C.S., I.L. 15, 1816.
which showed that he was prepared to identify his fortunes with
the land which was not yet officially even a colony. Rather than
wind up the affairs of Campbell & Co. and retire to India or modest
obscurity, he made the decision at the lowest ebb of his fortune
that metamorphosed him from the Scottish partner of an Indian House
in New South Wales, to the first Australian merchant.

Campbell & Co. by 1815 was virtually moribund, paralysed by
debts, hopeless of credit with which to maintain business and facing
the competition of newer and stronger rivals. Hook had preserved
intact for Campbell most of his personal property, but his
communication with his partner in England had become increasingly
more incoherent and infrequent. The first investigation of the
state of his mercantile affairs must have been a tragic task for
Campbell who found a broken man in charge of a broken House. For
the first year Campbell had to occupy himself in winding up the
affairs of the past years and finding footholds for the future.
The family lived soberly at Wharf House supported on the rents of
the warehouses. The vaults were let to the government for bonding
spirits at £100 a year, and in 1817 the New Store was let at a pound
a week.¹ This was little alleviation, however, for Campbell wrote
that 'notwithstanding the advantages I have and still enjoy from my
premises being occupied (the present support of my family) the
Rental pays little more than an Interest of 5% on the capital sunk
from which the upholding and keeping in requisite repairs falls to
be deducted'.² Meat from the farms was supplied to the government

¹ Wentworth Papers D.1, pp.160, 164, 175, 185 and A763, pp.173, 207.
² Campbell to Macquarie, 26 October 1818. C.S., 21, pp.72-4.
Frugality was practised at the counting house, too; pitifully few transactions being recorded, and these mainly with government. Some ironmongery and spars were paid for in minute amounts from the Police Fund, and the Canterbury farm was rented to the government for a nominal sum. In 1816 Campbell was unable to accept a number of cows allowed him, on the terms published in the Gazette (£20 bond on each cow, payable in money or wheat at store price, in eighteen months) and wrote to Macquarie that 'When Your Excellency was pleased to communicate to me your intention of affording me the privilege of a Settler I understood the Cows were to be returned in kind.' But he must have been accommodated in this matter for a return of public stock dated 13 January 1819 shows that on 24 August 1816, Campbell received twelve head of cattle from Government on credit, to be paid in kind, payment due on 24 August 1819. Possession of cattle allowed Campbell to supply meat to the government store.

The further collection of debts was assiduously promoted. As Campbell was not prepared to repudiate his own debts he expected a measure of effort from his debtors. He had hardly arrived back in the colony before John Oxley approached him about the bond he had given Maude & Robertson. Oxley was assured by Campbell that when the provisions of the bond became due that the several sums would be duly paid. Campbell, with impressive dignity 'extremely regretted that the unfortunate and neglected state of his affairs from his

1 S.G., 25 March, 19 August 1815, 18 October 1817.
3 C.S., 22, I.L., 1819, p.45.
4 S.G., 25 March, 19 August 1815 and 18 October 1817.
absence in England, did not allow him the means of immediately liquidating the demand; but he felt fully confident, that the recovery of the sums due to his Concern would enable him not to disappoint your (Maude & Robertson) expectations.¹ Campbell so impressed Oxley with his desire to settle all demands upon him that Oxley wrote to his principals that 'Mr Campbell's affairs have certainly been much embarrassed, but his Prudence, and unimpeached Character in the Colony, give fair grounds to hope that all the demands upon him will be ultimately settled, more particularly as he has great reason to believe, that Messrs Fairlie F (sic) & Co., will for their own sakes, support and re-establish him ...'² The recovery of outstanding debts was, therefore, a matter of some importance to Campbell. Not that he could be charged with being an ungenerous creditor. Execution had been stayed on many of the judgements given in favour of Campbell & Co. against the small settlers between 1811 and 1814. In 1817 Campbell advertised that

Whereas, notwithstanding my repeated advertisements since my return to the Colony, requesting all Persons indebted to Campbell & Co. to liquidate their respective Debts, very little attention has hitherto been paid to them: I am therefore under the disagreeable necessity of again informing such Persons, it is my intention to enforce by legal measures payment of all balances on Bonds, Bills of Exchange, Notes of Hand, and open Accounts remaining unliquidated, and to sue out, without further delay, Executions on the Judgements obtained in the last Court of Civil Jurisdiction by my Agent, during my absence, in order to settle the Concerns of Messrs Campbell & Co.³

The droughts of 1813–1815 were broken by heavy, drenching rain which fell almost incessantly between the winters of 1816 and 1817,

¹ Oxley to John and Thomas Maude, 14 June 1815, Oxley Papers, A5322-1, p.27.
² Ibid., Oxley to William Robertson, 10 March 1816, p.50.
³ S.Q., 24 April 1817.
destroying the benefits of their bounty in successive floods of the Hawkesbury and Nepean areas. As a result, sporadically over the next few years, a number of effects were auctioned for what they would realise, such as the house and furniture (including 'baking utensils and other effects') at 24 Castlereagh Street, belonging to a debtor of Campbell's by the name of Beattie. The more substantial debts were much less easy to collect as often the debtors were in the same state of near-insolvency as Campbell. Accounts since before 1810 were still outstanding for some of his larger customers. William Gore and the Rev. Henry Fulton owed Campbell hundreds of pounds. At least the debt of thousands of pounds which his brother-in-law, John Palmer, owed him had been transferred to Fairlie, Ferguson & Co.

The labyrinthine ways which the debt collector had to tread are illustrated by the negotiations entered into by Campbell to retrieve a debt of the late Captain J.M. Johnson of the Marines. Campbell acquired the administration of the estate of the Captain

---

1 S.G., 27 September 1817.

2 In London, on 7 September 1811 William Gore assigned a bond for £600 to John Palmer, for £245.15s.6d. plus interest to be paid by 1 January 1814. (S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 30, Document 104.) In 1813 in evidence before the Court of Civil Jurisdiction the Rev. Fulton stated, 'I was in London about September 1811. Mr Gore at that time was in London. Mr Robert Campbell the Plaintiff was then in Scotland. I believe Messrs Palmers and Tomlinson, Angel Court, Throckmorton Street were the Plaintiffs law agents. I settled some accounts with the Plaintiff in London through the medium of those agents. Mr Campbell wrote to me to go to Messrs Tomlinson to sign a bond. Mr Campbell also wrote to Mr Palmer his brother-in-law to get Mr Tomlinson to get Mr Gore to sign a bond for what Mr Gore owed him. Mr Palmer had not time and desired me as I was going to Mr Tomlinson to pass a bond to Mr Campbell, to bring Mr Gore along with me to do the same. Mr Gore and myself went to Mr Tomlinson. I saw Mr Gore execute a bond there for £674.17.11.' This bond was due to Campbell on 1 January 1813. (S.C.P., Court of Civil Jurisdiction, vol.11, no.270.)
who had owned a valuable allotment of ground at Hobart, the lease of which was due to expire within two years. The Captain had bequeathed the land first to his daughter, (now deceased), and then to her mother (also deceased). Before her death, however, the mother had married a man by the name of Williams who, in 1818, was the occupant and legal possessor of the premises, which he had improved and built on. Williams had also sold the front half of the allotment to a man named Wells. These negotiations stretched between 1818 and 1821, involving Governor Macquarie, Lieutenant-Governor Sorrell at Hobart, and Wells, before Macquarie agreed to transfer the leases to Campbell subject to a mutually satisfactory compensation being paid to Wells by Campbell.1

'The serious misfortunes I experienced in my mercantile pursuits and my anxiety to close all my former Concerns, by every exertion in my power in order to discharge the unsettled claims against me which has been my chief study since my return to the Colony',2 turned Campbell's attention to the Derwent in 1816.3 Affairs there under his agent William Collins demanded attention. Campbell had established a whale fishery at Hobart, under the direction of Collins, who had been directed to obtain permission from the Lieutenant-Governor4 to appropriate ground near the town to erect buildings on for the fishery and allied business of Campbell & Co. This establishment involved Campbell in 'a very severe Loss'.

---

3 S.G., 1 June 1816.
4 Lieutenant-Governor David Collins.
On settling the accounts Collins had estimated the buildings as worth £450, which was 'considered a Dependancy for lessening in part the heavy loss sustained' by Campbell.¹ Campbell later discovered that the ground in question had been made over to a Captain Williams of the ship Frederick, or to Messrs Jones & Riley on account of Messrs Palmer & Co. of Calcutta, for whom Collins had also carried on an agency similar to Campbell's. Campbell did not receive any compensation for the value of the buildings and as he expected the new owners to apply for a new lease, asked Macquarie to withhold such issue until Campbell's own claim had been settled by law.² Some weeks later Campbell approached Macquarie for a renewal of this lease in his name because Lieutenant-Governor Collins' 'Letters, altho' of a private nature, evidently acknowledge it was granted with no other view than to promote my concerns as well as the welfare of the infant settlement under his Command.' In regard to his claim on William Collins, Campbell decided by 1818 'I am inclined to avoid the expense of involving myself in litigation which is very considerable and prefer submitting the Account rendered by him to me to the consideration of Messrs Palmer & Co. of Calcutta', which will explicitly show how he incurred the losses on the Fishery.³ To this Macquarie acquiesced, and Campbell regained the lease of the property then occupied by W. Williams on its expiry.⁴

¹ Campbell's memorial to Macquarie, 8 January 1818, C.S., 20, I.L. 1818, pp.43-45.  
² Ibid.  
⁴ Ibid.
Despite the discouraging attempts to collect debts and ward off creditors, by 1817, Campbell by perseverance, frugality, and sheer business capacity was in a position to engage again in a little positive trading. For the past two years the House of Robert Campbell had advertised only in relation to debts. In 1817 Campbell handled his first cargo for several years. In April the Hunter (Captain Hodgson) arrived with a cargo from India, mainly sugar, spirits and cloths which were advertised for sale by Campbell, who possibly only received a commission. This time there was no credit extended to buyers, and shortly before the Hunter left in August the remainder of the sugar was to be auctioned, presumably to reduce the unrealised balance. However, the auction of the sugar (100 bags ‘landed in good condition, but said to be unmerchantable’) was postponed till 9 October, when it was joined by a quantity of damaged chintz and calico and blue cloth. Encouraged perhaps by some uncomplicated sales, Campbell offered his public in August, a cargo of New Zealand pine spars from the Active which had been plying between Port Jackson, Tahiti and New Zealand.

It is not impossible that a timely regulation from the indefatigable Macquarie aided Campbell in securing agencies for cargoes. On 8 March 1817 Macquarie had decreed that,

Whereas it appears to have been for some time past growing into a Practice with the Masters of Vessels resorting hither from India and elsewhere to expose the Articles of their Cargo to a retail Sale on board

---

1 S.G., 26 April 1817, 3 and 24 May 1817.
2 S.G., 28 June 1817.
3 S.G., 27 September 1817, 4 October 1817.
4 S.G., 2 August 1817, 30 August 1817, and 6 September 1817.
of their Vessels in the Harbour; and such Practice being fraught with many and serious Objections, both as touching the safety of the Vessels themselves, and the Security of Persons:— It is hereby ordered and directed; that no Master Supercargo, Officer or other Person belonging to any vessel shall hereafter expose or offer for Sale on board, any Article or Articles of Merchandise whatever, or invite by public Advertisement or otherwise, Any Persons to proceed on board their Vessels for any Purpose or Barter or Trade, on Pain of being fined on Conviction before a Bench of Magistrates a sum equal to the Amount of Goods so illegally sold or bartered.

Nevertheless, the edge of business in Sydney was getting keener. It was possible now to order goods from Bengal for no other charge than five per cent for purchasing and shipping in Calcutta, and another five per cent for receiving and delivering the goods in Sydney.2

The manner of Campbell's approach to his problems and his personal dignity and integrity eventually engaged Macquarie's approbation and brought with it official recognition. Macquarie later found Campbell to be 'a most respectable worthy man, and formerly an eminent useful merchant of this Place'.3 A year after his arrival Campbell was appointed to the Court of Civil Jurisdiction.4 At the end of the same year he was invited to attend an informal meeting of Magistrates and principal merchants, which resulted in the establishment of the Bank of New South Wales.5 In 1817, along with Sir John Jamison he was appointed to the Governor's

1 S.G., 15 March 1817.
2 S.G., 28 June 1817.
3 C.S., 20, I.L. 1818, p. 46. Macquarie to Lieutenant-Governor Sorrell, 10 January 1818.
4 S.G., 29 June 1816.
5 J.T. Campbell to R. Campbell, 19 November 1816, Wentworth Papers, A752, p. 235.
Court of Civil Judicature. ¹ His mercantile and amateur legal experience clearly fitted Campbell for these positions of public eminence, but it is rather a remarkable indication of his character that his counsel was relied upon after an absence of five years, and in circumstances of undisguised financial distress.

Macquarie's indulgence towards Campbell was marked while Campbell was struggling to re-establish himself, and the merchant himself acknowledged Macquarie's 'obliging manner and ready attention' to his affairs.² Security of tenure of the Wharf land had always been sought by Campbell. Because Campbell had been a mercantile settler from Bengal, Hunter and King had felt unable to convert his leases into grants without express permission from the Secretary of State. Almost immediately upon his arrival Macquarie had decided that land grants should be left to the discretion of the Governor, for he felt that there were a number of merchants in Sydney who would build handsome and permanent houses if they could get grants instead of leases. He was confirmed in this opinion by the fact that Robert Campbell and Simeon Lord had already built 'very spacious and elegant Houses and Warehouses'.³ As this accorded well with his plans for the improvement of Sydney he took it upon himself to promise to convert Campbell and Lord's leases into grants.⁴ The promise had been honoured in Campbell's case when a portion of his land was converted into a grant in 1814.⁵ As

¹ S.G., 25 January 1817.
² C.S., 23, I.L. 1819, pp.299-300.
³ 30 April 1810. See Committee on Transportation, 1812, Appendix 22, p.105.
⁵ 29 June 1814.
the lease of the remaining area was due to expire on 12 August 1818, Campbell successfully approached Macquarie for its conversion into a grant in 1816. He enjoyed similar co-operation from Macquarie over the grants in Hobart, and in August 1820 appeared in a published list of grants and leases entitling him to 1,500 acres in the Bathurst district.

An indication of Campbell's turning fortunes lay in the correspondence he had with Macquarie at the end of 1818, requesting permission to use his own wharf, subject to supervision. Some instances of smuggling had led Macquarie to decree that all intoxicating liquors were to be landed in future at the Government Wharf. This meant an extra expense for Campbell in transporting goods from the King's Wharf to his own stores above Campbell's Wharf. He pointed out to the Governor that although his misfortunes had prevented him for some years from occupying the principal part of the premises on his own account the advantages of a private wharf had been enjoyed by other respectable merchants as well as the government, in respect to the bonded store. He claimed that neither had the revenue nor fair trade suffered by boats having indiscriminate access to his Wharf (as a result of part of the adjoining shore being given over to a timber yard). Campbell also mentioned that he intended establishing a yard from which to supply coals for the local market and for any India-bound ships which might prefer coals to ballast, 'when I can command funds for that

1 R. Campbell to Macquarie, 24 May 1816, C.S., 15, pp.74-76.
3 24 October 1818.
4 H.R.A., I, 10, pp.404-05.
purpose'. Campbell, who was applying to Macquarie for the right to use his own Wharf, at the same time took the opportunity to press for an abatement of wharfage dues. The first part of his request was granted by the Governor who took into consideration the local situation of Campbell's Wharf, and 'the favourable opinion entertained by His Excellency of your personal character, as a security against the breach of the privilege'. Nevertheless, Macquarie issued a licence to this effect only after Campbell had entered into a bond for £100 and John and George Palmer had guaranteed another £100 as surety against any smuggling or illicit trading from the Wharf. Macquarie did not relish the idea of Campbell being exempted from the wharfage dues of 9d. a package as it would affect the revenue and perhaps create a precedent which would be invoked by other private merchants who chose to build wharves. Campbell's use of his own wharf Macquarie considered as a special indulgence, but the protection of the revenue which Macquarie estimated as yielding up to £1,000 annually, was 'too important a consideration to be yielded up to mere private convenience'.

Campbell did not fare quite so well in his attempt to recover expenses incurred as a witness for Bligh at the court-martial of Lieutenant Colonel Johnston in 1811. He had not been allowed any remuneration for his expenses to England and back, except the usual subsistence to witnesses, which he drew from his arrival in England

3 H.R.A., I, 10, pp.405-6, 566-7.
on 27 October 1810 until November 1811 when his subpoena was discharged. His first application to the Governor's Secretary for copies of the letters concerned with his embarkation to England, by which Campbell hoped to show that had he refused to leave Macquarie would have enforced his departure according to his instructions from the Secretary of State, proved abortive. But he later obtained the promise from Macquarie of a certificate of Macquarie's order to proceed to England, 'at the pressing and earnest request of the late Governor Bligh', along with copies of the correspondence of 1810, proving that his departure had been peremptorily enforced. By January 1820, however, the necessary documents were not forthcoming and as Campbell had prepared a claim against the Government which was 'in a state of forwardness' he needed Macquarie's orders to complete the claim. After an unsuccessful attempt to see Macquarie personally about the matter, Campbell referred to a letter from Lord Bathurst concerning himself which had been mentioned on his return from England, but which the Governor asserted he had never received. Consequently, Macquarie had declined to consider any of Campbell's papers (on which Campbell's claims on the English Government were founded) on the old grounds that all the circumstances had taken place under his predecessor.

Ever since his arrival Macquarie had been made acutely aware of the need for stable financial conditions in New South Wales and

---

1 J.T. Campbell.
3 Ibid., pp.143-5.
the establishment of a public bank had occupied the forefront of his efforts towards reform of the currency. At the meeting of magistrates and principal merchants which Campbell attended on 19 November 1816, forty-five people subscribed £3,625 for the new Bank of New South Wales, which opened for business in April 1817. Campbell was an original shareholder in this enterprise. Concurrently, suggestions were circulated for the establishment of a Savings Bank. Judge Barron Field is credited with the shaping of this institution which took form at a public meeting held on 5 June 1819. The Bank of New South Wales declined to help by giving interest on deposits, or even keeping the accounts of the new bank, elaborately organised, under the Governor's patronage. Field was President and Robert Campbell Secretary of the Savings Bank, while three others independently constituted 'The Trustees'. A Committee of the trustees and ten others was provided for, but never seems to have taken an active part in the business. Voluntary deposits of 2s.6d. or more were to be accepted at an interest of 7½ per cent, payable on amounts over £1 left for a full year. Smaller

Apart from the obvious practical need for a bank in the colony, the interest of Campbell and Macquarie in such institutions was relevant to their background, for banking had long been of primary interest to Scots. The Bank of England was founded in 1695 under the direction of the Scot, William Paterson. The Bank of Scotland was founded in 1695, the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1727, followed by the British Linen Company incorporated in 1746, which originally provided manufacturers with capital and materials before it restricted itself wholly to banking. Defoe's suggestion ('Giving Alms no Charity' 1704) that by Act of parliament poor-rates should be substituted for savings 'which shall make drunkards take care of wife and children; spendthrifts lay up for a wet day; lazy fellows diligent; and thoughtless, Scottish men careful and provident' had much in common with the terms in which Botany Bay was exhorted to support the new savings bank. Such institutions were pioneered in Germany and Switzerland, the first in Britain being the 'Parish Bank Friendly Society of Ruthven' (Scotland) organised by the Rev. H. Duncan in 1817. They were recognized in England by an act of parliament of the same year.
amounts received no interest, or even a receipt. Business was transacted once a week only, at the convenience of the savings bankers from whom a security was required, though it does not seem to have been forthcoming in any case. On 17 July 1819 a notice appeared in the Sydney Gazette announcing the opening of this charitable establishment

Savings Bank: Notice is hereby given that the Books will be opened for the receipt of the Savings of the Industrious Poor of the Colony at the following places, on Saturday next, 17 July inst. at 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

At Sydney at Mr Robert Campbell's, George St
Parramatta Mr H. McArthur's at the Court House
Liverpool Mr Moore's at the Court House
Windsor Mr Wm Cox's Jun. at Hobart Ville.

Robert Campbell. Sec.

George Street Sydney 10 July 1819.

This new institution caused little immediate change in the financial habits of the colonists. By the end of 1820 deposits in Sydney were £179, in Windsor £30 and in Parramatta £116.¹ The Sydney deposits ranged from £2 to £50 and the total deposits rose very slowly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Convicts</th>
<th>Total £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Butlin observes,² 'In the other three centres the banks appear to have lapsed very early. No returns for Liverpool were supplied to

¹ B.T. Box 21, p.3553.
Bigge in 1821, although figures for Parramatta and Windsor were available, and Field counted only these two centres and Sydney in his evidence. All subsequent references are to the Sydney bank only, while Brisbane appears to have enforced deposit of convicts' money there and that savings bank was the only survivor in 1832. Butlin therefore concludes that the three smaller banks did not survive the period of voluntary deposit.¹

It is not surprising then, that the Sydney branch became known as 'Campbell's Bank' until 1832, when the savings bank became a public concern regulated by an act of council.² There were other good reasons for the favouring of Campbell. For many years, as was usual for a merchant, Campbell had acted as an unofficial banker, discounting bills, accepting deposits and allowing interest, collecting balances paid as salaries in England, administering legacies on estates in England and India. The peculiar currency conditions of the early years made it natural for the settlers to maintain the equivalent of current accounts with Campbell, obtaining goods on often unspecified credit and creating a balance at harvest time by selling their crops to him. This system obtained for many years, the facilities it provided being extended by most merchants with the result that established habit at first provided considerable competition for the new Bank.³ Butlin points out that convicts who

¹ Ibid., p.412.
² Bill (2 Wm.IV, No.13) passed, 9 March 1832.
³ 'Until the balance of the Orphan Fund was transferred to the Bank of N.S.W. in 1818 it was deposited by Marsden, the Treasurer, with Jones & Riley who were prepared to pay 8 per cent interest to retain it'. Butlin, op.cit., p.124. A convict in 1826 had £5 in the savings bank and £100 with the Waterloo Company. H.R.A., I, 15, 843; Butlin, p.411. The popularity enjoyed by this Company was perhaps not unconnected with the fact that Hutchinson, one of the partners was also superintendent of convicts.
brought money with them continued to make deposits with private individuals or firms, contrary to regulations, after the savings bank was opened because the merchants offered better terms. It was when the convict deposits flowed in regularly enough to create a considerable balance that Governor Bourke felt the bank should become a public concern. Campbell was then required to transfer to the new Savings Bank of New South Wales all convicts' deposits, though he was granted time to make the transfer. The transfer of deposits was not compulsory for other than convicts and was probably not as attractive, as the new bank offered only five per cent interest and a share in profits against seven and a half per cent paid by Campbell. Campbell had re-invested these deposits in mortgages at ten per cent. The resultant 'profit' of two and a half per cent on the deposited balances, which were never large, out of which Campbell had to recoup his own expenses, hardly bears out Butlin's statement that 'he had made a good thing out of his bank …'.

---

1 One of the chief factors in the foundation of the savings bank had been to provide a regulated protection for convict money, and incidentally to enforce convict discipline and encourage thrift amongst emancipists. Originally there was no compulsion on the convict to deposit with the bank, but the paucity of convict savings caused Bigge to recommend that convicts should be deprived of their money which would be deposited in the bank and only made available as a reward of good conduct. Brisbane did not enforce this policy rigorously, but sufficiently to show an increase when he did so, as in 1825. Darling, his successor, carried out his instructions that convicts were not to be allowed possession of money 'on any pretence whatever' for at least two years after arrival, when permission to withdraw his money in instalments should be regarded as a special favour to the well-behaved convict. Adherence to these rules explains the much larger balances which Campbell's Bank showed between 1825 and 1831. See Butlin, op.cit., pp.412-413.

2 See Table in Appendix F.

3 Butlin, op.cit., p.415.
But the story of the savings bank far outstrips the events from which were laboriously being created the foundations on which Campbell & Co. was to rise anew. There was some irony in the fact that at this hesitant stage in the fortunes of Robert Campbell so many of the cramping and restricting commercial conditions with which he had lived in uneasy resignation for twenty years were being routed. In 1813 the East India Company's monopoly of all but the China trade had been abolished. 1814 had seen the virtual end of the rum traffic, for from 1 January 1815 the free importation of spirits (under a duty of 7s. a gallon) was permitted. At the same time a general free trade with all ports in amity with Britain allowed the entry of American ships. Jeffrey Bent's refusal to open the Supreme Court in 1815 (over the admission of ex-convicts) which 'caused huge losses to the more steady merchants'¹ and which Oxley blamed for preventing Hook and Campbell being able to settle their engagements,² manufactured ready acceptance for the Bank of New South Wales which gave immeasurable stability to the settlement's economy. Such measures, combined with a stable administration attracted scarce capital - especially after the opening of the Bathurst Plains in 1818 - encouraging a rise of business confidence and the establishment of new mercantile houses. In March 1819 the free settlers, merchants, land and householders of New South Wales

¹ M. Ellis, Macquarie, p.306.

² Oxley in 1815 deplored the absence of a Court for the previous twelve months which meant that creditors would have to wait a further eighteen months for settlement. He wrote, 'This unfortunate dispute is fatal to the Interest of the Colony, it will absolutely destroy all Credit, and (involves?) the respectable part of the Community in great distress as they are totally without any remedy against their debtors, to whom it is quite optional whether they will pay their debts or not.' Oxley to John and Thomas Maude, 14 June 1815, Oxley Papers, A5322-1, p.30.
produced a petition to the Home Government, with 1,260 signatures which was supported by the Governor, requesting the benefits of trial by jury and the establishment of civil law, the removal of the limitation on trade between Britain and New South Wales by ships under 350 tons, the removal of the British import duty of 6s.8d. a hundredweight on colonial wool, and the establishment of a distillery. But the British legislation had anticipated these requests and it was announced to the subscribers of the Sydney Gazette on 12 February 1820 that the passing of an act (on 12 July 1819) repealed certain exclusive privileges and regulated trade within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, which had prevented ships of less than 350 tons clearing out from any United Kingdom port to New South Wales. Henceforth it was lawful for a ship of any tonnage, legally owned and navigated, to trade between England and New South Wales and its dependencies, and to pass by the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.¹ At the same time the Governor was

further pleased to notify to the Merchants, Ship Owners, and all others concerned in the Trade of New South Wales, that his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent has been most graciously pleased to order and direct, that the duties, which shall hereafter be paid on the import of Sandal Wood, Pearl Shells, Beche-le-mer, Sperm Oil, Black Whale or other oil, and on Kangaroo and Seal Skins, shall be drawn back on those several articles when shipped for Re-exportation.²

Perhaps it was this clarification of commercial matters that enabled Robert Campbell to make a number of vital decisions about the future of his business. He had handled some goods in the past

¹ The only restriction was on vessels sailing to North of 11° of South latitude between the 64th and 150° of East longitude from London.

² S.G., 12 February 1820.
year. The free trader Claudine had brought a valuable cargo consigned to him at the beginning of 1820. This was the first real sign of the revival of his fortunes. There had also been some 200 chests of tea imported by the Bombay and spirits from the Regalia disposed of in the same period, and new Hyson tea shipped in the Marquis of Hastings from Canton. The bulk of these sales, however, were probably carried out on commission, and with the exception of the Claudine the merchandise handled was modest and reliable, rather than speculative. For Campbell's affairs though much stronger were by no means fully settled. As late as the end of 1819 James Binnie refused to hire out the brig Queen Charlotte for any service whatever to Campbell until his accounts were settled by the latter. Campbell's debt due to Maude & Robertson had still not been paid by 1828 though he remitted one or two hundred pounds each year through Oxley who reassured his principals in 1821 that 'although the Debt is liquidated but slowly, yet I have every

---

1 S.G., 22 January 1820.
2 This was not strictly a business transaction. After the loss of the Fox in 1810 the crew and most of the stores had been taken off Amsterdam Island by various vessels but the only part of the Fox that Campbell was ever able to trace was a new cable taken away by Mr Simmons, the master of the convict ship Catharine in May 1814. Charles Hook got to know of this by sheer accident as Palmer was a passenger on the Catharine. Campbell recorded that 'Captain Simmons, an ignorant Man refused to deliver up the Cable on being paid the customary Salvage'. Because of Simmons' death it was some years before the matter was cleared up, to the entire satisfaction of the owners of the Catharine (Messrs Daniel Bennett & Son of London) who allowed Campbell £150 for the cable, which was invested in the brandy and hollands that arrived in the Regalia. C.S., 23, I.L. 1819, pp.296-8.
3 S.G., 4 and 11 March 1820.
4 S.G., 15 April 1820.
reason to believe, it will ultimately be paid to the last farthing'.

Nevertheless, Campbell was beginning to encompass larger transactions. Between 1819 and 1820 quite considerable bills were drawn on His Majesty's Treasury in favour of Campbell for supplies to the Commissariat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Mar. 1819</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Feb. 1820</td>
<td>384.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Mar. 1820</td>
<td>1,400.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Apr. 1820</td>
<td>1,425.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£3,609.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Police Fund paid him £267.7s.3d. for spades, shovels, iron tar and canvas supplied to the Government (31 March 1819). In September 1820 he tendered for the supply of 35,000 lbs. of salt pork (imported from Tahiti in the Haweis) at 8d. lb. and the following month received bills for £372.17s.4d. and £317.2s.8d. for the pork at the price offered. It is possible that this was a transaction being handled by Campbell as agent for the London Missionary Society, to whom the Haweis belonged, in which case his share, if any, of the profits would have been negligible, as he only charged this body a two and a half per cent fee.

He was still bedevilled by the effects of Wilson's failure.

In 1820 he contested an action by Assistant Surgeon Mileham in the

---

1 Oxley to Messrs Maude, 6 August 1821, Oxley Papers, A5322-1, p. 88, also pp. 57, 61, 83, and A5322, pp. 19, 27, 63-4.
2 C.S., 25, I.L. 1820, pp. 73-75, 77.
3 Wentworth Papers, D1, p. 195.
5 C.S., 28, I.L. 1821, p. 137.
Supreme Court, to prevent him issuing a writ of fieri facas upon an earlier judgement against Mileham for £143.16s.6d. Mileham explained that when Campbell arrived back in 1806 he had urged Mileham to employ William Wilson (who had previously acted for Marsden and Grimes, and also for Palmer and Wiltshire) as agent for collecting his salary in London. Mileham agreed, on condition that Campbell would advance him goods and money on account of his salary. Wilson collected £209.5s.0d. on Mileham's account between September 1808 and December 1809, of which £143 was advanced to Mileham by Campbell. Owing to Wilson's failure it was not clear whether Mileham was entitled to try and recover the whole of the £209 from Campbell, or whether Campbell could execute his judgement on Mileham for £147, plus the principal and interest of a bill of exchange for £40, drawn on 12 March 1803, by Mileham upon Mr Crafer (his original London agent) and protested for non-payment. The court inclined towards Robert Campbell Junior's view that Campbell 'was not actually expressed to be accountable or guarantee for the payment of all such monies as might come to Wilson's possession', but thought that Campbell had taken on himself the risk of the advances to Mileham, though it was too much to allow Mileham to charge him with the full £209. In its judgement the court prevented Campbell from executing his demand for £147, left him to legal remedy for the protested bill for £40, and Mileham's demand for the balance of £209 was dismissed with a recommendation to take the matter up directly with Wilson.¹

Yet Campbell's standing as an eminent merchant was slowly being re-established, thanks to his own reputation and occasional con-

¹ S.G., 9 February 1820.
cessions from authority; such as the occasion when Macquarie, after the receipt of a harrowing letter from Campbell regarding his 'variety of heavy misfortunes', allowed the merchant to land spirits sent on the Regalia duty free, because of the 'peculiar circumstances' set out in the letter, although Macquarie stated firmly that the permission was not to be used hereafter as a precedent. ¹ Campbell was very busy for most of 1820, and until September of that year advertised with something approaching his old regularity. He handled the disposal of part of several cargoes and added one or two small enterprises of his own, such as a quantity of huon pine in boards and logs and some 'beautiful Red Wood, well adapted for furniture'. ² (A condition of the latter sale was an uncompromising 'prompt payment'.)

So constantly had Campbell striven in the five years after his return in 1815, that he was enabled to advertise in the Sydney Gazette during April 1820, that

The Mercantile Establishment of Messrs Campbell & Co. having been dissolved some Time ago, Mr Robert Campbell will in future carry on an Agency & Commission business.

The eligible situation of his Store-houses and Wharf, and pledging himself to act strictly as an Agent, Mr Campbell begs the Patronage of his Friends in Europe and India and of that Support from the Public, so liberally experienced here, conducting for more than twenty years the former extensive Concerns of Campbell & Co. ³

¹ C.S., 23, I.L. 1819, pp.296-8, 299-300.
² S.G., 16 September 1820.
³ The first ships Campbell acted as agent for were the Claudine and the Janus whaler, arranging the freight and passengers for the Claudine, and selling off the whale oil brought by the Janus. S.G., 28 April, 3 June, 10 June 1820.
CHAPTER XIII

REBUILDING A BUSINESS

'I have a numerous Family to maintain and educate - it is true
my Agency and Commission line bids very fair to succeed by my
perseverance (sic) and industry, but on the other hand it is cruel
to be deprived of what I had formerly acquire'd in the same manner
during a residence in the Colony of upwards Twenty Years', wrote
Campbell to a London House in 1821.\(^1\) Perseverance and industry were
beginning to show some reward by this date but it was still an
uphill road.

Van Diemen's Land had progressed considerably from being 'a
jail on a large scale', to become a self-contained unit of 5,500
people, who could yet bewail that all commodities were about treble
their English prices engendered, they believed, 'by the avarice of
the merchants'. Before the Derwent had been opened to direct
importation its goods were imported from Sydney at double freight
and commission charges so that the difference in the price of an
article could amount to nearly one hundred per cent.\(^2\) Though ships
had been free to sell their cargoes there (instead of first bringing
them to Sydney) since 1813, Campbell had been in no position to
take advantage of this concession for the past few years, but now
that his fortune was on the mend he turned again to a market he had
once practically dominated. His attempts to re-establish a

\(^1\) C.L.B., Campbell to Paxton, Cockerill, Trail, 18 July 1821.
\(^2\) Bigge Appendix, CO.201/17.
dependable agency in Van Diemen's Land were not visited by initial success. In July 1821 he sent a small and carefully selected invoice of goods by the Haweis to William Hill at Port Dalrymple. To Hill's brother, Campbell wrote that 'much depends on circumstances whether an Establishment can be made under your Brother's Management so as to afford permanent advantages, the risk of such adventures are liable to - I can only say that on my part every means will be used to effect it, and I should suppose both yourself and Brother will see the propriety of giving it full effect. I remain with full reliance on your doing me and a numerous Family Justice'.

To Robert Cameron, who was on his way to Port Dalrymple also, Campbell wrote more optimistically. 'I trust on your arrival there you will find the confidence placed in Mr R. Hills Brother has answered your expectation - this will afford me much satisfaction as it may be the means of keeping up the Trade which may in all probability increase and prove mutual (sic) beneficial'. Cameron went in charge of a different parcel of goods put on the Haweis by Campbell for immediate sale ('the Articles I have selected with much care to the wants of the Settlement'). Though he left it to Cameron's management to realise the amount on the best terms possible, Campbell added some advice. 'I should prefer Cash at a moderate percentage to Wheat or Meat' for, owing to a glut of these articles, he still had on hand a proportion of wheat brought back

---

1 C.L.B., Campbell to R. Hill, 28 July 1821.
2 C.L.B., Campbell to R. Cameron, 28 July 1821.
3 Alexander Riley had advised earlier that when selling at the Derwent '10/- Cash in hand is better than a Bushell of Wheat'. R.P., Mss. vol.2, p.28.
on the Haweis' previous trip. In the middle of the year he had 1,000 bushels of this wheat for sale at 10s. a bushel.\(^1\) One point was important. 'I wish above all things', emphasised the merchant, 'to make a quick return, with whatever cash, Wheat and Meat you receive from the proceeds of this and the Investment left with Mr Hill'.\(^2\) Wemyss, the Deputy Commissary in Sydney, had promised to send a letter to the Commissary in Hobart in case the Haweis should have room for freight for government, which return cargo would cover the expense of a short detention in Hobart. Hill was directed to account to Jameson for the sales of Campbell's last investment, left under his management, and also for any outstanding debts that he might have collected either in money or grain.\(^3\)

A few months later, Campbell, hearing that best Hyson tea was very scarce in Hobart, seized the opportunity to send twelve chests of this commodity, and a case of other merchandise, all of which were charged at his wholesale cash prices, to Joseph Thompson, master of the Active (for which Campbell was agent) then whaling in the Derwent. Thompson was to dispose of the goods for Campbell at

---

\(^1\) S.G., 30 June, 7 July 1821. By 1815 Van Diemen's Land was entirely self-supporting in grain and produced a surplus of wheat and potatoes (superior to the New South Wales product) for the inter-colonial trade. (Between 1815 and 1820 107,664 bushels of wheat were sent to Sydney.) Many producers were now dependent on this external market. The island endured few dry seasons and the Van Diemen's Land crops were the main standby during mainland droughts. In 1821 'a season of great scarcity', 50,000 bushels of wheat were exported to Sydney. At the end of 1823 Campbell ascertained that there was no official objection to the export of Tasmanian wheat to the Isle de France. (Campbell to Goulburn, 13 December 1823, C.S., I.L., Bundle 19, p.225.)

\(^2\) C.L.B., Campbell to R. Cameron, 28 July 1821.

\(^3\) Ibid., Campbell to William Hill, 28 July 1821.
'the usual Commission' for cash or commissariat cheques, because 'Wheat bears a very dull sale at present and Salt Meat is liable to be rejected from being indifferently cured'. Thompson was instructed to use the proceeds for the claims of his crew on the oil procured, but if he was not able to sell at a price that would cover the invoice cost, plus the risk, he was to bring the goods back to Sydney. Aware that the Active might already be at the fishing grounds Campbell arranged that in Thompson's absence the goods were to go to Frederick Langloh of Liverpool Street, Hobart, 'a Gentleman that came passenger by the Skelton and with whom Mr Jamieson the Master of the Hawes Brig recommended a correspondence'. This latter venture turned out to be unprofitable. Langloh received the goods, but they were unsaleable at Campbell's prices and were returned to Sydney by the Claudine, Campbell being 'by no means inclined to sell at a loss', even though he still had to pay charges for storage rent.

Meanwhile, an anxious Campbell received news that Hill had deviated from his instructions for sales given him by Jamieson. To William Hill he wrote upbraiding him for having parted with the goods on credit (influenced by 'interested persons by the Queen Charlotte') and criticising his method of accounting - 'As [sic] the Profit stated in the account, it is merely nominal - I have not yet got the principal by many hundreds'. He exhorted Hill to use every exertion to make promissory notes and book debts effective quickly, and concluded, 'I am extremely sorry our first transaction should have been wound up in this style'.

---

1 Ibid., Campbell to Joseph Thompson, 18 August 1821.
2 Ibid., Campbell to Mr Kermode, 18 August 1821.
3 Ibid., Campbell to William Hill, 30 November 1821.
Though Langloh and Hill had proved to be so unreliable, the capable Jamieson (master of the Haweis) had made yet another agency agreement on Campbell's behalf with a certain John Smith. Campbell's main requirement was that goods should be sold as speedily as possible, for which he was prepared to receive wool as well as wheat ('at a fair market price') in return.\(^1\) To Smith he later sent a consignment of sugar and rum by the Haweis, to keep up Smith's stock of 'Staple Articles'. Having been offered a large amount of barley at a reasonable price in Sydney he enquired whether there would be any market for it. Because of a fall in the price of wool he felt it would not be prudent to give more than \(3\frac{1}{2}d.\) lb. for any sent up by the Haweis to Simeon Lord. Smith was required to 'greatly depend on the price the goods are given in Exchange of which I must leave you to be the Judge'. Campbell arranged for Smith to supply a list of articles likely to suit the settlement so that he could send a supply from time to time, on the most reasonable terms, by the Haweis which he intended continuing in hire for the ensuing year (1822).\(^2\)

To Nathaniel Thornton at the Derwent Campbell sent progress accounts of sales on his behalf - mainly of spirits. Some of the articles sent to him proved useless, particularly some ironmongery, including cranes which were rejected by government. Campbell reported that he had held out for 8s. a gallon for some rum, but an agent of Thornton's (Alex. Bowmaker) who had arrived in Sydney gave the impression that it would be sold by auction to honour a bond, which hampered further sales.\(^3\) Campbell advised Bowmaker to barter

---

\(^1\) Ibid., Campbell to John Smith, 14 November 1821.
\(^2\) Ibid., Campbell to John Smith, 30 November 1821.
\(^3\) Ibid., Campbell to N. Thornton, 8 August 1821.
the ironmongery and cranes, as well as some stills which came by the 
Emerald for any articles that could be turned to a better account 
at Hobart Town 'for if they are sent to Auction they will only sell 
as Rubbish'.¹ The ironmongery, in pursuance of Campbell's pressing 
suggestion, was eventually exchanged with Simeon Lord for 'his 
Colonial Manufactured Articles'; and several months later Campbell, 
not without some satisfaction at the vindication of his judgement, 
noted 'Mr Lord still has remaining ironmongery on hand and no 
prospect of getting rid of them'.² A disputed balance on the 
surplus sale of the rum Campbell hoped 'will be amicably adjusted 
without recourse to Law which in most cases is best to avoid in my 
opinion'.³

Besides this traffic with the Derwent and occasional commissions 
to the other main settlements, such as Newcastle, there were further-
flung affairs to be attended to. His agency business was slowly 
growing, though the amounts dealt in were still small, but Campbell 
felt free at last to extend his interests and take bigger risks in 
speculation. He noted for the benefit of Hogue, Davidson & Co. of 
Calcutta when rendering their yearly account in 1821, that, 'In 
consequence of no arrivals from India for some time Sugar and course 
(sic) piece Goods quoted in my last Letter are getting scarce in 
the settlement and would pay well notwithstanding the large 
Transportation of British Manufactures'.⁴ To Messrs Bourne and 
Holmes of London he sent sets of Treasury bills by the Marshall

¹  Ibid., Campbell to Alex. Bowmaker, 15 September 1821.
²  Ibid., Campbell to Nath. Thornton, 29 September 1821.
³  Ibid., Campbell to Nath. Thornton, 24 November 1821.
⁴  Ibid., Campbell to Messrs Hogue, Davidson & Co., 20 October 1821.
Wellington in settlement of an account, and took the opportunity 'to enclose one of my cards of Agency with an office (sic) of my services in case you feel inclined to Ship to this Market and to refer you for my responsibility to Messrs Paxton, Cockerill, Trail and Co. of Austin Friars'.\textsuperscript{1} With this latter House Campbell had been associated since the days of his Indian trading and he kept up an agency connection with them. To John Hayman of Limehouse, London, he sent sets of bills to a value of some £1,250 sterling on account of Captain Martin of the Marshall Wellington whose agent he was, and enclosed his card of agency in case they too, should feel tempted to send an investment to Port Jackson. William Neville of London, who supplied Campbell with occasional goods, had an order for iron cancelled, because of large supplies which had arrived in Port Jackson. Neville was instructed not to ship the iron. Campbell deemed it better for him to pay the loss of getting rid of it in England even, than to be left with it in Sydney.\textsuperscript{2}

The commercial expansion of the early 1820s combined with an upsurge of optimistic development, meant that for the colonial merchants competition was rather sharper. New dimensions were being added. With the formation of banks, insurance companies, and the entry of English houses competing for colonial produce, a division of functions begins to appear in the mid-twenties which tended to limit the areas of activity of the old-type merchant. The pressure of these new factors is reflected in Campbell's correspondence. He decided not to send tobacco to the Derwent, not only because the high price in Sydney deterred him, but also because he expected the

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., Campbell to Messrs Bourne and Holmes, 24 October 1821.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., Campbell to Mr William Neville, 15 August 1821.
southern settlements would have been previously supplied, 'direct from the Brazils, which renders speculating at the present extortionate prices of Sydney very precarious'. At the same time he instructed that wheat should not be taken as a return payment because he thought prices would be low owing to an importation of wheat and flour from Batavia. Earlier, he had instructed his agent at Hobart to prefer cash to wheat or meat - 'the former Article bears now a heavy sale from the large importations of 15,000 bushells from Peru by the Surry', which caused a glut. Other factors combined to make markets precarious and agency fraught with problems. At the end of 1821 Campbell could not purchase beef for a customer it being 'so extravagant in Price I am fearful he would not approve of my Purchasing'. For another he failed to find horses, they being both scarce and high priced. 'I saw a Settler today who asked for a pair of Carriage Horses, a complete match, fifteen hands, £160'. To begin with, early news of the new wool staple fluctuated, and in November 1821 Campbell wrote 'The accounts from England of the Wool sent from the Colony is very disheartening, what was sold here formerly at 1/6 can now be purchased at 8d. and 10d.' Consequently he was only prepared to accept wool himself at well under half this price. For merchants the market was mostly sluggish unless they could supply a previously unsatisfied need. The lack of currency remained a barrier to mercantile

1 Ibid., Campbell to John Smith, 30 November 1821.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Campbell to Rev. T. Kendall, 26 December 1821.
4 Ibid., Campbell to E.P. Bromley, 23 November 1821.
5 Ibid., Campbell to John Smith, 30 November 1821.
activity. In October of 1821 Campbell was speculating with his fellows over the expected arrival of the new Governor - Brisbane, 'and if it is true there are to be an additional Military Force we will have more money in circulation' he wrote encouragingly to his Calcutta agents.¹

For many years previously Campbell had been associated with philanthropic pursuits, but with none so consistently as the London Missionary Society, which acknowledged 'the constant kindness and efficient acts of friendship shewn towards our Society and its concerns' by the merchant.² The Society's early missionary activity in the Pacific was early blended with speculative trading, following the example of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, who himself so capably and unhesitatingly engaged in commercial speculations. Trade provided the impecunious missionaries not only with present necessities, but with the means to provide for the future of their families. Marsden was the agent for the London Missionary Society in the Pacific and it was through him that the merchant was drawn into the Society's affairs. Campbell appears to have had a strong personal friendship with the divine, who furnished him with letters of introduction to William Wilberforce on his first visit to England in the Lady Barlow. This introduction sufficed to secure Wilberforce's influence in favour of Campbell in his claims on the English Government for compensation for his varied losses. In return, Campbell purchased stock for Marsden in England and handled Marsden's affairs when the latter was absent on church business. The friendship was cemented in the christening of Campbell's last-born in 1821 as Frederick

¹ Ibid., Campbell to Messrs Hogue, Davidson & Co., 20 October 1821.
² Marsden Papers, vol.4, p.118.
Marsden Campbell.  

This connection drew Campbell more closely into ecclesiastical society and in 1808 Rowland Hassall a former missionary in Tahiti and another of his intimates, acknowledged Campbell's generous subscription of thirty guineas to the Portland Head Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.  

It was the previous year that Campbell had first acted as agent for the London Missionary Society in the stead of Marsden, and after this excursion into the Society's affairs, Campbell transacted their Pacific business by acting as their banker and supplier for which services he charged a commission of two and a half per cent. This connection was doubtless useful to Campbell in the period after 1815 when it afforded him employment, if not profit, handling the Society's occasional shipments of cocoa-nut oil, pork from Tahiti, or supplying the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand. However, a rapid increase in the costs of the Society brought the injunction from London to Marsden to scrutinize expenditure and use strict economy. The same letter queried Campbell's last accounts of his transactions on behalf of the Society. Hankey, the Secretary, wrote:

'I cannot but remark in the account of Mr Campbell a very great rise in the prices of the Articles furnished, while in England and as is understood everywhere else every commodity has greatly fallen,

---

1 Born 24 June 1821, died 15 February 1841: see S.G., 30 June 1821 and tomb at Parramatta.  
3 J. Davies to R. Hassall, Otaheite, 12 June 1807. Ibid., p.167.  
4 August 1808. Order on Campbell for supplies to the Society, bought from Mr Bevan. Ibid., p.256.  
5 W.A. Hankey to Rev. S. Marsden, 16 August 1821, Marsden Papers, vol.4, p.120.
e.g. Salt formerly charged at £11 p. Ton is now charged £15 -
Bengal Prints etc. formerly charged 5/6 for course (sic) and 17/-
for fine are now charged 9/- and 16/- and 25/-. 1 An overcharge of
£22.10s.0d. on Campbell's handling of 121 casks of Cocoa-nut oil was
queried, while the complaint was made that since his 1820 accounts
Campbell was charging a commission of five per cent on the shipments
and a further five per cent on all sales 'so that he has no less
than ten per cent on the monies passing through his hands, so far
as he applies the proceeds of Sales'. 'This is not correct,
especially to a Society such as ours', its Secretary lamented. 2

At this period Campbell's stewardship was being severely
regarded by the Society. In 1820 he had again acted as its agent
while Marsden was absent in New Zealand. Meanwhile King Pomare (II)
of Tahiti had offered to buy the brig Haweis from the Missionaries
in the Tahitian group. 3 It was arranged by them that on her arrival
at Port Jackson the Haweis would be given up 'to the young Mr
Henry' 4 who was to take charge of her for Pomare. But Campbell
demurred, regarding himself, regardless of 'the wishes expressed by
all parties on the affair', as unauthorized to make over the brig to
Pomare. Consequently, the Governor Macquarie was purchased by
Edward Eagar, (an emancipist merchant) as a substitute and sailed
for the Islands at the beginning of December 1820, under the command
of Mr Henry. 5 Meanwhile, Campbell was accused of having authorized

1 Ibid., p.125.
2 Ibid., p.120.
3 Society Islands.
4 Samuel Pinder Henry, son of Rev. William Henry.
5 Extract of Mr C. Wilson's letter dated Sydney, 7 February 1821.
Marsden Papers, vol.4, p.122.
expensive repairs to the Haweis (still during Marsden's absence) shortly before the arrival of letters which indicated that the Directors were prepared to transfer the ownership. The assertion that Campbell had persisted with the repairs caused Hankey to write passionately to Marsden that 'He (Campbell) saw clearly the wish and intents of the Society with regard to her and this ought to have led him to hesitate at least till he could have the benefit of your judgment, or have known what was the mind of Pomare the proper owner of her and the intention of all parties previously interested in her'.

Marsden returned at the end of December 1820 and the Haweis was subsequently auctioned on 24 January 1821 at Campbell's Wharf. Campbell had added to the Secretary's agitation over the possible cost of repairs by hinting at an offer made by himself to Marsden for the purchase of the Haweis, but omitting to mention the terms. His letter also omitted to mention the auction, or its result. Campbell, furthermore, had employed the Haweis on a voyage on his own account, but again did not mention the terms. Hankey requested Marsden to use this hire of the vessel to defray the expense of her repairs, and urged that on her return from Van Diemen's Land, Marsden, personally, should see that the intention of the Directors to sell her to Pomare be carried into effect, and that all details be supplied to the Society. In the event of the vessel having been sold already, Marsden was to hold the proceeds (plus the hire of the voyage to Van Diemen's Land) at the disposal of Pomare, first deducting the cost of the repairs. Hankey was prepared to

1 Ibid., p.119.
2 S.G., 20 January 1821.
3 Dated 10 March 1821.
4 Marsden Papers, vol.4, p.124.
concede that some misunderstanding might have occurred and tempered his criticism with the observation that, 'It may be that had Mr Campbell allowed himself to be more explicit on some of the points I should have seen less reason for difference of opinion than now appears'.

To Marsden, Campbell had earlier explained his account of the disagreement. He asserted that he had offered to deliver the Haweis to Henry, as agent of Pomare, on the conditions prescribed by the Directors, to be retained in the service of the Mission, and if engaged in keeping communication with the Colony they would contribute an annual sum of £250 or £300 for two years. But on these terms Henry had rejected the brig. 'I strongly advised him to take no steps until you returned from New Zealand' wrote Campbell to Marsden. 'I had no intention of fitting out the Vessel to return to the Islands in your absence. If I had entertained such an idea, the Brig might have sailed long before Eagar's Vessel the Governor Macquarie'. In a further note on overcharges in Eagar's account rendered to the Society Campbell set the excess at over £2,000, and commented with more indignation than accuracy. 'I have been carrying on Mercantile Transactions here for more than Twenty Years and such extortionate Charges never came under my Observation'.

The 'misunderstanding' apparently did not injure Campbell's standing in the eyes of the Society for in 1825 Campbell was appointed one of the trustees for land granted the Society at

1 Ibid., p.118.
2 C.L.B., Campbell to Marsden, 20 July 1820.
3 The other trustees were Samuel Marsden, John Oxley, William Weymss, Edward Riley, Alexander Berry, Francis Allman.
Yawanba (Reid's Mistake) for an aboriginal mission. Governor Brisbane, enclosing a copy of the deed of Trust to Lord Bathurst commented that the success of the Society in the South Seas had induced him to grant such a large tract (10,000 acres) and observed that Campbell was one of the trustees, unless he ceased to reside in New South Wales.

In August 1821 over 100 tons of oil (valued at £6.16s.6d. a ton) were shipped from the Active to a ship taking it to England on account of the Church Missionary Society. The arrangements were all handled by Campbell who received over £600 in bills to be charged to Marsden's account. Those of the crew who wished to be discharged at the Derwent were able to draw on Campbell for the value of their lays. On 18 September Campbell wrote to Marsden that the crew of the Active had been very troublesome the day before. The price of oil having dropped slightly in England, Campbell could get no advance on an offer of £19 per ton and as the seamen wished to draw their share in kind, 'which would be injurious to the Owners proportion', Campbell purchased the oil on his own account at £20 a ton, giving the Society credit for this amount, less a deduction of five per cent for his commission.

2. Brisbane to Bathurst 8 February 1825, Despatch No.33, Despatches from the Governor of N.S.W., Enclosures 1823-6, pp.123-6 and H.R.A., I, 2, p.512 ff.
3. The Active was owned by Marsden, though the London Missionary Society contributed an annual amount for its upkeep while it operated in the service of missionaries. See J.R. Elder, Marsden's Lieutenants.
4. C.L.B., Campbell to Rev. Josiah Pratt, 10 August 1821.
5. Ibid., Campbell to Joseph Thompson, 7 August 1821.
6. Ibid., Campbell to Marsden, 18 September 1821.
subsequently sent to New Zealand to land stores and passengers for the settlement there and proceed to the fishery for a cargo of sperm whale oil.

Campbell also attended to the affairs of the New Zealand missionaries. He failed to obtain beef for the Rev. T. Kendall, but sent to Francis Hall an invoice of flour and stores consigned to him by Marsden's order, along with some letters. Some hollands which he handled for Rev. Kendall was so weak that Campbell suspected it must have been watered! He bought a proportion of it himself at 5s. a gallon, but as there was a glut of spirits the rest remained on his hands. Some wine also received he pronounced 'very indifferent', and wrote frankly 'I think the four gallons of old cogniac I put in it sold it.' To William Hall at the same place he furnished notes on accounts, transactions, and purchases, and proposed that Hall send him a dozen native mats the cost of which he would cheerfully pay.

It had been one of the pressing interests in Campbell's life for the past fifteen years to try and secure compensation for his numerous losses. In 1821 he returned to the task. The sympathy and interest of Commissioner Bigge had previously been enlisted and the news that Bigge had not yet arrived in England by July 1821 caused Campbell to write 'God forbid any accident should have happened, to me it would be irreparable.' Bigge, supporting Campbell's claim for compensation for the loss of the Sydney, submitted to the Colonial Secretary,

---

1 Ibid., Campbell to Rev. T. Kendall, 24 December 1821.
2 Ibid., Campbell to William Hall, 26 December 1821.
3 Ibid., Campbell to E.P. Bromley (marked 'cancelled'), 24 November 1821.
Under the circumstances, and considering the very respectable character that Mr Campbell has maintained in the Colony, his meritorious exertions in opening up sources of maritime industry to the inhabitants, and the undeserved high losses that he sustained in consequence of the high duties imposed on the importation of fish oil taken by them on the coast of New South Wales, together with the personal injuries that he endured from the violent and oppressive conduct of the individuals who deposed Governor Bligh, I strongly recommend Mr Campbell's claim to your Lordship's favourable consideration ... 

But Campbell did not depend on Bigge alone to see justice done. A letter to Paxton, Cockerill and Trail, one of his London agents, entreated them
to have the goodness to contribute your Influence on my behalf towards my obtaining from H.M's Government compensation for the heavy public claims laid before the Hon. Commissioner of Enquiry, persuaded any reference you may be pleased to make to him will excite your feelings for my heavy sufferings.

To these gentlemen, Campbell explained that the case of the Sydney had been favourably reported on by the Transport Board when he was last in England, 'but Earl Bathurst did not sanction the Report which was to pay me the sum of Eight Thousand Pounds'. Further influence was sought in the ranks of the Cole family in England.

To the Rev. Samuel Cole Campbell wrote reminding him, that although they had not met, Campbell had taken the liberty some years previously of soliciting Cole's support for his claims on the Government. Campbell, not knowing whether a brother, Dr M. Cole had yet made any enquiry at the Treasury or Colonial offices suggested that if Sir Christopher Cole would do Campbell that favour 'I have only to assume that by a reference to the Hon. Commissioner of Enquiry Mr Bigge or William Wilberforce Esq. my sufferings and

---

1 Bigge Appendix, B.T., Box 15, p.1533 ff.
2 C.L.B., Campbell to Paxton, Cockerill, Trail, 18 July 1821.
hopes for which I claim payment will be found not unworthy of Sir Christopher's patronage and friendship.¹ In return Campbell supplied the young Henry Cole (who must have been one of the first remittance men) with provisions, monthly, to prevent improvidence, and when his former allowance was reduced Campbell negotiated his bills free of agency fees.²

Unbeknown to Campbell, however, the Treasury had smiled on his application, and instructions had already been issued (24 January 1824) granting him, as compensation for the loss of the Sydney, £2,000 in cash and £2,000 equally divided between land and stock in New South Wales. Owing to the backlag in surveying it was some years before this became effective. Campbell first tried to select land at the Cow Pastures, but eventually settled his stock on the newly discovered Limestone Plain area on the Molonglo, the present site of Canberra. In June 1825 Campbell advertised for an Overseer 'for an Establishment about to be made in the Interior for Sheep'.³

The man chosen was James Ainslie ex-trooper of the Scots Greys who managed the property for many years. Ainslie took delivery of the Government sheep at Bathurst and travelled them to 'Duntroon', as the new property was later named. Combined with Canterbury, 'Duntroon' founded the basis of extensive pastoral activities which grew with the prevailing land-hunger of the next decade in the colony.

¹ Ibid., Campbell to Rev. Samuel Cole, 20 November 1821.
² Ibid.
³ S.G., 16, 23, 30 June 1825. A few months later he made an official request for assigned servants for his establishment 'about to be made in the interior', and asked particularly for those accustomed to stock and husbandry. (Campbell to Goulburn, n.d. (December?) 1825, C.S., I.L., Bundle 27, p.80.)
But for these years Campbell was still very much a merchant. His agency for handling ships, their cargoes, administration and victualling, commenced modestly in 1820 with agencies for the Hawes (72 tons) the Active (108) and Westmorland, all three bringing indiscriminately cargoes from Tahiti, the fisheries and the settlements, and all three connected with, directly or indirectly, the London Missionary Society. In 1821 was added the Janus whaler, but a dispute with the captain (Mowatt) removed this ship from Campbell's management in 1822. By 1824, however, Campbell was well-established again, having added at least seven substantial new ships to his list¹ plying variously to London, Hull, Calcutta, Batavia, Singapore and Siam. There were whalers and sealers (Albion, Regalia, Janus) maintaining the old fishing staple which enjoyed a resurgence, culminating in the booms of 1831 and 1832. There was freight and passenger accommodation (from £40 steerage) to be arranged for the wool ships (Denmark Hill and Marshall Wellington). Campbell handled wool increasingly to his advantage from 1822, for it provided the merchants with the steady export staple they previously lacked. Growers were allowed to leave their bales in his Stores until ready for loading.² Though Australian wool had first been sold in quantity in England in 1817, it was 1820 before its importance was established. Once the merchant could depend on wool an increasingly cheap sea freight was offered. The first shipments paid 6d. lb. for freight which was quickly reduced to 1½d. lb.³ Another feature of the development of the

¹ Medina (467 tons), Jupiter (350), Sir Godfrey Webster (547), Rambler (727), Denmark Hill (?), Marshall Wellington (356).
² S.G., October-December 1822.
³ S.G., 2 and 9 January 1823. It was freighted to Hull for 1d. lb.
wool staple for the colonial merchant was the credit structure which grew up around it, similar to that which operated for the disposal of the other great colonial staple—West Indian sugar. By the mid-twenties the procedure was established whereby the English selling agents for colonial wool extended credit, either to the growers or to the merchants in New South Wales who shipped the wool and turned the credit back to the producers in their turn. The sale of wool to the colonial merchants under this system was stimulated by the depression of the late twenties, when even the most successful growers could not afford to wait for the returns from the English sales and consequently made arrangements with the local merchants. In late 1828 John Street, refusing an offer to have his wool sold in England for him, wrote '£400 in the colony is a great thing just now; or rather that value in wool; as that is as good as ready money, as the merchants are much in want of freight'.

Handling small investments of his own (buying from the captains, by which means one cargo would be dispersed amongst several Sydney merchants) and selling others on a commission basis, the variety of goods handled by Campbell increased appreciably by 1825. There were the staples—grain, oil, sugar, wines and spirits, tea, materials (coarse and superfine) and ironmongery. There was also the produce of the Pacific, salt pork and arrowroot, or New Zealand timber, and occasional exotic imports, silver-mounted tea-pots, umbrellas, or

---

Henty Papers, Letters of John Street to Thomas Henty, No. 8, quoted by J. Kerr, 'The Wool Industry in New South Wales 1803-1830', Business Archives and History, February 1962, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 42. Miss Kerr also notes that as early as 1826, encouraged by the number of growers who could not afford the delay from the English sales, a number of English firms set up branches in Sydney as 'wool factors' and 'general agents' for the colony, which meant that not all the advantage was accruing to the colonial merchant.
elephant ivory by the tooth at 7/6 lb. Business wavered between wholesale and the equivalent of retail, depending on the article or conditions. Coals were sold at the Wharf in 1822, 'where for the Accommodation of Families they will be disposed of in small quantities of two Tons'.¹ A cargo from the Endeavour from Raiatea was advertised, 'the Pork being packed in hogsheads and smaller casks is well-adapted for the use of settlers',² while some silver table and tea spoons were disposed of in sets of one dozen each, for the convenience of families.³ As returns picked up, so Campbell's terms relaxed a little, so that an investment imported by the Thalia was advertised 'by the invoice or package on the most reasonable terms for three months'. It is difficult, however, to separate Campbell's own transactions from those he carried out on a commission basis.

Nevertheless, matters were so improved that by 1825 Campbell was the owner of the old Active which set out for Calcutta in January 1826 'converted into quite a new vessel at a vast expense'.⁴ At last, Campbell had sufficient capital to allow a forward policy. The signs were slight but cumulative. Canterbury, of the poor soil, continued to be rented to government for the early years, but by 1825 Campbell was advertising 25 tons of excellent hay from the farm⁵ which seems to indicate that he was no longer receiving the £50 a year from the Government. In 1822 he advertised for masons

¹ S.G., July, August 1822.
² S.G., January 1823.
³ S.G., 16 June 1821.
⁴ S.G., 2 January 1826.
⁵ S.G., July, August 1825.
to contract for mason work on a plan and specification to be supplied by F.H. Greenway the architect. These were presumably some of the improvements which Campbell had intended setting under way when conditions had improved sufficiently. A little later he was contracting for Mason, Carpenter, Bricklayer and Plasterer for a 'Cottage Ornee' designed for him by Greenway and to be built at Bunker's Hill. Ornee, or not, the work was expected 'to be done in a good substantial workmanlike manner'. In 1826 the Wharf became a private one for the first time, Campbell 'from a recent circumstance' withdrawing leave for landing at the Wharf from all boats but those on business connected with the premises.

Campbell had begun at the same time, to re-emerge into public affairs again. This was due to a combination of his private circumstances and the commercial circumstances of the colony. The latter had changed radically during the last decade. Before 1820 a sprinkling of new merchants had arrived to take their place alongside the flourishing emancipists. The house of Walker, Jones, and Riley played a dominating role from their Waterloo Warehouse. The Riley brothers, Alexander Berry and Edward Wollestonecraft, Robert Jenkins, all brought depth and respectability to Port Jackson, as well as overseas agencies with capital to back their initiative.

1 S.G., 21 June 1822.
2 S.G., 19 December 1825.
3 S.G., 16 January 1826.
4 One grievance of the regular merchant was that he had on occasion to compete with the masters of convict transports (the number of which were much increased) who continued to land merchandise though prohibited this practice by the Navy Board. These goods were taken on in England as 'Ships Stores' and as the masters paid no freight they were able to undersell merchant vessels. (See Bigge Appendix, CO.201/17.)
Together with an increase in population to some 30,000 by 1823, the
stability and regulation of commerce induced by Macquarie augured
well for the future. By 1820 the price of English goods in Sydney
varied from sixty to a hundred per cent above prime cost. Business
confidence, after a slow start in 1820, approximated to a boom for
the next few years, which culminated in a long depression after
1826. More varied cargoes were now able to leave New South Wales.
In 1825 a long-overdue uniformity was arrived at when the British
Treasury stabilized the sterling value of the dollar at 4s. 4d. and
fixed the official exchange rate of £103 in coin for £100 bill.
In 1823 the Governor had been invested with power to reduce and
revive duties, as well as imposing duties on British spirits (10/-
a gallon on rum and 15/- on other spirits), tobacco (4/- lb.) and
on all foreign goods £15 on all £100 in value. An encouragement was
given to the new wool industry by the Act which provided that for
ten years no higher duty than 1d. lb. was to be paid on the importation
into England of sheep or lamb's wool produced in New South
Wales. Furthermore, duty on the extract from bark and the duty on
teach wood was in future to lapse, where such articles were the
produce of New South Wales. Duties were, as always, a bone of
contention and a letter from 'Andrew Freepot' in the Sydney Gazette
sought to show in 1825 that the duties which had reduced the flow of

1 Brigge Appendix, CO.201/17.
2 The Shipley bound for England in March 1821 carried 454 bales of
wool, 125 casks of seal and kangaroo skins, 32 casks of sperm oil,
19 casks cocoa-nut oil, 4 casks arrow-root, 2 bales of cotton
3 59 Geo. III C52.
4 S.G., 5 June 1823.
Indian trade to New South Wales were a 'species of self-murder'.\(^1\) Nevertheless the Gazette could comment in the same year on the 34 sail in Sydney Cove in the month of February, independent of Hawkesbury and other colonial craft.\(^2\)

As early as 1824 the Gazette had urged the need for an Exchange in Sydney, 'The merchants of the Town of Sydney, as well as in other parts of the Colony, are increasing not only in numerical strength, but also daily rising in the scale of commercial importance'.\(^3\) A new era had arrived in Australian commerce, and it must have given Campbell particularly, a sardonic pleasure to read an open letter addressed to Earl Bathurst, signed 'Philo Umbrae' and dated 27 September 1825, which read in part:

The officers of the Buffs, and the 40th, now doing duty in the Colony, will not leave it much richer than when they came. Their troops are paid as soldiers ought to be paid. There is no property payment in these days - our Military Officers are no longer shopkeepers - they do not prefer 'behind the counter' to the field - they are no venders of rum and water - nor mercers and haberdashers, to measure a yard of calico, or to thrum up a skein of thread - they no longer usurp the province of the dairy maid, and issue a pound of butter at five shillings, in lieu of a veteran's pay - these halcyon days, consecrated to the dishonourable enriching of a few and the lamentable degradation of the multitude are in the same predicament as the walls of Jericho - they are fallen, past and gone; and cursed be the man that shall attempt to revive them ...

---

\(^1\) S.G., 17 February 1825. Amongst the charges that Bigge listed in 1820 was an ad valorem duty of 15% on all goods not manufactured in the United Kingdom or directly imported from there. (CO.201/17.) Cunningham noted in 1826, however, that 'Besides the duty on spirits and tobacco, the spirit licences, and market dues, a duty of five per cent upon all articles imported into the colony is almost the only other tax levied upon us.', op.cit., vol.II, p.83.

\(^2\) S.G., 17 March 1825. In 1820 Bigge set the number of coasting trade vessels at 29, seven being of no more than 15 tons and the largest no more than 184 tons. They were all described as badly equipped and badly navigated. (CO.201/17.)

\(^3\) S.G., 15 July 1824.
The Chamber of Commerce, inaugurated at a meeting held in June 1826, was the first real milestone in the independent growth of Australia's commerce. Edward Wollstonecraft who was appointed chairman stated in his address that Robert Campbell had been consulted from the beginning concerning the inauguration of this institution, and had been requested to allow his name to be placed first on the list of members. Campbell became a member also of the Chamber of Commerce Committee, as befitted one rejoicing in Wollstonecraft's appellation 'father of the mercantile community'.

A suggestion in May 1826 that Campbell should fill the vacancy created by the retirement of Thomas Raine from the Bank of New South Wales, and bolster public confidence in that institution by acquiring a man of such steady reputation was not acted upon by Campbell, but is a further indication of his public standing.

Doubtless this plethora of requests for service to the public owed something to the report that Campbell was to be a member of the newly constituted Legislative Council. It was a remarkable honour for Campbell when he was appointed one of the three private members of the Governor's Council. Brisbane, at the request of Bathurst (January 1824) had submitted a list of ten landholders and merchants (in which the proportions were nearly equal, arranged in order of priority) from which to form an efficient Council. From this Campbell, John McArthur and Charles Throsby were selected and

---

1 S.G., 8 July 1826.
2 S.G., 20 May 1825.
3 S.G., 5 May 1825.
4 H.R.A., I, 2, p.406; Despatches from Governors of N.S.W., Encl. 1823-6, p.70.
warrants of appointment issued on 17 July 1825. The appointments were proclaimed by Governor Darling on 20 December 1825 and brought an immediate unfavourable response from the colonists in the form of an address to the Governor dated 1 February 1826, the tenor of which was the wish that nomination of these members had been left to the colonists at large (subject to ratification by the Governor) rather than to His Majesty's Ministers. Once more notable exception was made in reference to Campbell, it being remarked 'though ... we feel bound to acknowledge that the Gentleman, who represents our commercial interests, has been well and judiciously selected'.

Earlier the Sydney Gazette had warmly commended Campbell's appointment:

When first a Council was contemplated the Gentleman was not only in our 'mind's eye', but he had also the good fortune to be regarded by superior Powers. Mr Campbell is known to be one of our oldest and most respectable merchants - a man in every way honourable, as well as strictly moral, and proverbial for undeviating integrity. He is also, from his long acquaintance with the Colonists, a man quite intimate with all the ramifications of our political economy. We are fully aware it would have been impossible for the Ministry to secure to their Government a man of more unblemished reputation than Mr Campbell, since he is too dignified to comport himself with any degree of meanness. While we offer thus much in justice to Mr C. (sic) it also becomes our duty to state a fact too well authenticated, that he has been contending for the last sixteen years, with untoward circumstances, in his once vast mercantile concerns, and our gratification is not by any means trivial in having ascertained, that this patriotic merchant has recovered from difficulties over which it was impossible he could have had any control (sic). His Majesty has done well in nominating

1 H.R.A., I, 12, pp.22-23; Despatches from Governors of N.S.W., Encls. 1823-4, p.228 ff.
2 H.R.A., I, 12, p.128.
3 H.R.A., I, 12, p.145.
this Gentleman to the Legislative Council, since all the
trials and involvements through which he has had to pass
for the last several years, originated in his unshaken
attachment and undeviating loyalty to the Representative
of Majesty in these Colonies.

Campbell sat as a member of the Legislative Council from 17 July
1825 until 2 January 1843.

These had been full years for Campbell. By his own unaided
endeavour and integrity he had pulled himself and his family from
the brink of ruin once more to a foremost position in the colony.
By 1827 he faced a new future. His brother John had died in
Calcutta in August 1822, 2 his elder brother William in Greenock on
16 June 1825, 3 and in the following year Campbell was called upon to
administer the estate of his late partner Charles Hook. On the
first day of January 1827 Campbell set out 'an Inventory of my
Effects both real and personal being a list of balances in my favor
and against me', transferred from his ledger for the previous year.
He held £693.10s.0d. in cash, £728.12s.5d. in money at interest and
goods on hand to the value of £90. He set the value of his cattle
and sheep at £204.11s.9d., and his household furniture at £300.
Balances in his favour amounted to £6,426.13s.7d. from which he
subtracted £2,346.17s.10d. owing against him, leaving 'The Net of
my Estate', laboriously retrieved, as £4,079.15s.9d. 4 During 1827
he admitted his two eldest sons John and Robert to partnership in

1 S.G., 22 December 1825.
2 The Calcutta Annual Register for 1822 noted the death, on 8
August, of 'John Campbell, Esq., Merchant, Theatre Street, near the
new China Bazaar, aged 59 years'. John Campbell was unmarried. He
had been a Calcutta merchant for over thirty years during which a
substantial business house had been won and lost again.
3 S.G., 22 December 1825.
4 Robert Campbell's Day Book 1826-8.
Campbell & Co., the change being announced on 1 January 1828, the same year in which the *Australian* published a list of forty-two merchants belonging to Sydney to 'convey to the minds of strangers here and elsewhere, no mean idea of the commercial strength and importance into which this Colony is rising'.¹ It had come a long way in the fifteen years since one of its merchants had called it contemptuously 'this Pigmy Port'.² It was a considerable achievement that Campbell & Co. had been revived alongside these competitors and that it should then have survived the half-dozen depressed years which followed in the wake of the English depression of 1825.

Robert Campbell had proved the solid foundations of his business acumen in circumstances of monopoly, commercial isolation, and finally in a freely competitive and established business community.

¹ 2 July 1828.
NEW SOUTH WALES
1826

MOUNTAINS  RIVERS
Based on Cross's Map
CHAPTER XIV

'A GOOD TRIP TO BOTANY'

Having re-established his business firmly and relinquished much of the demanding business to his two elder sons, Campbell, for the first time in his life was able to give more attention to politics than mere profits demanded. From available evidence, however, there is no reason to suppose that he abandoned the one entirely for the other, or that the merchant became lost in the politician. From the nature of his profession Campbell was in command of all the diplomatic arts, but his temperament militated against his being a politician by nature. Somewhat like Caesar, it would have gone against the grain to have courted popularity. Neither was compromise an essential element in the man belonging to a type of whom it was written 'Higgling about price was unknown to him. Present, he would not abate you one farthing. Absent, at a distance of half the world he would not charge you a farthing more'.

Any tendency to compromise was being eroded by the inflexibility of age and a natural independence, guaranteed by a sufficient affluence.

The legislative council to which Campbell was elevated in 1825 was the first body to create a political awareness in New South Wales. It was to have far-reaching results. Although the Governor was bound to consult his new advisors he was still able to act on his own judgement, but the effect of the new provision was two-fold. It increased respect for the governor's actions and at the same time encouraged a critical attitude towards political arrangements in the

---

1 The Australian, 23 April 1846.
colony, commencing with the memorial objecting to the mode of selection of the three unofficial members of the council. The council consisted of the chief government officials, two landholders (John MacArthur and Charles Throsby) and a merchant (Campbell), with the chief justice as president. It was empowered to impose taxes and pass laws which could be judged conformable to the spirit of English law. For this latter provision the chief justice had the right of veto on all colonial acts. The sittings of the council were secret and its members were sworn to reveal nothing of their deliberations until the results were published in the Gazette. There was some suspicion of this latter procedure, the drawbacks of which were examined by Cunningham who asserted that 'any other subjects rather than those they are summoned to deliberate on form the usual topics of conversation', which tended from 'revealed specimens of the conversation on these occasions' to concern rather 'such important matters as the price of eggs and butter on the last market-day'. Nevertheless, it was admitted that the results of these deliberations had not been without benefit for the colony. Many of the measures, connected with economic stability (such as the elimination of dollars from the currency in 1825) must have held Campbell's attention and interest.

Governor Darling, having outworn his popularity by increasing acts of autocracy, in 1827 became the butt of numerous lampoons and libellous publications in the production of which the colony had so often proved resourceful. To circumvent his anonymous critics, Darling presented a bill to his Council creating a duty of fourpence on news sheets and making it illegal to publish news except on a

---

P. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 305.
stamped sheet. The council was much exercised over this measure which was supported by MacArthur and Throsby but opposed by Campbell. However, upon being assured by Colonial Secretary McLeay that the bill had the approval of Chief Justice Forbes, Campbell withdrew his opposition and the bill unanimously passed the Council. Forbes who viewed the Stamp Act as an improper restraint on the freedom of the press, refused to certify it, requiring that it should be re-submitted. He was furious with McLeay for misrepresenting his opinions to Campbell to secure the merchant's support, for he assigned an important role to the more independent members of Council. Forbes argued that where Darling's wishes had been so marked the government members must have felt themselves bound to acquiesce, and concluded that 'the real force of the argument therefore is derived from the assent of the three gentlemen who are presumed to represent the public'. Though the Council was convened for the resubmission of the bill, the Governor declined laying the bill before them a second time, on the grounds that the measure had already been agreed upon. However, Forbes had his way, the bill lasting barely a month, being rescinded on 31 May 1827.¹

Campbell, a natural authoritarian, perhaps feeling the need to distinguish his opposition to the bill from his attitude to the Governor, consequently was one of those who signed a memorial disassociating themselves from those critics who had forwarded charges against Darling to England in the form of an Impeachment. Approving his administration the memorial, referring obliquely to the Stamp Act, declared 'we feel confident that the measures adopted

were not only judicious, but at that time imperative, and the result has been most satisfactory.  

In spite of the fact that Forbes said of him in 1827 'Mr Campbell lives in seclusion, and his opinion carries no weight in society', Campbell was re-appointed a member of the reformed Legislative Council proclaimed on 30 July 1829. Nor was he less active, entering the lists in the chief political issues of the age. As it was social and political factors, rather than economic ones, that had led to the settlement of New South Wales, so the same factors early took prominence in the colonial political consciousness.

At this period the vexed question of emancipists and exclusives was attaining its full warmth, connected, as it was, with the question of whether transportation should be abolished. The rapid rise of emancipists some of whom flourished 'like the trees we read of in the Psalms "planted by the river"' was disturbing to some, repugnant to others, and the parties were forming broadly upon such criteria, though Cunningham had noted a little earlier 'Of late, indeed, some free emigrants have been attending the dinner-parties of the wealthy emancipists, but being chiefly the trading or borrowing community, private interest, of course, forms the chief incentive of their conduct'. Campbell, who had sold and lent to, employed and prosecuted emancipists and free settlers impartially during the last thirty years was, nevertheless, not the man to be found at such dinner parties any more than he was to be identified

2 Ibid., p.738.
amongst the implacable exclusives. In 1830 his was one of six signatures (which included that of his son, Robert) on a petition to the King mainly concerned with the abolition of transportation to New South Wales and the substitution of a policy of the encouragement of free immigration.¹ This document points to uneasiness in the minds of the free settlers conjecturing on the future of the land which they now claimed as their own. It recognized that increasing political freedom must be reinforced by a freely accepted civil responsibility -

the disorganising doctrines which, under the name of liberty, would subvert the land marks of social order, and, confounding all just distinctions, sap the foundations of society - all these are at stake.²

Not without political implications, then, was the proposed introduction of the jury system. In a lengthy reply to the Governor's request for his views on this subject Campbell was of the opinion that 'the Colony is not at present quite ripe for an unlimited extension of the privilege of Trial by Jury, as it exists in the Mother Country'. His principal objections were: '1st. The limited population of the Colony and the laxity of morals of a part of that population. 2nd. The animosity excited between the Emigrants and Emancipists by the prejudices of one class and the mutual jealousy of both'. With a quotation from Blackstone, an observation on the preponderance in the colony of those who had already lost their characters, and a reference to 'the frequent instances of gross perjury which occur in our Courts' Campbell recommended, nevertheless, that 'as the administration of Justice should not only be chaste but should not even be suspected', a power

¹ Papers. N.S.W. 1812-63, p.52.
² Ibid.
be vested in the Judges to grant a jury on the application of either of the parties.\textsuperscript{1} His reasoned letter was in sharp contrast to the curt reply of John Macarthur who dismissed the proposal as 'unwise and dangerous, in a community so disorderly and depraved as this'.\textsuperscript{2} Campbell, partly due to indisposition and partly to confusion about the date of the third reading of the Jury Bill, was absent on 28 August when, the votes for and against it being even, the bill was passed. On the 11 September he wrote to Governor Bourke requesting that the Secretary of State should be informed that the act was carried in direct opposition to the seven unofficial members of the Council (one member having voted for the act), and that a letter containing Campbell's reasons for his opposition be forwarded to the Colonial Secretary 'for the purpose of shewing that I am not actuated by factious or other improper motives'. His letter was couched in strong terms. Campbell 'as a Father' regretting that, had he taken his seat in Council on the fatal day, 'my children would not have been exposed to the degradation of being brought in association, day after day, in the Jury Box, with the refuse of the Goals (sic) and Hulks of the Mother Country'. Another of his objections lay in the fact that the Jury Act would 'oppose another obstacle to the enforcement of a rigid system of penal Discipline, without which Transportation to New South Wales cannot be rendered efficient either as a punishment or as a prevention of Crime'.\textsuperscript{3}

In his enclosed statement of objections Campbell argued against the bill because: (1) the number of free persons qualified was still

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} H.R.A., I, 15, pp.782-3, 23 September 1830.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p.782.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Robert Campbell to Governor Bourke, H.R.A., I, 17, pp.238-9.
\end{itemize}
small; (2) that men who had 'been guilty of the vilest crimes and suffered the most degrading punishments' (and whom the force of public opinion would force from the jury in England) would be thus qualified to serve in petit juries in New South Wales; (3) the dignity of the Court would be lowered and general distrust of the administration of justice engendered by jurors sitting in trial against those with whom they had shared the same gaol or ship; (4) the acquisition of wealth or of a conditional pardon was no means to judge the reformation of a convict; (5) that colonial youth, lacking the example of honest and industrious parents, should be taught 'by the marked exclusion of Convicts from the Jury Box, to value a character for honesty and integrity as the great qualification on which their own right to sit there, must depend'.

Unmoved by Campbell's plea, indeed, slightly contemptuous of it, Bourke, in a covering letter set out his reasons for believing that he had not acted against 'the wishes and opinions of a Majority of the Inhabitants of the Colony'. Campbell, he said, assumed the independent members of the council to represent the opinions of the majority of the respectable part of the colonists, whereas, 'I do not consider the present Legislative Council as the representative of the Public opinion; but on the Contrary it is opposed to it.' Bourke preferred to base his judgement on the 'Constitutional Petitions of the People', amongst the signatories of which he commented acidly that he found 'amongst them Persons of the largest Property and highest respectability in the Colony, who must be presumed to be as deeply interested in the morals of the rising generation and in the due administration of Justice as

---

1 Ibid.
Mr Campbell or any other Member of the Council'. Furthermore, he did not fail to point out that in 1812 in his evidence before the Select Committee on Transportation Campbell had borne testimony to the desire of the colonists even then, for trial by jury and the expediency of admitting emancipists as jurors, since when, Bourke added, even the existing disproportion between emancipists and free settlers had diminished yearly. In a final deadly thrust Bourke concluded,

The objection to sitting in the same Jury Box with a person, who had been a Convict, was at least as strong in Civil as it can be in Criminal Cases; and I have never heard of such an objection but once, when it was made by a Son of Mr Campbell himself. The objection indeed has been frequently raised in Theory; but as it is found to be disregarded in practise when association in gainful concerns bring the respective Parties into contact in Counting Houses or Banking Establishments, it may be expected it should not prevail in the Jury Box.¹

Perhaps it was this matter which caused Bourke to look with a cool eye on Campbell and predisposed the Governor in 1837 to complain to Glenelg of his unfitness as a representative. Mainly, however, his objections sprang from Campbell's conduct in the matter of the overpayment of £2,000 compensation for the Sydney, which amount Campbell refused to give up, maintaining that even though it had been paid to him by mistake, as his original compensation was so meagre, he was entitled to retain this sum.² The old merchant was falling victim to that same disease of autocracy which afflicted so many of the early arrivals who could afford to indulge it.

When the Council was reconstituted in 1843 the only two members of the old council not mentioned were Campbell and Sir John Jamison,

¹ Governor Bourke to Right Honourable E.G. Stanley, 2 October 1833, H.R.A., I, 17, pp.236-8.
both, to Governor Gipps' official regret 'by years and infirmities unable to continue their services to the Public'. ¹ Campbell was now seventy-four years old, absent from Sydney for long periods, when he remained at 'Duntroon' where he had tended to reside increasingly since Sophia's death in 1833. Here, the freshness of the surrounding mountains emphasised the 'remoteness from all the pestilential exhalations and miseries of towns' and his garden bench drew visitors at sunset to admire the superb view over the outskirts of the Alps. ²

Some of his commercial interests were affected by matters which were legislated for by the council, so that port regulations and municipal improvements were not unconnected with Campbell's own affairs. Certainly one can imagine him being stirred by the act to ensure that all creditors in a bankrupt estate would rank in proportion to their claims, even as he was moved to initiate legislation for the Insolvency Law of 1841.³

The 1830s were by no means years of inactivity, however, for this pillar of society. Spasmodic but concentrated attendance to political matters was mingled with a surveillance of the commercial scene which showed that Campbell had lost none of his hard-headedness. In 1832 he was relieved of his banking activities when an act was passed to convert 'Campbell's Bank' into the Savings Bank of New South Wales. In the same year Campbell put forward a case for a duty on imported wheat and flour, without which protection he felt there would not be sufficient encouragement for the growing of

² John Lhotsky, Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps, p.63.
³ See the Australian, 9 September 1841.
local grain. In 1839 he contrived to exchange a portion of the estate at Canterbury,\(^1\) of the poor soil, for shares in a London formed group - the Australian Sugar Company - which intended to erect a refinery in Sydney. After a slight hiatus, this company in 1842 became the Australasian Sugar Company,\(^2\) and its first meeting was held at Campbell's Wharf, whose owner was now a substantial shareholder.\(^3\)

The 1830s brought a revolutionary new development - the steamship. Campbell instead of being tempted by nostalgia recognized the new advance by prosaically acquiring shares in the Indian Steamship Company. But the steamship, emancipating men from the tyranny of wind and sea, and remaking the map of the world, emphasised not just the closing of an era but of a way of life on which the lives of many more had depended. For Campbell it had been not only his way of life, but the channel of his existence.

From the late 1820s onwards, Campbell had been increasingly concerned with building up his pastoral properties.\(^4\) As he pointed

---

1 On 2 April 1836, Governor Bourke, on the advice of the Executive Council, had promised Campbell a grant of the 177 acres at Canterbury. This was confirmed by Governor Gipps on 7 January 1842. (Grant Register, vol.6, p.8, no.18.)

2 In 1855 it became known as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company.

3 The 400 shares at £50 each had all been applied for by 1842, while by the transfer of the sixty acres of land at Canterbury valued at £1,200 - Campbell had made a profitable start. (Australian, 21 June 1842.)

4 According to Campbell, when he left England in 1814 Earl Bathurst told William Wilberforce (who had been championing Campbell's case) that he had directed a letter to be written to Governor Macquarie to place Campbell under the Governor's favourable protection. 'A grant of 1500 acres of Land constituted the only advantage that I derived from his Lordship's recommendation', observed Campbell. Letter to Governor Darling, 2 April 1830. (Despatches from Governors of N.S.W., 1830, vol.17, p.634.)
out, the Government, by remunerating him for the loss of the Sydney partly in sheep and land, 'led me to become a Grazier again'. The 4,000 acres on the Limestone Plains that Ainslie had taken possession of in 1825 were extended by another 1,000 acres, Campbell deciding that their valuation at 5s. an acre was excessive, but adjusting matters by appropriating another 1,000 acres, being happy to allow their value as 4s. an acre. Being all his life a discreet practiser of the fait accompli he left the Treasury to confirm his action, rather than request their permission. The original 4,000 acres had been surveyed in November 1825, though Ainslie and the stock had arrived about September. In February 1829 the grant was officially extended to 5,000 acres, although, owing to the growing pressure of demands connected with land matters, the deed was not issued until 29 October 1834.

Having failed to get his grant at the Cowpastures, Campbell had done well to choose as an alternative the site later chosen for the national capital. The country beyond Lake George had first been penetrated by Charles Throsby in 1820, with Macquarie's encouragement. The value of this fine forest land, with its open downs of excellent grazing land stretching to the Monaro Plains was early recognized. 'These are most extensive downs, clear of timber, which, from their fertile limestone soil, seem well-adapted for all agricultural purposes, while their great elevation and southerly latitude must give them a cool climate, every way suited to European constitutions', wrote Cunningham, some years later. During the

1 Campbell to Right Honourable Lord Goderich, 13 October 1831, C.O., 201/221, p.1056.
2 Grant Register (King, Murray and St. Vincent) vol.17, p.10, no.38.
early years, however, it was believed that this land was useless except as distant stockruns, unless a road could be constructed to the coast to a good harbour.¹ By 1826 this was exactly what had happened, that portion of the country immediately beyond Lake George having been occupied as grants or stock-stations for some years, the farthest station being about 160 miles from Sydney, in a direct line.² But there were few resident settlers in Argyle, the greater portion of the country still being occupied as stock runs by grantees in the Cumberland, or residents in Sydney, like Campbell. There were a very few ex-convicts on small locations but until 1826 the largest and most isolated settlers were Atkinson at Sutton Forest and Throsby, junior, at Bong Bong.³

Within a short while Campbell realised the potential of this country, and his stock prospering and multiplying, he took the unusual step of requesting permission to purchase (for £1,250 sterling) another 5,000 acres on the opposite side of the Molonglo River to his original grant. He received permission from Governor Darling on 4 May 1827, though the deed of grant did not materialise until 23 August 1838.⁴ The expansion continued when he was authorised to possess 1,060 acres of adjacent vacant land ('Madura') on 28 August 1832, which he received as a free grant on 16 March 1840.⁵ The Majura land, together with a primary grant of 1,500

¹ Loc.cit.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid., p.116.
⁴ Grant Register, vol.17, p.114, no.353.
⁵ Ibid., vol.18, p.19, no.64.
370 acres brought Campbell's grant to the maximum allowance of 2,560 acres. On 7 October 1834 another 1,100 acres (at Pialligo) were advertised for sale at Campbell's request, and purchased by him for five shillings an acre. At the end of February 1836 Campbell purchased 3,719 acres (in five lots) for £1,153 on the Limestone Plains, stretching towards Queanbeyan and Michelago. By January 1837 the area had been further consolidated by the purchase of another 3,125 acres for £843. It was a grievance of Campbell's, that having come to New South Wales as a merchant and not as a free settler he had been forced to buy most of his land, instead of receiving lucrative grants, conceiving thereby that he had not been treated even with base justice by His Majesty's Government.

Most of the Governors had unstintingly endorsed his frequent requests for grants, Darling in 1830 advising the home authorities that 'Mr Campbell continues to merit the indulgent consideration of Government'. In another application to Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary, in 1831, Campbell asked for a comparison of his fortunes with the 'Saxon sheep speculators' whom he admitted had been of great benefit to the colony, but at much greater profit and not so great risk as Campbell himself. Two of these breeders, also merchants, had received grants of 10,000 acres each, while Campbell acquired only the 2,560 acres which the Secretary of State announced.

---

1 This was the 1,500 acres near Bathurst granted by Macquarie on 13 January 1818 and named 'Campbellton'. (Grant Register, vol.2, p.145, no.1300.)
2 Grant Register, vol.17, p.28, nos.99, 100, 101; p.29, nos.102 and 103.
publicly that every respectable immigrant might claim as a right. It was poor recognition Campbell felt, especially as his sons had not applied for land from which they were now prevented by the late regulations ('precluded from any hopes of obtaining what has been given to almost all other young men of their station in the colony - Grants of Land in proportion to their means and situation in life;'). However, he adequately surmounted this obstacle, for by 1840 he owned the choicest sections of the Limestone Plains, while his stock squatted on immense runs 170 miles south of Canberra (4 or 5 days' journey) at Delegate (later purchased) and Mount Cooper, with smaller interests at Boorowa and Bathurst. His brother-in-law's family acquired adjacent grants at Jerrabombera and Gininderra, in the Canberra district.

Campbell does not appear to have visited his domains previous to 1830 when he purchased two horses and a mare for his journey 'to the establishment'. He set the cost of stocking at £1,821.7s.8d. This was almost exclusively with sheep of good breed, including 50 rams from Marsden for which he paid 50 guineas, though there were a

---

1 This run encompassed 38,400 acres. See J.F. Campbell, 'Squatting on Crown Lands in New South Wales', J.R.A.H.S., vol.XVII, Pt.1, 1931. In 1834 Delegate was Campbell's farthest out-station. (John Ihotsky, op.cit., p.70.) Early in 1838 the explorer E.J. Eyre overlanded 300 head of Campbell's stock (which he collected at Delegate) to Adelaide by way of Port Phillip, and recorded in his memoirs the generous treatment he received at Campbell's hands. (Autobiography.)

2 This area was estimated at 21,000 acres capable of grazing 7,000 sheep. (Supplement to N.S.W. Government Gazette, 30 September 1848.)

3 Mss. in Campbell's handwriting titled 'Original Cost of stocking the Establishment at Limestone Plains', in Campbell Papers, Mitchell Library, Drawer 23.
few horses and pigs. The 710 ewes which Campbell included in the above estimate (at £1,000) were the original government stock which formed part of the compensation for the Sydney. ¹

In 1831 Campbell calculated that he had 10,000 sheep and over 600 cattle which demanded considerable grazing land when one sheep needed four acres to maintain it. Now, one of Campbell's grievances was that, in common with other graziers, he was being forced to give up land he had rented for years with the intention of purchasing, because of the high minimum price (5s.) fixed by the Regulations. Campbell asserted that in some places 3s.6d. was maximum value and argued with mercantile intricacy that if he sold his sheep (at 10s. each for a ewe) to buy land he would have to sell 2,000 ewes to purchase 4,000 acres which then would pasture only 1,000 sheep.²

The Polish naturalist, Dr John Lhotsky, observed in 1834, 'As to the management of Mr Campbell's farm in particular, I was told that the sheep breeding commenced here nine years ago, with about 700 head, which the overseer, Mr Ainsley, has to the present time succeeded in increasing to upwards of 20,000, not taking into the account the number sold during that period.'³ Campbell would probably have enjoyed the advantages, denied to the small settler of one isolated property, of being able to have his fat stock driven slowly down to Sydney and either disposed to the government or to the butchers, or keeping them on some farm in the vicinity of Sydney (Canterbury) and selling them off as the demand occurred.⁴

² Campbell to Goderich, 13 October 1831, C.O., 201/221, p.1057.
³ John Lhotsky, op. cit., p.70.
His wool, however, had to be taken the 230 miles to Sydney in bullock-drawn drays 'over a country in many parts extremely mountainous'.

Lhotsky, who left the first published account of Canberra, visited the Monaro Plains between January and March 1834. He stayed six days at 'Limestone Cottage' or 'Campbell's Cottage' (24 miles from Gundaroo) where he found himself quite at home: 'It is a clean, romantic little house, overhung with vines, the last one with window panes and such like comforts, as it were at the end of the world.'

Apparently by this period the property had not yet been named 'Dunroon' - after the hereditary castle of the Campbells, from which line Campbell was descended - by which it later became known. Lhotsky, who brought letters from John Campbell to the superintendents of his father's estates, was most impressed with the geology of the surrounding areas which he explored. 'Limestone', he wrote 'is also one of the most important spots as far as the political economy of the colony is concerned. The plains themselves must contain at least 20,000 acres of good compact, arable land, besides which they form a point where three principal roads, the great road from Sydney, then to Yass Plains, and that to Monaro Downs will eventually converge. At Limestone, therefore, at no distant period, a fine town will exist uniting Spencer's Gulph (by means of the Murray), Sydney and Twofold Bay.'

---

1 Campbell to Goderich, 31 October 1831, C.O., 201/221, p.1057.
2 John Lhotsky, op.cit., p.56.
3 Ibid.
Campbell continued to vary his activities and, in the manner of the affluent merchant, to encourage education and multiply his philanthropic gestures. His own sons had been educated in England and at Dr Halloran's school in Sydney. It was in the 1820s that the germ of a plan for a school modelled on the English grammar school was promoted by Bishop Broughton, another of Campbell's clerical friends. A plan submitted to the Legislative Council in 1830 and supported by a petition in 1831 to the English Government to have it put into effect, included Robert Campbell amongst its signatories. This agitation culminated in the establishment of the King's Schools at Sydney and Parramatta in 1832, for the inculcation of Christianity (and knowledge) along the principles of the Church of England. In spite of Campbell's support for this establishment his two remaining sons were not numbered amongst its pupils.

Campbell's strengthening connection with the Church of England was one of the notable features of his later years, emphasised, as it is, by the affiliations of his family and his own generous endowment of Anglican churches. He is remembered mainly for his donation of half (and perhaps more) of the cost of St John's, the parish church at Canberra. In 1837 he gave the land and a donation for the building of St Peter's Church, Cook's River, and donated money for a cathedral for Sydney in the same year. Other churches - at South Bargo, Yass, and St Phillip's in Sydney - shared in his bounty. St Phillip's seems to have been the family parish church of the Palmers, for Campbell's wife, Sophia, was an Anglican. How much Campbell's change of religious allegiance owed to his wife's influence and how much he was affected by the persuasions of his

---

1 See *Australian*, 20 October 1837.
intimates, the Marsdens, Hassalls and Broughtons, is a matter for conjecture. His own real connection with the Church of England seems to have been a later development. Writing of a dispute within a Diocesan Committee in 1843, Bishop Broughton observed that 'Robert Campbell, a perfect Barnabas in disposition, was at first led away with their dissimulation. But he returned at the first word of remonstrance from me'.¹ That Campbell's conversion occurred towards the end of his career was confirmed by Broughton:

Bred a presbyterianian he became gradually aware of the want of any stable foundation in that system, and his whole energies and those of his family were applied to the support of the Church of England. In March 1845 I administered his first communion to him in a Church of his own building and his last letter written the day before his mortal seizure conveys a direction to his son to give £25 to our Cathedral.²

Nevertheless, when Robert arrived in the colony he was the son of an Elder of the New Parish Kirk at Greenock, having been baptised into the Presbyterian Church of Scotland by the Rev. Andrew Shaw, minister of Craige, in the Presbytery of Ayr. All Robert's family associations were with the Old and New Parish Kirks of Greenock - nor should one forget his paternal grandfather, the Minister at Ardnamurchan. Though his piety was practical, there were doubtless many occasions in his life when Robert consoled himself with lessons absorbed on a hard pew in the New Kirk.

In 1826 the Rev. J.D. Lang had arrived from Greenock with a shipload of Scottish migrants. Besides his notorious political activities, the radical Minister was tireless in attempts to

² W.G. Broughton to Rev. Edward Broughton, 24 April 1846. Ibid. For both these extracts from the Broughton Papers I am indebted to Rev. J. Barrett of the Australian National University.
consolidate Presbyterian concerns in Sydney and Campbell was one of those who endowed the new Scots Church in Sydney. A memorial dated 28 August 1828 from the Minister (J.D. Lang) and Congregation of the Scots Church, Sydney, to Governor Darling, requested government assistance for the salary of a schoolmaster. Because of the rapid increase in their numbers, the Presbyterian population of Sydney contemplated a school connected with the Scots Church on the plan of the Parish Schools of Scotland as approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Religious instruction ('to make the youth follow the Faith and footsteps of their forefathers by confirming and strengthening the Hallowed Institutions of their Native Land') was to be combined, in typical Caledonian fashion, with 'the Elementary and more useful Branches of Education'. However, as it was important that this system should be available to 'the poorest of the people', some fees would be merely nominal, and instruction in some cases must even be gratuitous. Because of the burden on the congregation in providing a suitable school room, it did not feel equal to eking out the teacher's salary to 'a moderate degree of competency' after the inevitable deficiency in fees. Hence the request for state aid, as in Scotland. Robert Campbell was one of the congregation who signed this petition.

While he was in England on leave of absence in 1831, Lang delivered a memorial to Goderich praying that when the settlers of any district in New South Wales could contribute £60-£100 a year to support an itinerant minister of the Scottish National Church, a

1 Governor Darling's Despatches, 1828-30, pp.173-179. Darling was in favour of granting £40-50 a year but wrote to Huskisson that he 'deemed it advisable under present circumstances to inform them I shall recommend subject to your consideration'. H.R.A., I, 14, p.396.
similar amount be allowed from Colonial Revenue. This request was assented to by Goderich for no more than two ministers initially, in the hope of curbing the 'reckless depravity' so vividly painted by the memorial. ¹ Again, Campbell appeared as a signatory. It was much later (1842) when Campbell signed a petition of the Presbyterians of New South Wales requesting that the stipend of two Presbyterian ministers be continued. ² In 1836 Campbell had objected to an allowance of £500 for Roman Catholic orphans, on the grounds that these children were a charge on the State and should be brought up as Protestants, within the religion of the State. ³

The merchant died, full of years, at Duntroon on 15 April 1846. His body was returned to Sydney, escorted from Duntroon to the Shire boundary by over eighty horsemen and 40 foot mourners. The funeral service held on 27 April was conducted by the Lord Bishop of Australia, assisted by thirteen other clergymen. ⁴ His eminence and his virtues were suitably extolled by most publications, but the inscription on the family vault⁵ in St John's Cemetery, Parramatta, in modest wisdom supplied, 'Keep innocency and take heed unto the things that is right for that shall bring a man peace at the last'.

² Governor Gipps Despatches 1842, p.367.
³ See Legislative Council Votes and Proceedings, p.458. A problem set his son John in 1817 showed a truly Protestant irreverence. The boy was charged - 'If a cardinal can pray a soul out of purgatory in one hour, a bishop in three hours, a priest in five, and a friar in seven, in what time can they pray out three souls, all praying together.' John Campbell's School Book, 1817.
⁴ His pallbearers were His Excellency Sir Maurice O'Connell, Alexander Macleay, Speaker of the Legislative Council, Charles Cowper, M.L.C., Alexander Berry, M.L.C., James Norton, Mr Crowley and Thomas Walker.
⁵ This was a vault shared with the Palmers who had used it since 1821.
Merchant Campbell belongs to a class of men notable for its uniform and almost traditional character. This class has been analysed by Max Weber who describes them as 'men who had grown up in the hard school of life, calculating and daring at the same time, above all temperate and reliable, shrewd and completely devoted to their business, with strictly bourgeois opinions and principles'.

Even without knowledge of Campbell's personal life, his public activities exhibit a constancy of purpose and belief which identify him with this merchant concept. But this is not to deny him an individualism composed of more subtle factors which convey themselves strongly despite even a superficial view of the man and the lack of personal record. Disciplined by the demands of his occupation, Campbell's haughty independence, quick temper and self-confidence combined to create a dominating personality. The nice balance involved between temperament and training is summed up by Sir Walter Scott:

> This mixture of necessary attention and inevitable hazard - the frequent and awful uncertainty whether prudence shall overcome fortune, or fortune baffle the schemes of prudence affords full occupation for the powers, as well as for the feelings of the mind, and trade has all the fascination of gambling without its moral guilt.

Behind the merchant was the integrity of the man, lending Campbell a special significance in his interaction with local society. There were other men engaged in merchanting who nevertheless failed to become a patriarchal figurehead of commerce. It was Campbell's character as much as his occupation that fitted him for this role. Botany Bay was a settlement that sought out men's frailties rather than their strengths. Isolation wrought an

---

attrition of pride and ambition. A man was measured by the bulk of his possessions. Separated from friends influential or congenial, and in many cases from family, the members of this settlement at the world's end strove to give their lives a meaning and their living some savour. It is not to be wondered at that such men grew important in their own estimation, quarrelled viciously with their neighbours, and often compounded their principles for profit. Campbell, with remarkable self-containment kept aloof from the petty disturbances of colonial society, yet sympathised with its aspirations.

Campbell was the first man to come to the colony with a command of capital and the means of mobilizing the colony's resources. He early recognized what his fellow traders were unable to accept that, while exploitation was always going to be spasmodic and difficult, there were rewards if the colony could develop its own potentialities. For this reason Campbell was content at first with negligible returns, reduced even further by his extension of credit to the settlers - in marked contrast to the exploitation by the rum traders.

The outcome of Campbell's commercial endeavours depended largely on the policy of the governor. Whereas Hunter failed to appreciate the possible advantages arising from the activities of a resident merchant, King, with his economic interests and appreciation of the commercial possibilities of the settlement, in his drive for reform was forced to welcome Campbell. The ambiguity between King's official and private economic interests led to difficulties for the merchant who was trying to establish himself in this period. Through his perseverance the colony for the first time had regular importations which, combined with an alternative source of supply on reasonable terms operated naturally to reduce
and destroy the monopolistic practices that discouraged the development of private endeavour. This process was carried further by the importation of livestock which guaranteed greater independence within the colony. As part of his own problem of survival Campbell had to organize an export trade - hence the encouragement offered colonial sealing by his regular shipments of skins and oil and employment of colonial labour. Having become identified with colonial interests in the pursuit of his profits, Campbell became involved in the extension of colonial rights with his challenge to the East India Company represented by the Lady Barlow and her cargo of colonial produce. From this encounter, in which he was reduced by the superior influence of the British whalers, the merchant became more actively concerned with colonial development and interests.

This was marked during Governor Bligh's attempts at internal reform, when Campbell became the touchstone for Bligh's economic measures. As one of the chief supporters of the Governor's attempts to destroy exploitation, Campbell became indirectly the respectable champion of the growing class of emancipists and small settlers.

The hiatus in Campbell's personal fortunes coincided with his five years in England. His return to prosperity, favoured by Macquarie's approval and liberal economic policy, coincided with a new phase in the colony's economic life. Campbell, formerly recognizable as one of the last of the merchant adventurers returned to a commercial life dominated increasingly by the counting house rather than the wharf. Campbell's real pioneering work was done. There had been little personal return in these past years for the man who had now to re-establish himself in a world where the standards of the eighteenth century were rapidly becoming
anachronistic. Campbell adapted himself sufficiently to compete successfully in the new colonial era.

What effect did Campbell have on the development of colonial society? Did his advent in any way influence or accelerate colonial growth? For a number of years he was the first entrepreneur with a command of capital and access to other markets in the colony. He was a man with neither military nor emancipist allegiances nor - more important - a man affected by the regulations and loyalties that bound these classes. As a wealthy pastoralist he would have been driven by interest into the ranks of the ex-military estate holders; as a merchant he brought allegiance to a more liberal concept of community. He was the first figure of standing in the community representing independent, if bourgeois, principles - an element not calculated on by the Colonial Office, still administering an expensive gaol.

His business affairs reinforced this position. Campbell's ships, supplying both government and emancipist, cutting expenditure and releasing colonial exports, introduced another administrative aspect to what had previously been an ordered prison farm. Admittedly emancipist and amateur traders had supplied their own needs by long-distance trading before Campbell's establishment, but the volume of their trading had been negligible and their activities largely unofficial. The spread of Campbell's interests (and of the merchants who later joined him) allowed the administration to reduce expenses as well as the scope of its commercial activities. The acceptance of Campbell's permanency by government imperceptibly contributed to a diversion of official plans for New South Wales, and once the benefits of a commercial class were recognized and accepted by government the new element could no longer be ignored.
It has been assumed that the influence of business men on the ideas of the Australian community in finance, economics and especially politics has been remarkably small, but there is sufficient in this study of one merchant to suggest that the commercial class may have had a greater influence on colonial development, even indirectly, than has previously appeared. To gauge the effectiveness of even Campbell's attack on early conditions, and on the growth of a commercial class, the need for studies of emancipist and amateur traders (Macarthur, Wentworth, Johnston, Blaxcell, the Blaxlands) becomes increasingly clear. Nor is it possible to judge the importance or cohesiveness of the early Australian commercial class without knowledge of the men who came after Campbell. It was not until the late 1820s that wool became a major export product and a channel for the development of private wealth. Until then, it seems likely that merchants were the most influential class in the community, for commerce had previously been the only means by which wealth could be accumulated. In fact, it was merchants like the Rileys who provided the capital for the new industry and became increasingly identified with pastoral interests.

Campbell's association with Australia is one of interdependence. By resisting the pressure to exploit he became an instrument of development in a young society. In the stresses of his career this merchant, who knew both extremity and eminence, attests that 'The frontier of enterprise is as real as the geographical frontier.'
APPENDIX A

ESTIMATED PROPERTY IN CAMPBELL & CO.'S GO DOWNS, SYDNEY,
16 AUGUST 1804

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Port Wine</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madeira and Calcavella</td>
<td>1,549</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>26,388</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordage and Canvas, Twine, Loglines, etc.</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanned Hides</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepper and Salt Petre</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91 Bales of piece Goods consisting of Dungarees, Chintzes,</td>
<td>9,810</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nankeens, Long Cloth, Callicoes for Shirting and Sheeting,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandanoc Handkerchiefs, Muslins, Dungaree Frocks and Trowsers etc. etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207 Ton of pure Elephant Oil</td>
<td>4,140</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,105 Fur Seal Skins remaining exclusive of 10,030 shipt by</td>
<td>2,021</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Albion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130 Tons of Empty Casks</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Boilers 270 Gallons</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Calcutta Teak Whale Boats copper fastened with Oars</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compléat constructed for carrying Skins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£49,563 14 8

N.B. - 37 Cows that were rejected of the Lady Barlow's Cargo remains at present C. & Co.'s property £777 0s. 0d.

**APPENDIX B**

**GRAIN RECEIPTS RECEIVED BY CAMPBELL 1800-1807**

(Where not otherwise stated these figures are drawn from the Commissariat Department records, King Papers, vol.3. As receipts were consolidated in March and July some overlapping of amounts must occur in this list, which is seen clearly when it is compared with the government account for 1800-1804. Owing to the confusion prevailing in the records this list can only indicate the range of amounts in which Campbell dealt. During 1802 he received by far the largest receipts for grain, the next largest being the Enderbys who drew £540 and Simeon Lord, £400. Next in order came Balmain, Larra and Hassall with £201, £101 and £100, respectively.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800-1801</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>£1,524.11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 July</td>
<td>725.11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>5 March</td>
<td>400.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 April</td>
<td>464.16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 May</td>
<td>660.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 July</td>
<td>720.19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 July</td>
<td>69.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>86.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February</td>
<td>270.4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>1,693.16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 May</td>
<td>82.2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 June</td>
<td>525.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June</td>
<td>226.18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 June</td>
<td>6.2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25 June</td>
<td>45.12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>280.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January-March</td>
<td>770.16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 June</td>
<td>312.7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>280.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January-March</td>
<td>770.16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 June</td>
<td>312.7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1804 - December 1806</td>
<td>3,800.0.0</td>
<td>£5,349.9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1807</td>
<td>January-March</td>
<td>3,957.18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>April-June</td>
<td>688.19.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ACCOUNT OF GRAIN PURCHASED FROM ROBERT CAMPBELL BY GOVERNMENT**

28 SEPTEMBER 1800 - 20 DECEMBER 1804

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>400.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 July</td>
<td>725.11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>4 April</td>
<td>464.16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 July</td>
<td>720.19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>1,693.16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 June</td>
<td>751.18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>280.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 June</td>
<td>312.7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£5,349.9.4

*This is a rough calculation based on the amount of grain Thomas Biggers at the Hawkesbury claimed to have collected for Campbell during this period. It does not include any grain which might have been collected by John Palmer and Rowland Hassall at Parramatta. (Campbell sued Palmer in 1813 for £1,355 for grain collected in lieu of debts in 1806.) S.C.P. Court of Civil Jurisdiction, vol.6, no.330 and vol.7, no.23.*

[*H.R.A.*, I, 6, pp.135-6, 142-3.]
## SPIRITS BROUGHT TO N.S.W. 1800-1804
### APPENDIX C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ships</th>
<th>Gallons imported</th>
<th>Gallons landed</th>
<th>Gallons sent away</th>
<th>Prices limited for spirits (per gallon)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td>Wines</td>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td>Wines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># ARTHUR</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATLAS (FIRST)</td>
<td>2,166</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># FANNY</td>
<td>5,880</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>2,475</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSEUS</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ SURPRISE</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALEXANDER</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATLAS (SECOND)</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE</td>
<td>4,631</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>8,096</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ L'ADELE</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ BETSEY</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ HARRINGTON</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># MARY</td>
<td>2,354</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>1,337</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1.12.1801-1.3.1804 | 37,501 | 5,626 | 23,758 | 4,333 | 13,243 | 1,293 |
| 28.9.1800-1.12.1801 | 59,294 | 30,896 | 39,851 | 8,896 | 32,320 | 2,200 |

* American vessels.
+ Indian vessels.
APPENDIX D

SEALERS LAYS

This list of legally registered agreements gives some indication of the proportion of the total involved in a lay for Campbell & Co.'s employees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Entry</th>
<th>Place of Entry</th>
<th>Men's Names</th>
<th>Payment in Advance</th>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Lays</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 Sept. Sydney</td>
<td>Goodenough</td>
<td>1st mate</td>
<td>30th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>John Wood</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>2nd &quot;</td>
<td>40&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Jeremiah Harragan</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Boatswain</td>
<td>80&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>J. Bloodworth</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>80&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Henry Otters</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Seaman</td>
<td>95&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Charles Smith</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>95&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Wm. Mouselle</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Sealer</td>
<td>100&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Patt Brenen</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>100&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X Thos Larkins</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>95&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X Chas O'Brien</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>95&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X John Joseph</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Seaman</td>
<td>95&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X James Brown</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(Otaheitan)</td>
<td>Landsman</td>
<td>100&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X Martin Briant</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>80&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X John Morley</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Seaman</td>
<td>100&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Oct. Sydney</td>
<td>X Antony Kearns</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Seaman</td>
<td>95&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Nov. Auckland</td>
<td>X Jas Thompson</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Boat Steward</td>
<td>50&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Oct. Sydney</td>
<td>X John Murray</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Sandman</td>
<td>100&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 May</td>
<td>Thos Western</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>95&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X John Francis</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>95&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dec.</td>
<td>Myles Holding</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>1st mate</td>
<td>30&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X Rich. Jackson</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Seaman</td>
<td>95&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Aug. Sydney</td>
<td>James Obern</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>60&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X = his mark  \(^{*}\)See S.C.P., Miscellaneous Bundle 30, Document 78.
### APPENDIX E

#### DEBTORS SUED BY CAMPBELL & CO. - 1810

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campbell &amp; Co. Against</th>
<th>Amount Sued for</th>
<th>Amount Awarded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Pendergast</td>
<td>£56</td>
<td>£42.19. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Roberts</td>
<td>17. 4. 3</td>
<td>17. 4. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Watts</td>
<td>30. 6. 3</td>
<td>30. 6. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Lambe</td>
<td>40. 7. -</td>
<td>40. 7. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich. Tuckwell</td>
<td>113. 9. -</td>
<td>76. 4. 4 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Bowman</td>
<td>615. 4. 2</td>
<td>617. 4. 2 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dight</td>
<td>13. 6.10</td>
<td>19. 9.10 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Bowman</td>
<td>19. 3. 2</td>
<td>31. 2. 4 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Maud</td>
<td>23. 7. 7</td>
<td>23. 7. 7 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Chasling</td>
<td>22. 7. 9</td>
<td>20. 7. 9 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Field</td>
<td>51. 7.11</td>
<td>27. 8. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Addy</td>
<td>208.16. 5</td>
<td>210.17. 5 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chas. Cross</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18. 6. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Flynn</td>
<td>36.15. 6</td>
<td>24. 3. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. O'Neal</td>
<td>51.11. 8</td>
<td>38.11. 8 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel McKay</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53.17. 9</td>
<td>31. 3. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam'l Pickett</td>
<td>24.10. 3</td>
<td>17. 5. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chas. Biggers</td>
<td>129. 9. 2</td>
<td>Adjourned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Kennedy</td>
<td>51.14. 5</td>
<td>47. 7. - no c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* &c. = costs.

*S.C.P., Court of Civil Jurisdiction. Vol.6. (No addresses given.*)
DEBTORS SUED BY CAMPBELL & CO. – 1811

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campbell &amp; Co. Against</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Amount Sued for</th>
<th>Amount Awarded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Collins</td>
<td>£559.12. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>£559.12. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Miller</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>92. 2. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geo. Kirman</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32.11. 4 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas. Dunlop</td>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>81.17. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Neale</td>
<td>Seven Hills</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27. 7. 1 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Love</td>
<td>Field of Mars</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Paid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Beadle</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>51. -- 2 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat Brenan</td>
<td>Toongabbie</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20. -- - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cross</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38. 5. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowland Edwards</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38. 8. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Small</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.10. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich’d Evans</td>
<td>Nepean</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90. -- - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas. Blackman</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>41. 3.11 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Cheshire</td>
<td>Upper Nepean</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>goods money &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P.N.1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16. 5. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Campbell</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21. 3. 4 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Hale</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24. 4. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geo. Stanbury</td>
<td>Prospect</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45. -- - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*P.N. = Promissory Note.

S.C.P., Court of Civil Jurisdiction. Vol.8A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campbell &amp; Co. Against</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Amount Sued for</th>
<th>Amount Awarded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Singleton</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>£496.18. 7</td>
<td>£496.18. 7 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas Wilbour</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>11.15. 6</td>
<td>11.15. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas Painter &amp; wife</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>74.10. -</td>
<td>74.10. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Smith</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>76.10. -</td>
<td>76.10. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillip Tully</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>52. 3. -</td>
<td>53. 3. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Benson</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>42.10. -</td>
<td>41.18. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chas. Thomas</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>69. -- -</td>
<td>39. -- - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam Wheeler</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>90.12. 6</td>
<td>90.12. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Cummings</td>
<td>Seven Hills</td>
<td>20. -- -</td>
<td>20. -- - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robt. Fostar</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>66.18. -</td>
<td>42.16. 7 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jos. Jenkinson</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>19. 4. 6</td>
<td>19. 4. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kelly</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>26.13. 6</td>
<td>22.16. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Skinner</td>
<td>Concord</td>
<td>91. 1. -</td>
<td>55. 9. 9 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed. Pugh</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.13. 7</td>
<td>15.12. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. O'Neale</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>41. -- -</td>
<td>41. 1. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Fitz</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>43. -- 4</td>
<td>43. -- - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And. Thompson's</td>
<td></td>
<td>109. 7. 2</td>
<td>90. 7. 2 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Debtor Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Amount Sued for</th>
<th>Amount Awarded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Pendergrass</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>£45. 4. 4</td>
<td>granted £17. 8. 4 out-standing &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis Jones</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>12.10. -</td>
<td>12.10. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Turnbull</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>14. 6. 3</td>
<td>14. 6. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Mason</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>87. -. 6</td>
<td>38.12. 5 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Hobby</td>
<td>Nepean</td>
<td>17.19. 6 account</td>
<td>17.19. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich Longford</td>
<td>73rd Regt.</td>
<td>55 goods</td>
<td>55. --. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Rochester</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>goods</td>
<td>5.10. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Knight</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>113 goods, account</td>
<td>110. 4. 8 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich'd Alwright</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>61.12.10 goods</td>
<td>57. 7. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris Frederick</td>
<td>Nepean</td>
<td>34. 6. 9 goods</td>
<td>34. 6. 9 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Purcell</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>35.14. - goods</td>
<td>38.17.10 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Lisson</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>94.17. 3 deed &amp; 2P.N. account</td>
<td>120.17.11 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Hibbard</td>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td>11. 4. 6 goods</td>
<td>11. 4. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robt. Watson</td>
<td>Flagstaff</td>
<td>55. -. 6 goods</td>
<td>55. -. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex Mason</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>356. 5. - goods</td>
<td>347.10. 3 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas. Mileham</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>143.16. -</td>
<td>143.16. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chas. McIntosh</td>
<td>73rd Regt.</td>
<td>286. 7. - goods</td>
<td>dismissed on appeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. &amp; W. Jenkins</td>
<td></td>
<td>136.17. -</td>
<td>postponed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Palmer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1355. 9.10 debts col. 1806</td>
<td>1355. 9.10 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Gore</td>
<td></td>
<td>828.12. 2</td>
<td>dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Benn</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>160. 5. 6 goods</td>
<td>46.19.11 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*S.C.P., Court of Civil Jurisdiction. Vol.11.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campbell &amp; Co. Against</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Amount Sued for</th>
<th>Amount Awarded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matt. Lock</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>£11.11. 3 balance P.N. 1804</td>
<td>dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Anson</td>
<td>Baulkham Hills</td>
<td>147.15. 5</td>
<td>147.15. 5 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And. McDougal</td>
<td>Baulkham Hills</td>
<td>119.16.11</td>
<td>119.16.11 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Bain</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>9.12. - Seal skins</td>
<td>dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rob. Fitz</td>
<td>Race Grounds Hawkesbury</td>
<td>47. 8. 4 Ct. judgt. 26 Oct. 1812 part paid</td>
<td>25. 8. 4 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Lamb</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>42.11.10 Ct. judgt. 15 Aug. 1812</td>
<td>42.11.10 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Singleton</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>505. 1. 7 Ct. judgt. 13 Jan. 1812</td>
<td>508.10. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benj. Crew</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>74.14. 5 P.N. 1805</td>
<td>nonsuited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Prossor</td>
<td>Hawkesbury</td>
<td>98. -- - goods</td>
<td>93. 1. 6 &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Gore</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>950 Bond &amp; int. for 1811</td>
<td>764.17. - &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*S.C.P., Court of Civil Jurisdiction. Vol.12.*
APPENDIX F

NEW SOUTH WALES SAVINGS BANK

DEPOSITS 1819-31 (£)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amounts lodged</th>
<th>Withdrawals</th>
<th>Interest Paid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free</td>
<td>Convict</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>2,198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>1,701</td>
<td>1,337</td>
<td>3,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>2,321</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>4,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>2,099</td>
<td>1,706</td>
<td>3,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>1,482</td>
<td>1,437</td>
<td>2,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>1,802</td>
<td>1,292</td>
<td>3,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>2,378</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>2,999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Deposit interest, on amounts left for full year, 7½ per cent; all funds invested in mortgages at 10 per cent, at discretion of Robert Campbell, to whom profits accrued.

## APPENDIX G

**SHIPS MANAGED OR OWNED BY CAMPBELL & CO. ENTERING AND LEAVING PORT JACKSON, 1798-1810**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Entry and Clearance</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hunter (300 tons)</td>
<td>1798 10 June</td>
<td>from Calcutta to Calcutta via New Zealand</td>
<td>Left, April. Arrived February 1799.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1800 14 February</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>Left 16 November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 April</td>
<td>to Norfolk Island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 June</td>
<td>from Norfolk Island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 June</td>
<td>to Calcutta</td>
<td>Arrived 20 November.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimmer</td>
<td>18 December</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1801 10 March</td>
<td>to Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter</td>
<td>31 August</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>Cargo general merchandise. Arrived 10 June (At the end of 1802 the Hunter made a voyage to Penang, Malacca and Manilla).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 November</td>
<td>to Calcutta via Madras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle of Good Hope</td>
<td>1803 12 February</td>
<td>from Calcutta via Bass Straits</td>
<td>Left 1 December with cargo cows, spirits, general merchandise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1,000 tons)</td>
<td>21 March</td>
<td>to Calcutta via Pegu</td>
<td>Arrived with teak in November.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mersey</td>
<td>1804 10 April</td>
<td>from Bengal to Bengal</td>
<td>General cargo. 66 spars, 74 logs of she oak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 May</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair American</td>
<td>26 May</td>
<td>from Manila</td>
<td>Cows and spirits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(300 tons)</td>
<td>12 November</td>
<td>to China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Entry and Clearance</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Barlow</td>
<td>17 June</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>Cows and general cargo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(900 tons)</td>
<td>27 July</td>
<td>to Derwent</td>
<td>Cattle and government stores.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 September</td>
<td>from Derwent</td>
<td>Ballast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1805 2 January</td>
<td>to England</td>
<td>Seal oil and skins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophia (250 tons)</td>
<td>16 January</td>
<td>to Hobart, thence to King's Island</td>
<td>The Sophia (ex-Swift) came to Sydney 17 November 1804 as a prize. She was bought at auction by Campbell for £3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 April</td>
<td>from King Island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 July</td>
<td>to Bass Straits (ballast)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29 October</td>
<td>from Derwent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle (130 tons)</td>
<td>5 April</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>100 leagues arrack.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 June</td>
<td>to Calcutta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney (900 tons)</td>
<td>22 April</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>Cattle and general cargo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 October</td>
<td>to Norfolk Island and Derwent</td>
<td>Cattle and stores.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus (45 tons)</td>
<td>8 May</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>General cargo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29 July</td>
<td>to Bass Straits</td>
<td>Ballast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1806 24 January</td>
<td>from Penantipodes</td>
<td>5,000 seal skins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19 March</td>
<td>from Bass Straits</td>
<td>Salvages the 'George' at Twofold Bay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 March</td>
<td>to southwards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28 March</td>
<td>from Twofold Bay</td>
<td>Provisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 April</td>
<td>to Port Dalrymple</td>
<td>Seized by crew on 17 June, taken to New Zealand and burnt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Entry and Clearance</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sophia</strong></td>
<td>23 January</td>
<td>to Derwent and Straits Fishery</td>
<td>Ballast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>15 February</td>
<td>from Derwent</td>
<td>Ballast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>21 February</td>
<td>to Bass Straits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>18 March</td>
<td>from Southwards</td>
<td>64 tons sea-elephant oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2 September</td>
<td>to Port Dalrymple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>5 October</td>
<td>to England, via Straits Fishery</td>
<td>Ballast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sydney</strong></td>
<td>23 January</td>
<td>from Port Dalrymple</td>
<td>Ballast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>14 April</td>
<td>to Calcutta</td>
<td>Lost 20 May 1806, on coast of New Guinea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elizabeth</strong></td>
<td>6 August</td>
<td>from England</td>
<td>(Owners Campbell &amp; Wilson) Cargo consigned to Campbell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(238 tons)</td>
<td>11 October</td>
<td>to Fishery off New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Albion</strong></td>
<td>20 August</td>
<td>from England</td>
<td>(Owners Wilson, Campbell &amp; Page)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(362 tons)</td>
<td>12 October</td>
<td>to Fishery off New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alexander</strong></td>
<td>1806 21 August</td>
<td>from England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(278 tons)</td>
<td>? November</td>
<td>to England</td>
<td>Oil and fur skins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perseverance</strong></td>
<td>1807 9 February</td>
<td>to Canton via Norfolk Island</td>
<td>Ballast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(136 tons)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Duchess of York</strong></td>
<td>6 April</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>(Owners Campbell &amp; Hook).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(192 tons)</td>
<td>6 May</td>
<td>to Fiji</td>
<td>65 tons sandalwood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>26 October</td>
<td>from Fiji</td>
<td>Arrived Canton 31 March 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>24 November</td>
<td>to Canton via Fiji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Entry and Clearance</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>8 April</td>
<td>from Fishery</td>
<td>30 tons sperm oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 April</td>
<td>to Fishery via Derwent</td>
<td>3,160 tons pork.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 September</td>
<td>from Fishery</td>
<td>60 tons sperm oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 November</td>
<td>to Fiji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albion</td>
<td>14 May</td>
<td>from Fishery off New Zealand</td>
<td>75 tons sperm oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 May</td>
<td>to Port Dalrymple and Fishery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 September</td>
<td>from Fishery</td>
<td>150 tons sperm oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 October</td>
<td>to Fishery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>1808 21 March</td>
<td>from Cape of Good Hope</td>
<td>(Owners Cockerill).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 September</td>
<td>to Southern Isles (sealing)</td>
<td>During July, fired, sunk and refloated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>15 April</td>
<td>from England</td>
<td>(Owners Campbell, Wilson &amp; Brooks).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 September</td>
<td>to England</td>
<td>Oil and skins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseverance</td>
<td>5 May 8 August</td>
<td>from Canton via Derwent (sealing)</td>
<td>General merchandise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>25 June</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>60 tons sandalwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 August</td>
<td>to Calcutta</td>
<td>30 tons coal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albion</td>
<td>11 July</td>
<td>from Fishery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 August</td>
<td>to Fishery</td>
<td>Oil and skins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 September</td>
<td>from Fishery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 November</td>
<td>to England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>14 August</td>
<td>from Fishery</td>
<td>100 tons sperm oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 November</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Entry and Clearance</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseverance</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 February</td>
<td>from Fiji</td>
<td>Sandalwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 March</td>
<td>to Fiji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 September</td>
<td>from Fiji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>? October</td>
<td>to Fishery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>15 March</td>
<td>from Fishery</td>
<td>13-14,000 skins and 190 whales' teeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 May</td>
<td>to Fishery (sealing)</td>
<td>Wrecked 26 September 1810 at Amsterdam Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter</td>
<td>16 April</td>
<td>from Calcutta via Derwent</td>
<td>252 cattle, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 May</td>
<td>to Calcutta via Derwent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Barlow</td>
<td>22 August</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>186 cattle for Derwent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 October</td>
<td>to China via Norfolk Island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseverance</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>to New Zealand Fishery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring Grove</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>from Fishery</td>
<td>53 tons sperm oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 October</td>
<td>to England via Fishery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter</td>
<td>20 August</td>
<td>from Calcutta</td>
<td>(Owners Wilson and others). Captured by French privateer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 November</td>
<td>to China via Fiji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick</td>
<td>20 October</td>
<td>from England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 November</td>
<td>to England via Fishery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealander</td>
<td>2 June</td>
<td>from England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 October</td>
<td>to New Zealand Fishery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. MANUSCRIPTS

AUSTRALIA

**Mitchell Library** (Sydney)

ARNOLD, Dr J. MSS Letters 1810.
BANKS (Sir Joseph) PAPERS: Brabourne Collection.
BIGGE APPENDIX.
BONWICK TRANSCRIPTS.
BROUGHTON (William) PAPERS.
CAMPBELL (Robert) PAPERS.
FOVEAUX Lieutenant-Governor - Letter Book (Correspondence between Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux and Governor Bligh; and from Foveaux to the Secretary of State) 1808-9.
HASSALL (Rowland) PAPERS.
HASSALL, Rev. Thomas - Account Book.
KING (P.G.) PAPERS.
MARSDEN (Rev. S.) PAPERS.
MACARTHUR PAPERS (Unrestricted access collection).
MACQUARIE PAPERS.
N.S.W. COLONIAL SECRETARY'S PAPERS.
N.S.W. GOVERNORS' DESPATCHES.
N.S.W. - PAPERS, 1812-63.
OXLEY PAPERS.
PATERSON, Lieutenant-Governor - Letter Book 1809.
RILEY PAPERS.
SUPREME COURT PAPERS:
   Court of Civil Jurisdiction
   Criminal Court
   Court of Appeals Papers
   Miscellaneous Bundles
   Registers of Assignments.
WENTWORTH PAPERS.

**N.S.W. Lands Office** (Sydney)

LAND GRANT REGISTERS.

Mrs C.E.T. Newman (Sydney)

ROBERT CAMPBELL'S DAY BOOK 1826-28 (Microfilm in Mitchell Library).

HOOK LETTER BOOK (Copies of Charles Hook's Letters - 14 May 1810-14 March 1815).
GREAT BRITAIN

Public Record Office (London)

COLONIAL OFFICE SERIES, CO.201 (Microfilm in Mitchell Library, Sydney and National Library, Canberra).

BOARD OF TRADE PAPERS, 6/88 (Microfilm in Mitchell Library, Sydney and National Library, Canberra).

Commonwealth Relations Office Library (London)

EAST INDIA COMPANY PAPERS:
Committees Reports and Minutes
Court Minutes
Correspondence Memoranda
Correspondence Reports
Home Miscellaneous Series.

Register House (Edinburgh)

LAND REGISTERS: ARGYLL SASINES.
ESTATE INVENTORIES.

St. Andrew's University Library

Letters of Alexander Berry to Dr George Walker - 31 July 1867-28 August 1868.

New Parish Kirk (Greenock)

BURIAL LIST

U.S.A.

California State Library

BANKS PAPERS: Sutro Collection (Microfilm in Mitchell Library).

II. UNPUBLISHED THESES


III. NEWSPAPERS

AUSTRALIAN.
CALCUTTA CHRONICLE.
CALCUTTA GAZETTE.
CALCUTTA MORNING POST.
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE (CALCUTTA).
SYDNEY GAZETTE.
IV. DIRECTORIES

The Bengal Directory and Almanack 1797 and 1798.
The Bengal Kalendar and Almanack 1800.
The Bengal Kalendar and Register 1801.
A Directory for 1807. Part II (Bengal).
Calcutta Annual Directory and Almanack 1810.
The Calcutta Almanack for 1811.
The Calcutta Annual Register and Directory 1813, 1814, 1817, 1821, 1822.
Calcutta Annual Directory and Bengal Register 1819 (Twentieth Edition).
New Annual Bengal Directory and Calcutta Kalendar 1823.
N.S.W. Pocket Almanack and Colonial Remembrancer.

V. PRINTED DOCUMENTS


EAST INDIA TRADE PAPERS. Papers respecting the Trade between India and Europe: printed by order of the Court of Directors for the information of the proprietors. London, April 1802.


HISTORICAL RECORDS OF NEW SOUTH WALES - 6 vols.

PROCEEDINGS OF A GENERAL COURT-MARTIAL ... for the Trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Geo. Johnston ... on a Charge of Mutiny ..., London, 1811.

REPORT FROM THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers; Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons 10 July 1812.
ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH COLONY at Botany Bay and other settlements in N.S.W. (by an officer just returned), London, 1808.


BARING, ALEXANDER, ESQ., M.P., An Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council and an Examination of the conduct of Great Britain towards the neutral commerce of America, London, 1808.

BARNARD, M., Macquarie's World, Sydney, 1946.


BASSETT, Marnie, The Governor's Lady, Melbourne, 1940.


COLNETT, CAPTAIN, *Voyage round the world in His Majesty's Ship Glatton*, 1802.


DELANO, Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, Boston, 1817.


DIXON, JAMES, Narrative of a Voyage to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land in the Ship Skelton, during the year 1820, Edinburgh and London, 1822.

DUTT, R.C., The Economic History of British India (1757-1836), London, 1902.


EVATT, H.V., Rum Rebellion, Sydney, 1955.


GALE, JOHN, Canberra, History and Legends relating to the Federal Capital Territory, Sydney, 1927.


GLASGUENSIS, Banking in Glasgow in Olden Time, Glasgow, 1862.


GREENWOOD, G., Early American-Australian Relations, Melbourne, 1944.

GULL, E.M., British Economic Interests in the Far East, Oxford, 1943.


JENKS, L.H., The Migration of British Capital to 1875, New York, 1927.

KERR, A.W., History of Banking in Scotland, Glasgow, 1884.


LATOURETTE, K.S., 'Early Relations between the United States and China (1784-1844)', Transactions of the Connecticut Academy, vol.XXII.


LEVI, W., American Australian Relations, University of Minnesota Press, 1947.

LHOTSKY, JOHN, Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps, Sydney, 1835.


McMAHON, JOHN (compiled by), Fragments of the Early History of Australia, Melbourne, 1913.


MASON, JOHN, 'Conditions in the Highlands after the Forty-Five', Scottish Historical Review, vol.XXVI, no.102, October 1947.


O'HARA, JAMES, The History of N.S.W., London, 1817.


ROBINSON, F.W., Canberra's First Hundred Years, Sydney, 1927.


SETON-KARR, W.S., Selections from Calcutta Gazettes of the years 1798-1805 showing the political and social condition of the English in India, vol.III, Calcutta, 1868.

SINCLAIR, SIR JOHN, BART., The Statistical account of Scotland; drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes, Edinburgh, 1791-99, 21 vols.

SLATER, JOHN, A description of Sydney, Parramatta, Newcastle, etc. Settlements in N.S.W., i.e. some account of the manners and employment of the Convicts, in a letter from John Slater, to his wife in Nottingham, London, 1819.

SMITH, BERNARD, Place, Taste and Tradition - A Study of Australian Art since 1788, Sydney, 1945.


TENCH, W., A Narrative of an Expedition to Botany Bay, London, 1789.


WALLIS, JAMES, An Historical Account of the Colony of N.S.W. and its Dependent Settlements, in illustration of 12 views engraved by W. Preston, ..., London, 1821.

WARD, J.M., British Policy in the South Pacific, Sydney 1948.

WATSON, FREDERICK, A Brief History of Canberra, Canberra, 1927.


WENTWORTH, W.C., A Statistical, Historical and Political Description of the Colony of N.S.W. and its dependent settlements in Van Diemen's Land, London, 1819.

WILLIAMSON, GEORGE, Old Greenock (from the Earliest Times to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century), Paisley and London, 1886.


WRIGHT, W. DAVIS, Canberra, Sydney, 1923.