WARRAH:

THE GENESIS OF A PASTORAL PROPERTY.


J.R. Robertson.
The research for and writing of the following thesis were the work of the undersigned. Four men who acted as supervisors had much to do with advising methods of approach and suggesting matters which should be investigated. These four men, Dr. J.A. Barnard, Dr. G.C. Bolton, Mr. N.G. Butlin, and Professor Sir Keith Hancock, also offered criticisms of draft submissions, and drew attention to the more barbarous stylistic faults of the incipient thesis.

18 November 1960.
"It is a property which a careless sheep farmer will certainly get into difficulty with at the first pinch of severe drought, but in most respects it is the safest, the most profitable, and the most delightful sheep run to superintend in the whole colony".

Court to Merewether, 26 Feb. 1862, EMD27, p. 13.
The map on the opposite page is reproduced from the frontispiece of S.H. Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1935). The location of the three Australian Agricultural Company blocks is clearly shown.
The map on the opposite page is reproduced from a map prepared by the Australian Agricultural Company and housed with the Australian National University's collection of the Company's papers. It is much reduced in size, and dates from a later period, but nevertheless gives some impression of Warrah's layout.
NOTE ON FOOTNOTE REFERENCES.

In the case of most footnote references to documents in the Australian Agricultural Company papers both the nature of the document and its catalogue number in the Australian National University collection are given. All the loose documents consulted - letters, miscellaneous papers, and so forth - have been catalogued, and a complete list of them is housed at the Australian National University. The bibliography summarises the contents of this collection and explains the serial numbering which identifies the particular document. Recently, the monthly reports from Craik, most of which were included with his normal correspondence to Merewether, have been removed, and a separate series established. Besides the creation of a new series, this adjustment has also involved a re-numbering of the Craik correspondence. All footnote references are to the old numbering. A copy of both new and old catalogues is kept at the Australian National University for purposes of cross-checking.

The despatches of the General Superintendent to the Court from 1856 onwards are contained in a series of bound volumes, each one lettered on the spine. In the
footnotes, reference is made to the date of the despatch, the letter of the volume, and the page number of the volume. Copies of the General Superintendent's outward letters to correspondents within the colony — and most of the letters relevant to the present context were those to the manager on Warrah — are available in a series of press copy books. These books are not numbered, but on the spine of each there are stencilled the dates covered by the letters contained within. It is an easy matter to find the volume covering a particular date, so that the method of giving footnote references to letters contained within these volumes is simply to indicate the date, and the page number of the particular volume.

The only otherwise unexplained abbreviation which occurs in the footnote references is this: Report, means the regular printed report of the Australian Agricultural Company, presented to shareholders at their biennial meetings in London. The method of footnoting is to refer to the month and the year of the Report.
The Australian Agricultural Company, familiar to Australian historians, is more generally associated with a fiasco on its original grant of one million acres on the shores of Port Stephens than with the successful operation of a sheep station on the Liverpool Plains. This thesis is primarily concerned with the establishment of the sheep station, but a preliminary investigation is made of the period preceding the interesting developments on the Liverpool Plains.

The first thirty years of the Australian Agricultural Company's sheep-farming enterprise in Australia ended in a scarcely unqualified failure. This result was due primarily to managerial weaknesses. The direct manifestation of these managerial deficiencies was the choice of an unsuitable grant in the first place, and, in the second place, a strange inability to take advantage of an exchange effected with the Government whereby over half of the poor quality land of the Port Stephens grant was relinquished in return for land in the interior. Although the Warrah estate came into the Company's possession in 1833 it was allowed to lie virtually idle until 1862, and this though sheep were dying in their thousands on land surrounding Port Stephens. Weaknesses in management could imply either incompetent personnel, or the existence of a problem beyond the wit of ordinary man to solve. To some extent, both of these implications apply in this case. While the ability of the men entrusted with the direction of the Australian Agricultural Company's pastoral affairs in the
colonies of New South Wales before 1860 is open to grave questioning, it must be agreed that in many respects the management of virgin estates in a strange environment in a far distant land in a time when communications were poor was no easy task. The disastrous events of the 1850's reinforced a belief that the Australian Agricultural Company's pastoral activities in New South Wales were doomed to inevitable failure. By the mid-fifties there seemed to be every likelihood that these activities would be terminated for good and all.

This did not happen. To be sure, the issue hung in the balance for a long time, but by the late 'fifties there was growing debate on the question of the utilisation of Warrah. In July 1862 the Company decided to concentrate its pastoral activities on the establishment of an up to date sheep breeding station on Warrah. In so far as individual men determine matters at stake the man who decided Warrah's fate was the new Governor of the Company. But he found a congenial climate of opinion in which to propound his view, based on almost twenty years of colonial experience, that an English-owned Company could operate successfully an Australian sheep station if it managed to recruit the services of able, trustworthy, colonially trained men, and if it then decided to allow these men, in large measure to run that property as their colonial experience led them to believe was the most suitable way, free from undue hamstringing interference from England. "Put your faith in colonial tools" was the dogma which captured the imagination of the Australian Agricultural Company's shareholders, and which eventually carried the day. The period of the few years before and after 1860 mark what might be called the "Australianization" of the Australian Agricultural Company.

Subsequent developments on Warrah vindicated the approach of the early 1860's. Men were found with colonial experience who were both highly competent and unimpeachably trustworthy.
The history of Warrah from 1861 to 1875 testifies to the ability of the men entrusted with the guidance of its destinies.

After it had determined that sheep should be bred on Warrah the Company was required to make a series of dependent decisions. Two distinctive traits characterise the attitude of the Company towards its task on Warrah. One was that, subject to relatively minor exceptions which indicate the more general application of the common rule, Warrah was to be equipped with first rate material, both for its plant and buildings, and for its livestock. The second was that the Company was to rely on the experience of others to determine the best procedures to be applied. Warrah was not to be an experimental laboratory for the New South Wales pastoral industry; rather, it was to benefit from the mistakes of others.

In the early 'sixties the broad lines were laid of a policy which guided the subsequent development of Warrah for the following decade and more. Buildings were erected according to a standard of undecorative utilitarianism which was only slightly mellowed with the passage of time. The Company's wool growing policy had about it no high-flown ideas of producing fleeces of superb fineness. Instead, the breeding lines agreed upon were a compromise between the environmental limitations of the Liverpool Plains and the tastes of the English wool buyers. The result was a determination to build up a flock which would produce large quantities of sound quality wool which would command a respectable price in London. A reliance solely upon Merino blood, established at the commencement of operations, was never departed from, although once or twice such a departure was the subject of cursory consideration. Similarly, a dependence upon breeding sheep from a particular area - Mudgee - was maintained throughout the 1860's and 1870's with but infrequent divergencies.
In one particular, however, the Company failed to implement its intentions of the early 1860's. There was some discussion at this time as to whether Warrah should be operated solely as a sheep breeding station, or, alternatively, largely as a fattening station. The decision made in 1862 was that Warrah should be primarily the former and that the purchase of store stock and their re-sale as fats should be a steadily diminishing activity. It was intended that store stock purchases should be indulged in only to the extent required by the inability of the Warrah-bred sheep to take full advantage of Warrah's pastures. At no time in this period were sheep bred on Warrah in such numbers as to occupy the whole of the estate. The wool growing - fattening dichotomy was also affected by the Company's retention of its herds on the remnants of its Port Stephens estate, the cattle bred on the coast being transferred to Warrah for fattening before sale. Instead of being a sheep-breeding station directed to wool growing purposes, Warrah was more closely akin to a dual purpose station, with the proceeds from the sale of livestock accounting for almost half of its income.

Between 1861 and 1875 £31,585 was spent on providing Warrah with certain physical assets. This expenditure fell into four major categories: wire fencing, buildings and stock yards, the washpool and the water supply, roughly in the ratio of 8: 4: 2\frac{1}{3}: 1\frac{1}{2}. Almost two-thirds of the total was provided by capital funds, the remainder being appropriated from current earnings on Warrah. After the initial building activities of the early 1860's, when little more was provided than the bare necessities - shearing shed and stores, dwellings for employees, out stations for sheep, and a few stock yards - there was a lull of two or three years during which time little was spent on the equipment of Warrah. By 1868 work was getting under way on two major projects in which the Company was to sink large sums of
money - wire fencing and the washpool. Between 1868 and 1875 inclusive, annual expenditure on the provision of material assets for Warrah only once fell below £2,700.

The result of this expenditure was the transformation of the outward appearance of the property. An estate which in 1861 showed few signs of human habitation other than a score or so of out stations, two or three unprepossessing dwellings, an occasional dilapidated building and a sprinkling of wells, by 1875 demonstrated its identity in a most impressive manner by the eight miles of wire fencing within which it was enclosed. Inside that fencing it would have been difficult to take up a stance in any position from which some mark of human industry was not visible. The estate was criss-crossed by miles of internal wire fencing, sub-dividing Warrah into thirtynine paddocks. Out stations were no longer so much in evidence, but in their stead were the boundary riders' huts, more suggestive of humanity than their primitive precursors. Wells, dams and excavated water holes were now more abundant, an increase in their numbers being demanded by the institution of fencing as much as by an increase in the number of stock grazing on Warrah.

If the outer expanses of Warrah in 1875 boasted evidence of human activity conspicuously lacking in 1861, the administrative heart of the estate displayed traces of a civilizing influence quite absent at the earlier date. Elegance was yet to come, but respectability was beginning to imprint its brand. Lawns and gardens surrounded a house which, if inelegant, was certainly a far cry from the ramshackle building of 1861. A similar transformation had taken place in the settlement of which the Superintendent's house was the centre. Weatherboard cottages, stores and huts, each with a coat or two of paint, provided a hint of a more settled existence than it was in the power of the rough, unpainted slab huts to convey. An air of permanence was displayed asconvincingly by the washpool plant
as by any other building. This plant was a striking construction, with its steam engine, its up to date pump, its soak tanks, cisterns and spouts, all enclosed in brick, and its attendant yards and huts. Yet, strangely enough, this impression was quite illusory. With changes in buyers' preferences the need for washing wool disappeared, and with it the raison d'être of the washpool plant.

The Company's concern when planning these developments was the provision of workable tools for the management of its flocks and herds. This planning suffered several setbacks. The washpool plant, when first put to use, seemed a most unsatisfactory tool. Fortunately, however, a period of trial and error produced the experience which enabled a great success to be made of a procedure which, in its initial stages, was a most disastrous failure. The reverse was the case with another tool - the earthen retaining walls thrown across creek beds for the storage of water. In the early 1860's a great deal of reliance was placed upon this type of dam as a means to overcome the problem posed by Warrah's lack of a permanent surface water supply. The initial reaction after their construction was that they were well suited to cope with the situation. However, the later experience of a long dry summer showed that in no wise could reliance be placed upon these shallow narrow reservoirs. In its later planning the Company gave up all idea of extending the application of this method of solving its water supply problem and diverted its activities to well sinking and the excavation of dams, or waterholes. The result of the Company's expenditure on the equipment of Warrah was not the emergence of an estate insulated from the vagaries of the climate and the fluctuations of the fat stock market, but, rather, the coming to fruition of a property which was able to take advantage of favourable
external circumstances in no uncertain manner.

The Company's commercial transactions were conducted on a large scale. Store sheep purchases rarely dropped below twelve thousand in any one year, and on occasions exceeded thirty thousand. Sheep sales were correspondingly large, while the sale of cattle bred on Port Stephens and fattened on Warrah, together with the sale of bulls reared in the pure-bred Durham herd at the Bowman, grossed the Company an additional few thousand pounds each year, occasionally exceeding the £10,000 mark. In addition, a wool clip weighing up to three hundred thousand pounds of washed wool brought large sums into the Company's coffers. Gross returns over these years considerably exceeded disbursements. The pastoral undertaking on Warrah between 1861 and 1875 was an extremely profitable proposition.

The Superintendent's policy making role on Warrah was restricted to little more than matters of mere station routine. Despite his limited importance the station manager's attitudes towards his work and the pastoral life around him are of the greatest interest. This interest rests upon the personality of the man who filled this post from 1861 to 1875, upon the vigour of his literary style and upon the extent to which he injected feeling into his routine reports of activities upon the station. It is pleasant to reflect upon the story of the development of Warrah during these years as being associated with the personal achievement of the manager. The inevitable vicissitudes attending a lengthy association with a bold developmental plan, the normal changes of mood, the personal antipathies and the friendships, the necessary contradictions and doubts as a man looks at himself and then at his surroundings, together with a fair sprinkling of dogmatic utterances, all appear in the picture of himself left by Warrah's manager.
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LOCATION MAP OF WARRAH
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PRECIS OF THESIS
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Small sections of late eighteenth century English opinion were conscious of the existence of an offspring penal settlement misplaced in the popular imagination on the shores of Botany Bay. During the course of the nineteenth century limited consciousness was replaced by a more general interest in Antipodean colonies which were demonstrating their suitability as fields for the investment of capital funds. The existence of this interest; the manner in which small investments increased the awareness of Australia's latent resources, which increased awareness in turn attracted greater investments; and the role played by English capital in the economic development of Australia, are subjects which have received the attention of historians.

It is possible, however, that concentration of attention on the quantities of English money invested in Australian enterprise has tended to divert interest from the quite significant problem of the manner in which the investors attempted to retain some over-riding control of the use to which their money was put. Few would argue that the Australian
colonies of the nineteenth century were not a "safe" field for investment, in a sense made apparent when the unstable political entities on the opposite shores of the Pacific Ocean are presented for purposes of contrast. But reflection suggests that a certain element of danger, arising not from the possibility of confiscation in the name of politics, but from managerial difficulties, attended the investment of English money in Australian colonies.

English financiers confronted with the need to exercise some degree of effective control over the use to which their investments were put in the Australian colonies had two possible courses of action open to them. One revolved around the nature and extent of the control exercised by the investors, domiciled in England, over the men they employed to supervise the operations in the colony of each particular enterprise; the other was concerned with the criteria employed by these English investors in choosing their colonial managers.

In their attempts to cope with the first of these problems the investors were largely in the hands of the inventors. And during the nineteenth century the latter were most generous in the manner in which they came to the aid of the former. But while the importance of the technical aids to communication can scarcely be over-stressed there remained a province within which the investor was free to do himself ill or well according to the degree of flexibility which characterised the supervision he exercised over the colonial subordinates entrusted with the use of his money. The manner in which this difficulty was approached probably varied from financier to financier; and it might be expected that the joint-stock company would have been guided by a policy in many ways different from that favoured by individual investors.

The mode of dealing with the second of these problems was affected by the success attending the efforts to solve
the first of them. Or perhaps it might be more accurate to
state the situation in reverse, and to argue that the question
of ensuring adequate control from England only arose when
deficiencies emerged in the colonial management of an
enterprise. The question of which was cause and which effect
may be ignored; what is significant is that it is likely
that the degree of success attained by each individual
enterprise in the direction of recruiting a reliable colonial
staff affected the approval with which more stringent control
from England was viewed as a solution to managerial difficulties.
If this were so it might be argued that the respective importance
attached by an enterprise to each of the two possibilities in
itself provides some indication of its success in achieving
satisfactory management. When a business was so plagued by
defalcating employees in the colony that it felt that the
safeguarding of its interests required that the expenditure
of small amounts of money could not be confirmed without
sanction from England, it might be said that there were deficien­
cies in management; when the English investors were so
satisfied with their colonial employees that they felt no
qualms about leaving to the latter decisions involving the
expenditure of thousands of pounds, it might be said that a
satisfactory solution to the managerial problem had been
found. This relationship bears on an interesting subject
which might prove as fruitful a field for investigation as
the importation of capital to Australia: the importation
of technical and managerial skills. One method of remedying
a difficult situation which could be traced to short-comings
in the colonially recruited staff was to send out from England
qualified men who, to some extent, had the accolade of the
approval of the English investors. This problem not only
interests the student of business administration; it is also
of interest to the student of Australian nationalism: to what extent was the economic destiny of Australia guided by English-born immigrants in a manner comparable to the way in which the political destiny of these colonies was so directed?

The methods adopted to cope with the general problems being discussed probably varied from company to company, from individual to individual, and between individual and company. The example of the Australian Agricultural Company with which this thesis is concerned serves to illustrate the way in which the relationships outlined above affected an English-financed enterprise of this type; but the various incidents which affected the Company's attitude towards both the problem and the relationships which existed within that problem were peculiar to the story of the Australian Agricultural Company. To this extent, therefore, the concern of the present thesis is with a particular Company whose problems were not those of other English-financed joint-stock companies operating in the Australian colonies.

From the present viewpoint the Australian Agricultural Company's story may be summed up briefly. Serious managerial weaknesses drastically affected the performance of the Company during its infant years. These deficiencies were largely the responsibility of colonial advisers and officials. The English representatives of the Company interpreted the history of these early years to mean that at all costs the emphasis of control must be kept securely fixed on England, and that gentlemen born and bred in England must be appointed to the post of senior Company executive in the colony in order to keep an eye on rascally colonial subordinates. Unfortunately, this practice was not wholly successful either, and the Company's affairs did not prosper. Partly this stemmed from the English-born gentlemen's ignorance of...
the rudiments of the business activities of the Company; but the horns of the dilemma made its existence felt most tellingly when the Company suffered at the hands of a defalcating English-born appointee to the post of senior executive. For this, and no doubt for other reasons, the English investors in the Company began to re-consider the management problem. In this regard, the subsequent story of the Company is summed up in the vindication provided by the events of the perceptive prophecy of a Governor of the Company in 1857: "You may rely on it that the only tools you can successfully work with are Colonial tools".

So far, our concern has been with the general problem of the managerial difficulties which accompanied investment of English capital in the Australian colonies, with the Australian Agricultural Company recently having been introduced as, to some extent, an example of this general problem. Our viewpoint now alters, for this thesis is primarily concerned with the history of a particular pastoral property in New South Wales. And the problem of the English management and ownership of this property is discussed chiefly with regard to the effect of the former on the story of the pastoral property. From this viewpoint, the lesson derived from this study can be summarised crudely. A considerable degree of success attended the Australian Agricultural Company's pastoral operations once the Company forgot that it was primarily an English Company and once it began to think of itself primarily as a Company which had taken upon itself the task of running an Australian sheep station.

For the greater part of the nineteenth century the Australian Agricultural Company owned an area of almost one-quarter of a million acres on the Liverpool Plains of New South Wales. This property, Warrah, formed part of the land granted
by the Crown to the Company. The estate's southerly boundary ran along the northern foothills of the Liverpool Ranges; its pastures extended northwards into rich plains country. The rectangular block measured thirty miles in a WNW-ESE direction and thirteen miles in a NNE-SSW direction, an area of 249,600 acres. Warrah was distant about one hundred and thirty miles in a north-westerly direction from the port of Newcastle; and about two hundred and thirty-five miles from the city of Sydney.

Rich, black friable soil lay feet deep on the plains. Liverpool Plains grass would grow to seven feet high, but it would provide better natural grazing if it was kept well down. On the slopes grew corkscrew grass which has proved probably the best standby of all native pastures during dry periods. Rainfall was high, varying from twentyfive inches per annum on the plains to thirty inches in the mountain country.

In the period with which we are concerned, Warrah's importance stemmed mainly from the fact that it was a sheep station, fattening both sheep bred on the property and purchased store stock for sale to the butchers, and producing a sizeable wool clip. A minor grazing activity on Warrah was a legacy of earlier and less happy days in the Company's history. Across the rugged divide, twentyfive miles north-east of Newcastle, was the expansive inlet of Port Stephens, one hundred and ten miles, in a south-easterly direction, from Warrah. It was here, in 1826, that the accredited agents of the Australian Agricultural Company selected the million acres of land promised by the British Government. Stretching

1. I am indebted to Mr. G.L. Copeland, the present manager of Warrah, for information on Warrah's natural features.
northwards from the shores of Port Stephens a distance of forty miles, this area of rugged foothills, swamps, and poor sandy soil was soon recognised for the unfortunate choice it was. The appearance of a block of land on the Liverpool Plains among the Company's possessions was the result of the admission on the part of the British authorities, most reluctantly subscribed to by the colonial authorities, that the coastal property was not suitable for grazing purposes. But there remained 464,000 acres of the original Port Stephens grant still in the keeping of the Company. During the 1860's and early 1870's this land was devoted almost entirely to the grazing of cattle. There, on the Bowman River, the Company ran a small pure bred herd of Durham cattle; and, on the Gloucester River, a larger breeding herd of Durham cattle. On only one or two occasions were any but quite insignificant numbers of cattle sold directly off the Port Stephens estate, either as breeders or as butchers' stock. The offspring of the Bowman herd were put to use in the Gloucester herd, and those of the cattle bred on the latter run which were not required by the Company for its own breeding purposes were removed to the lush Warrah pastures in order to be fattened for sale to butchers and stock dealers.

An understanding of the position of Warrah within the economy of the Australian Agricultural Company depends upon an explanation, firstly, of the importance of grazing in the Company's business activities, and, secondly, of the role of Warrah in the Company's pastoral undertakings.

The Australian Agricultural Company considered its trading activities as being divided between three separate departments. These were the colliery department, the stock department, and the land department. The book-keeping conventions of the Company were such as to prohibit the obtaining of an exact degree of accuracy as to the financial
results of the operations of the stock department. This was so partly because certain general administrative expenditure was charged to the Company generally and not apportioned between the various departments, and partly because transactions involving the sale or lease of sections of land on the various pastoral properties were dealt with by the Company under the land department.

Nevertheless, a fairly accurate impression of the importance of the stock department to the Company can be obtained from a comparison of the surpluses of the three departments. Over the period 1861-1875 the colliery department returned a total surplus of receipts over expenditure on revenue account of £249,408; the stock department a surplus of £243,954; and the land department of £67,426. Thus, slightly less than 44% of the Company's profits over this period was derived from the possession of its pastoral properties. Over a longer period - from 1861 to 1908, for example - the Company reaped some advantage from its interest in different activities. This advantage stemmed from the fact that fluctuations from year to year in the respective fortunes of the different departments often tended to cancel out each other, thus leaving the Company generally with a comparatively stable income. For the period 1861-1875 this feature of the Company's economy is less significant. However, even within this short span, the respective contributions to the Company's coffers of the colliery and the stock departments fluctuated considerably. For instance, during the early 1860's, from 1861 to 1865, when the revitalised stock department was being launched, the total surplus of the colliery department was £40,280 as against the £25,675 of the stock department. Over the period 1866-1873

2. See Appendix 3. Since these figures make no allowance for those general administrative expenses of the Company which were not charged to one or other of the three departments, the total of the surpluses of the three departments exceeds the Company's overall trading profit.
when prices for wool and fat livestock were comparatively high, and the Company was experiencing difficulty in achieving a smooth operation of its coal mines, the colliery department's surplus totalled £114,839, while that of the stock department reached £141,393. Over the last two years of the period with which we are concerned the position was reversed, the colliery surplus of £94,294 for the two years 1874 and 1875 substantially exceeding the stock department surplus of £74,886.

The position of Warrah within the stock department is even less capable of exact statistical analysis. This is so largely because of the transference of cattle to Warrah from the other grazing area of Port Stephens. The Company made no valuation of the store stock thus transferred, nor was there any book-keeping recognition, in the receipts and expenditure accounts, of the fact that breeding stock occasionally was moved from one property to another. However, to all intents and purposes, over the period 1861-1875 the Australian Agricultural Company's stock department was little else than Warrah. For that reason, the designations "stock department" and "Warrah" sometimes are employed as if they were interchangeable terms. It should be clear from the context of the discussion when this is so, the situation usually arising when questions involving the Company's accounts are being considered. The term "stock department" is used because the Company's figures are given in respect of the stock department; but generally speaking these figures are used on the understanding that remarks made of the stock department are virtually remarks made of Warrah.

The following chapter describes the difficulties experienced by the Company during its first three decades or so, before
Warrah was utilised to any great extent. Besides throwing light upon the general problems referred to at the commencement of this chapter, this sorry tale of mistakes serves as a useful back-drop, emphasising, by way of contrast, the success of the post-1861 period. The succeeding chapter discussed the decision to restock Warrah and considers some aspects of the managerial relationship which resulted. There then follow four chapters concerned solely with a fifteen years' span in the life of Warrah. The first of these pays some attention to the major developmental works undertaken on the property. The second deals with the policy decided upon by the Company for the management of the station. The third describes the attitude of the manager towards his charge, and gives some account of his day by day activities, thereby offering some glimpse of life on an Australian sheep station in the 1860's and 1870's. A concluding chapter indicates the extent to which the Company derived financial profits from its operations on Warrah.
CHAPTER 2

THE MANAGERIAL PROBLEM

Certain salient features in the history of the Australian Agricultural Company from the time of its formation in 1824 until the time of the great troubles of the mid-1850's are considered in this chapter. The serious managerial weaknesses revealed during these years dominate the discussion. During these thirty years the Company was faced with the problem of combining control of its investments on the one hand, with the desire to benefit from the advice of men experienced in colonial commercial and pastoral affairs, on the other. At the commencement of the Company's operations greater reliance was placed on the second than on the first of these two alternatives. After this policy had led to unhappy results the emphasis was changed completely and the first alternative was favoured. This, too, bred its problems, as the Company found to its cost.

The choice of an unsuitable site marred the initial operations of the Australian Agricultural Company.
Although within a few years over half of the original grant was exchanged for better land in the interior the enforced retention of a large area of the first selection proved a hindrance to the subsequent operations of the Company. The original decision, in fact, proved to be a setback which adversely affected the Company's activities throughout the nineteenth century. A second unforeseen early development had far-reaching effects on the history of the Company. To some extent the original intentions of the promoters of the Company were diverted by the acquisition of the coal fields at Newcastle. The beginning of coal mining added to the complexities of the managerial problem.

Underlying all considerations of the Company's operations during these years is the question of the extent to which it was a record of failure. It will be shown that, although generally speaking the story was a rather inglorious one, the proprietors of the Australian Agricultural Company nevertheless enjoyed some financial consolations.

In April of the year 1824 a number of financiers gathered together in the London rooms of John Macarthur of New South Wales to consider a serious matter. The deliberations of this meeting formed one of a series of events which shortly resulted in the formation of a Company to obtain a grant of land in the colony of New South Wales for the breeding of Merino sheep and for other

1. For an account of the formation of the Australian Agricultural Company see J. Gregson, The Australian Agricultural Company, 1824–1875, (Sydney, 1907), Ch. I.
purposes. Certain proposals were submitted to the British Government. Negotiations reached a conclusion satisfactory to all concerned and in June was passed an Act for granting certain powers and authorities to the company to be incorporated by charter to be called the Australian Agricultural Company for the cultivation and improvement of waste lands in the Colony of New South Wales, and for other purposes relating thereto. Official approval thus having been secured, the Company wasted little time in initiating the necessary arrangements.

A disaster from which the Company took years to recover marked the beginning of the enterprise in New South Wales. Possession was taken of a block of land slightly over one million acres in extent, most of which was quickly demonstrated to be of poor quality. At the time the responsibility for this unfortunate choice was attributed to Robert Dawson, an official of the Company. In the following account there is some consideration of the justice of this accusation.

The supreme authority of the Company in New South Wales was vested in a committee of local flockowners and businessmen. The chief executive officer was given the

2. 5 Geo. IV cap. lxxxvi.
3. See below, p.35 and p.39 for some consideration of the terms of this measure.
4. An account of this disastrous beginning is given in Gregson, op. cit., Ch. II. If not otherwise stated, the information contained in this and the following paragraphs has been obtained from this source or from the Australian Encyclopedia articles referred to below.
5. Smith (Governor of the Company) to Lord Goderich, 16 Nov. 1832, printed in Report, January 1833, p. 5.
6. For some account of the history of this colonial committee see below, pp. 31-2.
Principal Agent. Robert Dawson was the Company's first choice for this post and, as it turned out, his was the only such appointment, for the post was abolished at the termination of his services with the Company. It seems likely, as one authority maintains, that Dawson "knew nothing whatever about conditions in New South Wales," although he does seem to have had some acquaintance with English livestock farming.

Dawson arrived in New South Wales in the middle of November 1825. After consultations with the colonial committee he proceeded to examine the country in the neighbourhood of Port Stephens, about one hundred and twenty miles north of Sydney. Oxley, the late Surveyor General, had mentioned this locality to the Company's representatives as a possible site for their undertaking. Dawson began his inspection at the beginning of January and within a month had returned to Sydney leaving Armstrong, the Company's surveyor, and Dangar, a Government assistant surveyor who was appointed by the colonial Government to aid the Company in the selection of the site, to pursue their investigations further into the interior.

But Dawson had already made up his mind to land the Company's livestock and employees on the shores of Port Stephens. Accordingly, on 23 February, some families, two Durham cattle, and a quantity of stores were put ashore. Thereafter the Company's operations were rapidly extended and it seemed that the matter of the location of the Company's grant had been determined. But this was not the case. The Company had not yet taken formal possession of the land, and when the Government approached it with the request that the transference

7. For some biographical details of Dawson see the article on him in the Australian Encyclopedia (Second edition.)
8. Article on the Australian Agricultural Company in the Australian Encyclopedia (Second edition.)
be finalised. John Macarthur, senior, by this time, July 1828, the principal spokesman for the Company, refused to comply.¹⁰ He did so on the ground that he was not convinced of the worth of the land. He had now discovered that extensive districts, lying chiefly about the centre of the proposed grant, were mountainous and sterile, and that other large tracts near the coast were swampy. While they were fitted for the grazing of cattle they were wholly unsuited for the raising of sheep. In fact, John Macarthur summed up, but a small portion of the land was well adapted for that purpose.¹¹ Governor Darling declined to accept Macarthur's objections, explaining to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the land had long been in the actual possession of the Company. He endeavoured to show that the Company had "received the land in question as fully and completely as if it had been delivered over in the most formal manner".¹² This difference of opinion between Macarthur and Darling was not resolved, for the issue was removed from the colonial sphere. The Company's Directors, acting on Macarthur's recommendation, made a direct approach to the British Government and requested permission to relinquish portion of this grant in exchange for more suitable land. This request was viewed with favour and in July 1829 Darling was unofficially asked to render the Company's servants any assistance they might need in the search for better land.¹³ There later arrived in the colony official instructions to the effect that the

¹¹. Murray to Darling, 21 April 1830, IIRA, I, xv, p. 429.
¹³. Twiss to Darling, 14 July 1829, HRA, I, xv, pp. 76-7.
Company was to be allowed to select from 400,000 to 600,000 acres in one or two locations in lieu of an equivalent area at Port Stephens.\(^{14}\)

Closer attention must be given the circumstances surrounding the original selection. Absence of information regarding the existence of other localities suitable for the grazing of sheep could scarcely be pleaded as an excuse for the decision to settle at Port Stephens. On the contrary, it would seem that the Company's officers possessed information sufficient to make obvious the advisability of conducting an expedition into the interior. Those in charge of the Company's destinies must have been aware of the existence of the following passage among Bigge's writings on the colony:

"In order to obtain good tracts of land in the interior for grazing of sheep and cattle, it will be necessary for such persons to remove to a distance of not less than one hundred and twenty or one hundred and fifty miles from the sea coast."\(^{15}\)

And, in fact, the proposals placed before the British Government in May 1824 specifically asked for permission to select land either between the Blue Mountains and the Hastings River or in "the country recently explored" between Lakes George and Bathurst, or in the interior westward of the Blue Mountains.\(^{16}\) In January 1825 the Company printed in its annual report references to Cunningham's journey from Bathurst to the Liverpool Plains "...mostly through a fine grazing country".\(^{17}\) Moreover, members of the colonial committee had taken the trouble to elicit information from Oxley. In a letter dated 4 November 1824 he told the

15. Cited in Gregson, op. cit., p. xvi; see also Bathurst to Brisbane, 13 July 1824, HRA, I, xi, p. 306.
committee of his journey to Port Macquarie in 1818, when he traversed "the rich and extensive tracts of land, known as the Liverpool Plains", and stated that these pastures seemed "to be admirably adapted for extended sheep, and cattle grazing". This letter was forwarded to the Court of Directors and extracts therefrom appeared in its periodical printed report of July 1825. Such was the wealth of information concerning these areas that one may well wonder why Dawson should have made his decision after a very cursory glance at one locality. One may also wonder why the colonial committee should have neglected to query a choice based upon such a scanty examination of the land available.

Though Dawson may have acted with regrettable haste he could plead extenuating circumstances. He had arrived in charge of two vessels chartered by the Company, carrying employees and their families, livestock, stores and implements. On arrival in the colony the sheep were despatched to a farm called Retreat, thirty miles from Sydney, while the horses and cattle were sent to John Macarthur's property at Parramatta. It seems that certain disadvantages attended this arrangement. Consequently, Dawson felt that it was in the interests of the Company that he should find a permanent site without delay. This awkward situation might not have arisen had the Directors shown a little foresight.

The colonial committee's discovery of the unsuitability of the Port Stephens selection was associated with the dismissal of Dawson. James Macarthur visited the settlement at the end

19. R.M. Dawson, Statement of the Services of Mr. Dawson, as chief agent of the Australian Agricultural Company; with a narrative of the treatment he has experienced from the late committee at Sydney, and the Board of Directors in London, (London, 1829), p. 10.
20. James Macarthur was one of the original members of the committee.
of 1827 and reported most unfavourably on the state of affairs there. The colonial committee despatched a delegation under James Bowman to carry out further investigations. These seemed to show Dawson in an even worse light, and on 18 April 1828 the committee suspended him from the service of the Company. James Macarthur "was rushed off to London to deal with the Court of Directors". He carried with him a voluminous submission which, it was hoped, would contain sufficient justification of the committee's actions. The aggrieved party also removed to England. From September until the middle of January 1829 the Directors were engaged in "laborious and painful investigations" into this affair. Eventually the Court upheld the decision of the colonial committee. Dawson then published a book defending his actions, but the legend of his guilt has survived. John Macarthur went so far as to accuse Dawson of outright dishonesty. The judgement of the historian of the Company is a more considered one for, while blaming Dawson for "the precipitation with which he acted", he remarks on the rashness in the policy of despatching livestock before the grant had been selected, and points out that the supreme authority in the colony was with the men forming the colonial committee of management. The authority lay with them, and they were placed in that position because of their knowledge of local conditions. It was their task to see that Dawson did not make a mistake. One might just as well blame

21. Unless otherwise acknowledged, information in this paragraph has been obtained from Gregson, op. cit., Ch. III.
the committee for failing in the exercise of its supervisory duties as blame Dawson for making a faulty selection. In fact, the Company's decision making machinery broke down at three levels: the Court erred in despatching the equipment before a choice of land had been made; Dawson erred in permitting immediate difficulties to weigh so heavily in his judgements; and it would be scarcely too much to say that the committee of management betrayed its trust by not assuring itself of the soundness of the various steps taken by Dawson. It would appear that Dawson was being treated a little unfairly when he was made the scapegoat for the selection error.

Although the worst of this grant was exchanged for better land in the interior the error of 1826 long continued to bedevil the operations of the Australian Agricultural Company's stock department. The influence of the original selection did not end with the transfer of 1833. The headquarters of the stock department were not removed from the Port Stephens grant, remaining at Stroud until 1859 when a transference to Gloucester was arranged. At Stroud the stock superintendent's cottage and office formed part of a substantial settlement which struck observers by reason of its "air of decent respectability... seldom observed in Colonial Townships." But although "a pretty place" this relic of grandiose Company schemes was "a heavy tax upon the resources of the Company." Moreover, its existence helped to divert attention from the rich Warrah pastures. The Company's officers failed to make the best use of the better land which came into its possession during the 1830's. To some extent this might have been due to the simple fact that the Company had acquired the habit of regarding Port Stephens as the headquarters of its pastoral operations, and no one

27. Hodgson to Court, 12 Dec. 1859, B, 234.
appeared with the experience to see that a mistake was being made, and with the initiative to rectify the situation. Not only was good land permitted to lie idle; poor land was used for purposes for which it was not suited. While failing to reap financial rewards which were there for the taking on one piece of land, the Company, on another piece of land, conducted pastoral operations which were abandoned only after some years of "extra-ordinary mortality" among the flocks.

Late in 1829, shortly after the British Government's approval of the transfer had been obtained, the Directors chose two men especially for the task of selecting the new land. Sir Edward Parry, better known to history as a famous Arctic explorer, became Resident Commissioner, exercising in his person the powers previously wielded by the colonial committee of management and the Principal Agent together. Some might question the worth of exploring in the Arctic as an experience especially qualifying a man to chose a sheep run in Australia. But to throw scorn on the appointment of Parry on these grounds might be to ignore considerations which weighed heavily with the Court. It would deem likely that the choice of Parry was dictated largely by the realisation on the part of the Court that a man of his prestige would make an admirable spokesman for the Company in its negotiations with the colonial Government. The fact that he received a knighthood shortly prior to sailing under his new appointment is of some significance. It is also not without significance that he left the Company's employ once he had accomplished the immediate task set him, that of negotiating with the colonial Government over the

29. The term is employed in Report, February 1858, p. 4.
31. See below, p. 32.
the transfer. To assist Parry, the Court engaged the services of Henry Hangar, previously mentioned as a Government surveyor. Parry arrived in the colony towards the end of 1829, and Hangar followed a few months later. Within a few months the two men had commenced an examination of those sections of the original grant which were still unexplored. This inspection left them in no doubt of "the absolute necessity of relinquishing a very large portion of the first selection." The search for new land began in 1831. In February Parry asked for access to such information as the Surveyor General's office possessed relating to certain areas to the north and northwest of the Port Stephens estate. Specific reference was made to the Liverpool Plains. Five months later Hangar was despatched on an expedition which travelled in a northerly direction from Port Stephens until the headwaters of the Peel River were reached. The journey was an inconclusive one and was followed in November by another expedition which examined the Liverpool Plains and the country bordering the Peel River. Hangar returned convinced that he had at length succeeded in discovering some portions of land which, "though at a great and inconvenient distance", he considered more likely to suit the Company than any other land that could be found. In the following March Parry went himself to investigate the areas reported upon so favourably by Hangar, and endorsed his opinion. He thereupon applied for a grant of the land in question - a rectangular block of 249,600 acres, the estate known as Warrah, and an irregularly shaped block of 313,298 acres, known as

32. Court to Parry, 28 Aug. 1829, DP 12a; Parry to Bourke, 15 June 1832, HRA, I, xvi, p. 734.  
33. Parry to Bourke, 15 June 1832, HRA, I, xvi, p. 734. The account of the search given in the following paragraph is taken from this memorandum of Parry's, Ibid., pp. 734-5.
Goonoo Goonoo, with a long frontage to the Peel River.

The Company experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining these grants from the colonial Government. The major portion of the responsibility for official opposition to the Company's application seems to lie with Surveyor General Mitchell, but Governor Bourke supported the attitude of his officer. The Government contended that the land was much too good to be alienated to the Company in such quantity, while it could not view with equanimity the dispossession of the stockowners who had already established themselves on the land asked for by Parry. However, these stockmen were trespassing beyond the limits of location and had no legal right to the land. That an English Company should have had a vested interest in the dispersion of settlement is an interesting commentary on the civilizing motives lying behind Darling's English-inspired policy of restricting settlement. There followed long and complex negotiations between the Government and the Company. Parry was unable to obtain recognition of the Company's claims. Once again the impasse was resolved with the intervention of the Imperial Government. The Court of Directors successfully approached the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Goderich, in a despatch written in March 1833, instructed Bourke to grant to the Company the land it desired.

34. Bourke to Goderich, 6 May 1833, HRA, I, xvii, p. 103.
35. For some mention of this problem see Roberts, op. cit., p. 58, note 29, and the same author's The Squatting Age in Australia, 1835-1847, (Melbourne, 1935), p. 171. See also Parry to Bourke, 15 June 1832, HRA, I, xvi, p. 737.
36. A summary and appreciation of these negotiations is given in Roberts, Land Settlement, pp. 56-8, while Parry's account is printed in Campbell, loc. cit., pp. 65-5. See also the following: Parry to Bourke 15 June 1832, HRA, I, xvi, pp. 736-7; Bourke to Goderich, 17 Sept. 1832, Ibid., p. 733; and Bourke to Goderich, 6 May 1833 (and enclosures), HRA, I, xvii, pp. 102-15.
37. J.B. Brownrigg to Glenelg, 22 Dec. 1838, encl. in Glenelg to Gipps, 12 Jan. 1839, HRA, I, xix, p. 751.
in return for an equivalent area of the unwanted Port Stephens land.  

The story of the utilisation of Warrah during the following two decades can be told briefly. Before absolute possession of the new lands had been vested in the Company the colonial Government had granted permission to Parry to occupy 40,000 acres at Warrah in order that the pressure on the Port Stephens estate might be relieved during the lambing season of 1833. Towards the middle of that year about six thousand Australian Agricultural Company sheep were driven up to Warrah. A year later Parry's successor, Dumaresq, who had only recently arrived in the colony, journeyed up to the inland properties of the Company. He decided that Warrah was better suited to cattle and horses than to sheep, and ordered the removal of the flocks from Warrah to the Peel River. Thus was established a state of affairs on Warrah which continued for the better part of twenty years. From the early forties the western section of the estate was leased to a neighbour, Edward Hamilton, who was part owner of the adjacent Collaroy station. On the remainder of the grant the Company ran a few hundred head of cattle, drafts being despatched thereto from the breeding herds at Port Stephens.

The question of the utilisation of Warrah was from time to time considered by the Company. There are large gaps in the evidence, but such records as do exist provide somewhat surprising information. It appears that the Company suffered something approaching a mental blockage in its handling of this portion of its assets. The Court's reaction to Dumaresq's

38. Goderich to Bourke, 23 March 1833, HRA, I, xvii, pp. 57-8; the despatch is also printed as App. C to Campbell, loc. cit., pp. 15, pp. 154-5.
40. Ibid., p. 88; Dumaresq to Court, 10 July 1834.
plan to devote Warrah to the use of horses and cattle was that Dumaresq's arrangements appeared to be "very judicious". At the same time Dumaresq was striving to secure the removal of herds of "strange cattle, still in virtual possession" of Warrah, a circumstance which hardly betokens a satisfactory state of affairs. There is little further record of the significance of Warrah in the Company's planning during the 1830's. The Resident Commissioner of the Company, writing in 1842, had these disturbing events to report:

"I had heard that in the absence of our stock Mr. McLeod's sheep fed over your ground upon Phillip's Creek, but I had no idea that he had erected a hut and yard and dug a well. All the Western side of this grant has been very much trespassed on by strangers running their flocks upon it."  

In this and the following year the possibility of the sale of Warrah was seriously considered by the Company. The question of the use to which Warrah should be put was under discussion at the time of the transference of the Peel River estate to the Peel River Land and Mineral Company in 1853, but there is no indication that the matter received the attention it deserved. Despite the fact that the General Superintendent could realise, in November 1851, that a mistake had been made in not turning "to a more profitable account than has hitherto been obtained, this valuable tract of country" his plans to remedy this state of affairs extended to nothing more than the notion of stocking Warrah with the

41. Court to Dumaresq, 6 Feb. 1835.
42. Dumaresq to Court, 20 Jan. 1835.
43. King to Court, 12 Jan. 1842.
44. King to Court, 12 Jan. 1842, espec. encl. A; King to Court 5 Aug. 1843.
45. See below, p. 710.
46. See, for example, Court to Brownrigg, 3 Dec. 1853 and 19 Jan. 1855.
overflow of the Peel River and Port Stephens estates "with the avowed purpose of producing tallow to a large extent".  

It appeared, said the Court in 1853, that the Company's land had been very much understocked, and consequently not managed to the best advantage. Even so, some years still had to pass before the prospect of utilising Warrah loomed large before the Company's eyes, and almost a decade was to elapse before resolute action was taken.

A consideration of the reasons for Warrah's neglect after 1833 depends so much on conjecture that no definite conclusions could be reached. The motives of the Company's Directors in England might be held as much in question as the competency of its managers in the colony. But if the neglect of Warrah was the result of nefarious schemes concocted in London to impede economic development on one particular block of land in the colony of New South Wales, the aim was achieved at such a cost as to betoken on the part of the Company's major shareholders a sense of dedication more oblivious of pecuniary considerations than such men are usually given credit for. Again, any attempt to explain the neglect of Warrah in terms of insufficient resources on the part of the Australian Agricultural Company founders on the fact that the Company had sufficient resources to pour money into the swamps of Port Stephens while being aware that it possessed a "beautiful run" just north of the Liverpool Ranges. A decision to let Warrah lie idle while the admittedly limited resources of the Company were concentrated on the Peel River estate would have been understandable. In many ways Goonoo Goonoo was a more promising area than Warrah, especially as its surface water

47. Blane to Court, 21 Nov. 1851, BD 23.
48. Court to Brownrigg, 3 Dec. 1853.
49. Ebsworth to Court, 26 October 1838.
supply was considerably more reliable. And, in fact, the Company did not allow this estate to lie idle. Sheep were depastured on Goonoo Goonoo, and a certain amount of success attended these operations. But on the Port Stephens run, the fineness of the fleece grown by the sheep depastured there did not compensate for the stock's gradual loss of health, and almost complete disaster resulted. It was the opinion of a later General Superintendent of the Company, expressed in a judgement based on years of experience in the pastoral industry, that the Port Stephens country was the least adapted to sheep grazing of any part of Australia he had seen. In the light of the foregoing it could scarcely be denied that at any time after 1833 a decision to remove all the Company's Port Stephens sheep to Warrah would have been a sound one. The responsibility for this neglect rests upon individuals. The following discussion seems to show that Warrah's idleness during these years was at least partly due to certain inadequacies in the abilities and experience of the men chosen by the Australian Agricultural Company to direct its colonial affairs. However, it also appears that there were some good reasons for the Company deciding to choose the type of men it did.

To the difficulty associated with the control of capital in a distant land whose peculiar conditions were not particularly well understood must be added, in the case of the Australian Agricultural Company, the problems arising from the diversification of its activities. The fact that the Company, besides conducting pastoral operations, was also engaged in coal mining, and, as well, attached considerable importance to the sale of land, gave rise to the necessity for a larger complement of men with various abilities than would have been the case had the Company confined its activities to a single

50. King to Court, 12 Jan. 1842, encl. A.
51. Gregson to Court, 5 July 1878, M, 377.
industry. This diversification of activities created the need for a longer administrative chain, and thus provided the opportunity for the appearance of a greater number of weak links than would otherwise have been the case. Attention will be directed at various points in the chain, and the links will be considered as falling within one or other of three groups. On the top level was the Court of Directors in London, below was the chief executive officer of the Company in the colony, and finally there were the colonial officers directly below the General Superintendent, who were responsible for the management of the various concerns of the Company.

Certain managerial shortcomings made their existence evident. It was frequently alleged that the Company's colonial administration was "top-heavy". John Macarthur, in a conversation with Parry soon after the latter's arrival in the colony pointed out that although the numbers of the Company's stock and his own were not very dissimilar he had a supervisory staff of one son and one clerk while the Company had "an enormously expensive apparatus which could never answer". Macarthur thought that the Company had set out on too "splendid a scale". There was a large element of truth in Macarthur's assertion. Moreover, the Company was still ineffectually attempting to cope with the problem years later: it was required of Blane, who arrived to take over direction of the Company's affairs in the colony in 1851, that he should "carry out promptly and vigorously" a certain measure of "retrenchment.

52. The title of this officer varied from time to time. Dawson was styled Principal Agent. Each permanent holder of this office from Parry (1830) to King (1849) was called Resident Commissioner. Blane was never given this title but remained Deputy-Governor. Brownrigg (1852) was the first to be given the title of General Superintendent, the title which was in use throughout the period covered by this thesis. In the following discussion, whenever a remark is made which applies to all three titles the term General Superintendent will be employed.

But too much can be made of the Macarthur argument. For instance, Parry remarked on hearing of the arrival in the colony of Dangar and Henderson: "This ruinous (for so I must call it) accession to our number of expensive officers gives me inexpressible pain and anxiety." Yet, Dangar was a surveyor and Henderson a colly manager, and both had an important duty to perform. It would seem that there was good reason for much of the "top-heavy" administration, for the Company was faced with a situation which demanded a solution of this nature.

Other short-comings were less easily excusable. The Directors complained of the "want of correct information as to the actual state of the Company's affairs in New South Wales, notwithstanding every endeavour to obtain it." The colonial administration could be accused of serious book-keeping faults. For instance, there were no separate figures kept in respect of the various properties.

A most noticeable feature of the membership of the Court of Directors was the comparative lack of men with first hand knowledge of conditions in the colony. Of the original Directors, it seems that only John Macarthur, junior, had any personal knowledge of New South Wales. Shortly afterwards W.S. Davidson, a man who had had some experience of the pastoral industry in that country was elected to the Court. But he was an exception, and the position in the first half of the 'fifties was much as it had been in the 1820's. Not until 1856 was

55. Parry's journal, 10 April 1830, cited in Campbell, loc. cit., p. 130.
57. Court to Brownrigg, 3 Dec. 1853, 2 March 1855, and 13 April 1855.
significant use made of the device of enlisting in the service of the Company men with colonial experience, whose first hand knowledge of New South Wales could provide the Court with a great deal more assurance in its administration of colonial affairs.

During these three decades now under review five men were appointed in a permanent capacity to the position of General Superintendent. Parry took up his official duties in January 1830, and remained until March 1834; Dumaresq's term of office lasted from March 1834 to March 1838; King's from April 1839 to April 1849; Blane's from February 1851 to November 1852; and Brownrigg's from November 1852 to October 1856. Two of these three men were dismissed from their post, two died while still in office, and only one — Parry — served his full term. We might add the dismissal of Dawson and of the colonial committee to this list. In addition, it is worth noting that a stop-gap authority was in charge of the Company's affairs in the colony for four-and-a-half years of the twentythree years between the suspension of Dawson and the arrival of Blane. J. E. Ebsworth, who originally came to the colony in the capacity of Dawson's second in command, unexpectedly found himself in an unwanted position of authority on four separate occasions: following the dismissals of Dawson in 1828 and of King in 1849; during an illness of Dumaresq's, and on the death of the latter in 1838.

It might be expected that when choosing a man for the position of General Superintendent the Court would attach considerable importance to a prospective applicant's knowledge

59. King: see Gregson, op. cit., p. 135; and Brownrigg: Ibid., p. 159.
60. Dumaresq: Ibid., p. 94; and Blane: Ibid., p. 142.
61. Ibid., pp. 39-40, 47, 100.
62. Ibid., p. 89.
of the colony and to his experience in pastoral pursuits. Such was not the case. Generally speaking, the men chosen were Englishmen of the "establishment" who had no knowledge of livestock but who, in the opinion of the Court, possessed those indefinable "qualities of leadership" better appreciated by the nineteenth century than the twentieth. King was the only man of the five who was not born in the British Isles. But although his birthplace was Norfolk Island he was educated in England. Dumaresq was brother-in-law to Governor Darling; King was the eldest son of the Governor of New South Wales. Parry was knighted in the month of his appointment as Resident Commissioner. He, along with King and Brownrigg, were naval officers; Dumaresq rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Although it would seem that he was, of all the five, the man most acquainted with stock, and although one authority praises the efficiency of his administration, it was he who was responsible for the removal of the flocks from Warrah in June 1834.

It is impossible to determine to what extent the appointments to the General Superintendence were part of a conscious policy. Perhaps the Directors would have preferred to have chosen men with experience of the New South Wales pastoral industry had such men been available. But, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, a plausible explanation of the appointments actually made could be given in terms of a desire to avoid certain pitfalls. The nature of these pitfalls was made only too clear in the Company's infancy. The type of man selected during the first thirty years appears a much more reasonable one when

63. The biographical information given in this paragraph was obtained from articles on the men concerned in the Australian Encyclopedia (Second edition).
seen as a sequel to, if not a consequence of, the unhappy experience of the colonial committee of management.

In July 1824 the promoters of the Company despatched a letter to three landed colonists of high standing. James Macarthur, James Bowman and H.H. Macarthur were informed of the formation of the Company and were invited to act with Archdeacon Scott and Captain King as a committee of advice. In fact, as has been seen, these men formed a committee of management answerable only to the Court and the shareholders. Each of the five was a shareholder in the Company and Scott was the only member who was outside the Macarthur family. Neither he nor King had much to do with the affairs of the Company and for all practical purposes the committee of management comprised three men. James was the son of John Macarthur, senior, Hannibal was a nephew, and Bowman was a son-in-law. This so-called "family committee" figured prominently in the political hurly-burly of the day. Liberals, and the "licentious" colonial press denounced it as a cabal composed of individuals actuated solely by selfish motives. The "family committee" has found an apologist in M.H. Ellis, but even he seems to feel that its actions were at times seriously detrimental to the welfare of the Company whose interests it was supposed to be safeguarding. The historian of the Company goes further and asserts that "if the object of the committee had been to bring the enterprise to utter ruin" scarcely "more effectual steps could have been devised than to remove the agent, dispense with many of the employees

64. Gregson, op. cit., p. 16.
65. See the opinion of Campbell, loc. cit., p. 119.
66. Forbes to Horton, 22 March 1827, cited in Campbell, loc. cit., p. 119; committee of management to Court, 27 April 1829, DP 13b.
67. Ellis, op. cit., p. 511.
68. Ibid., pp. 513-4.
and throw communications into confusion by getting rid of the Sydney office". These were the steps taken by the committee in the autumn of 1828. Ellis goes so far as to declare that John Macarthur "had almost ruined the Australian Agricultural Company".

Whether or not one believes in the accusation that Macarthur had used his family's connection with the Company to feather his nest by selling it poor quality livestock at exorbitant prices, it remained the case that the Directors were sadly disappointed in their hopes that benefit would accrue as a result of its destinies being guided largely by the doyen of the Australian pastoral industry. Shortly after it had supported the committee's action in dismissing Dawson, the Court made it clear that it was beginning to doubt the worth of the committee's opinions. For instance, although Bowman and H.H. Macarthur assured them that a certain official entrusted with the task of supervising mining operations at Newcastle was "decidedly unfit" for his post, the Directors defended his ability and character and renewed his agreement. Before very long the Court was left in no doubt as to the culpability of the committee of management. The services of its members were dispensed with upon the arrival of Parry in the colony.

This unfortunate episode seemed to indicate that it was essential in future, above all things, to obtain as

70. Ellis, op. cit., p. 514.
71. In this connection the following letter of a future manager of Warrah is of interest: "I had a letter from James White yesterday... He expresses himself not particularly well pleased with the heifers and bull I sent him, so you can see I have not McA—ised the Company in this matter". Craik to Merewether, 21 Nov. 1865, C-D 76.
72. Committee to Court, 27 April 1829, DP 13b; Court to Parry, 7 Sept. 1829, DP 13a. See also the latter document for the case of the horse "Herald".
General Superintendent a man who would refrain from robbing his employer. Presumably, an Englishman, and a gentleman of the establishment, could be expected to exercise such restraint, even if he knew nothing about stock and had never previously left England. An extreme example of adherence to this attitude is to be seen in 1851. King had been dismissed in April 1849 and since that date Ebsworth had been acting as General Superintendent. No successor to King could be found. The situation savoured of an "emergency" which "called for decisive measures". So, A.W. Blane, the Deputy-Governor of the Company, was prevailed upon by his fellow Directors to sail to the colony and take over charge of the Company's affairs there. Blane accepted the task at "much personal inconvenience to himself". He died in New South Wales in November 1852, shortly prior to the arrival of his successor, Marcus Freeman Brownrigg, R.N. Brownrigg's appointment was very much in the "establishment" tradition, yet he proved to be perhaps the most unsatisfactory of all the General Superintendents. He was extremely lax in despatching his reports to the Court, and as witness to Brownrigg's general incompetence there stand the following two sentences in a despatch from the Court to his successor: "The total disappearance of your thoroughbred flock is most unaccountable. That fact alone is quite sufficient to stamp the character of your predecessor's management". To cap it

73. Gregson, op. cit., p. 136
74. Transcript of shorthand notes of the proceedings at the special general meeting of the shareholders of the Australian Agricultural Company held on 2 April 1857 to receive the report of the Committee of Consultation, (Encl. in Ramenshaw to Hodgson, 11 April 1857), p. 28.
75. Ibid., p. 5.
76. Gregson, op. cit., p. 159.
77. Court to Hodgson, 4 Feb. 1858, p. 4.
all, following his dismissal Brownrigg successfully sued the Company for a commission on the sum of £26,000 received by the Company as the proceeds of the sale of sheep in 1854 to the Peel River Land and Mineral Company. Brownrigg thus demonstrated that colonials were not unique in their predatory tendencies. That being so, there seemed less reason to avoid appointing a man simply because he had spent little of his life in England. Brownrigg was the last General Superintendent who had spent little or no time in the colony prior to his appointment.

The difficulty of the task confronting the General Superintendent was a result of the variety of duties he had to perform rather than of the volume of the Company's transactions. The General Superintendent was the senior representative in the colony of a Company which had interests in a pastoral undertaking, in coal mines and in real estate, and which at various times considered engaging in a number of other activities. Moreover, the General Superintendent could reasonably be expected to cut a figure in society in keeping with the position of the Company in the community. The Company also had important dealings with the Government. It can be seen, then, that the ideal General Superintendent of the Australian Agricultural Company needed to be a man of many parts. A first essential was trustworthiness. Secondly, he needed the knowledge to be able to tell instantly if things were amiss in one or other of the departments, and needed to know how to put things right. Thirdly, he needed to be an impressive spokesman for the Company and a good public relations officer.

79. See the account given by King of the nature of the duties required of the Resident Commissioner, King to Court, 26 Jan. 1842.
There was no single field of industrial activity which the Australian Agricultural Company was intended to operate to the exclusion of all others. Admittedly, there seems little doubt that, as originally conceived, the primary object of the Company was to grow fine wool. At the same time, however, the promoters saw their way to the reaping of "ample returns" from "several valuable productions". Those nominated were the olive and the vine, tobacco, hemp, flax, silk, opium and corn. Cattle breeding was also planned. Governor Darling spoke of "the thousand projects" that John Macarthur had in view "for the aggrandisement of the Australian Agricultural Company". However, he commented, "they all seem to have vanished". At times, some attention was paid to the cultivation of various of the crops mentioned in 1824, but any work carried out was on a very small scale. Little came of that episode at the middle of the century when the Company suddenly remembered its colonizing mission and decided to bring out some immigrants from England. It is of interest to note that Ebsworth strongly disapproved of the Directors' plans for the settlement of the Port Stephens estate, and based his disapproval on the ground that the welfare of the stock department would suffer as a result. Ebsworth went so far as to resign from the Company's service ostensibly on this issue.

Of considerably greater significance were the complications which arose as a result of the Company extending its activities to embrace an area that scarcely could have been envisaged by the promoters. Gregson explicitly states that the Company

80. See the remarks of Hamilton printed in Report, July 1862, p. 13; see also p. 9 and p. 15 of the Plan dated 26 Nov. 1824, bound with the Reports.
81. Darling to Hay, 2 Sept. 1826, HRA, I, xii, p. 523.
83. Gregson, op. cit., p. 137.
84. Ellis gives the erroneous impression that the Company possessed these rights in coal mining at the time of its formation: Ellis, op. cit., p. 493.
grudgingly agreed to shoulder the burden of operating the state owned coal mines at Newcastle as a favour to the Government. According to him, the colonial Government opened negotiations with the Court in 1826 "with the object of transferring the mines to the Company, and so relieving the public exchequer of a heavy annual expense". Gregson's account is scarcely accurate. Any hesitation exhibited by the Company stemmed not from a reluctance to possess the coal mines but from a determination to wait until they could be secured on the best possible terms. The Company so successfully conducted its negotiations with the Government that by 1829 the Court and the colonial committee could agree that in the privileges conceded by the Government every chance of success in the venture was secured, as far as human foresight could devise.

The acquisition of the coal mines added to the managerial problem. It proved to be difficult to obtain for the position of General Superintendent a man who knew something of stock and of coal mining as well. Therefore a great deal of reliance had to be placed upon the men with specialised qualifications who were entrusted with the more direct supervision of the different activities of the Company. This meant

85. Gregson, op. cit., p. 49.
86. This judgement is based on a reading of the following material: Report, July 1825, pp. 45-6; Darling to Hay, 3 Feb. 1826, HRA, I, xii, p. 156; encl. no. 2 in Darling to Hay, 23 March 1827, HRA, I, xiii, p. 182; Bathurst to Darling, 26 July 1826, HRA, I, xii, p. 447; Murray to Darling, 31 July 1828, HRA, I, xiv, p. 272; and committee of management to Court, 27 April 1829, DP 13b. Roberts, Land Settlement, p. 59, note 40, mentions these "somewhat obscure" negotiations, and correctly indicates that "even Darling, who favoured the Company in every way, opposed this exchange".
87. Committee to Court, 27 April 1829, DP 13b.
88. Ibid.
89. Court to Hodgson, 16 Nov. 1858, p. 1.
that the character and ability of the subordinate officers became a matter of even greater importance than would otherwise have been the case. It appears that the General Superintendents were not particularly well served by these subordinate officers. Macarthur told Parry at the end of 1829 that "there must be something wrong at home, that some undue influence must have been used, or they could never have sent out such a set of worthless servants". Almost three decades later an influential Director strongly opposed the action of the Court in sending out to the colony an accountant by the name of Linstead, warning his fellow Directors: "In almost all the instances in which you have incurred a considerable expense in sending out servants to the Colony these servants have failed you when they have been tried". These officials had faults of a varying nature. A "good accountant" might be "a dangerous man... determined to play first fiddle". A stock superintendent was "a very careful and hardworking man, but withal a little too expensive"; another likewise failed to conduct the stock department "with a due regard to economy"; a third was "a clever, cunning and designing man". Colliery managers' faults ranged from drunkenness to an inability to prevent a wife running away with the captain of a sailing vessel.

The foregoing recital of misfortunes, frailities and misdemeanours would seem to indicate that the managerial problem confronting the Australian Agricultural Company

92. Parry's journal, Campbell, loc. cit., p. 125.
95. Hodgson to Court, 2 Dec. 1856, A, 22.
96. Court to Hodgson, 18 Aug. 1859, p. A.
97. Blane to Court, 27 May 1851, BD 3.
during these years could not be solved in terms of the General Superintendent'ship alone. His task was to co-ordinate the affairs of the various branches of the Company's activities and to be the spokesman for the Company in its dealings with outside bodies. It was not his duty to supervise the colliery or to manage the sheep department. There is an element of truth in the contention that the condition for success in the Company's pastoral operations was simply a matter of finding a man as General Superintendent who knew enough about stock to know when his subordinates were making mistakes.

On the other hand, however, the stock department flourished during the regime of a General Superintendent who began by knowing nothing at all about stock. There is no "key" to the problem. Rather, the simile is to the links of a chain. The chain of the Australian Agricultural Company's administrative hierarchy was made up of a number of links, most of which, it seems, were weak for the major portion of the period under review. However, when one considers the weight that was suspended from this chain and the fact that it was continually being tugged to and fro by conflicting forces, one might as well express wonder that the whole structure did not collapse as denounce those involved for their failings. But though it can scarcely be denied that the situation confronting the Australian Agricultural Company was one beset with great difficulties, it is still the case that different men might have achieved greater success in coping with this situation. Had the management of the Company's affairs been entrusted to men who had had some experience of the New South Wales pastoral industry, Warrah might have been turned into a well equipped sheep station in the 1830's.

98. Gregson, op. cit., p. 177.
The foregoing recital of human shortcomings and managerial difficulties leaves the impression that the story of the Australian Agricultural Company during these years was one of unmitigated failure. In one sense this was far from being the case. Proprietors enjoyed some financial returns from their possession of shares in the Company. These advantages were due to no astute planning by the Court, nor to any meticulous attention to detail on the part of the Company's servants, but simply to the fact that the Company's land could not fail to appreciate in value as the colony developed and its population increased, while a decided impetus was given this trend by the completely fortuitous incident of the discovery of gold at the Peel River. A different picture emerges when attention is focussed upon the management of the flocks.

The Australian Agricultural Company was formed with a nominal capital of one million pounds in ten thousand shares of £100 each. By 31 December 1852 calls to the sum of £30 per share had been made, representing a total paid-up capital of £300,000. In addition, £50,000 had been transferred from profits to the capital account. The paid-up value of each share was thus £35, each being still liable to calls totalling £65. In return for this outlay of £30 a total of £16.8.6 in dividends had been distributed in respect of each share. This was not a particularly profitable return for an investment of twentyeight years' standing. However, the Company possessed certain properties which had been appreciating in value over these twentyeight years, and one of these properties was about to be disposed of to the considerable benefit of the proprietors.

99. The material for this paragraph was obtained from the printed Reports.
In March 1852 gold was discovered on the Peel River estate. The Company decided to take advantage of this opportunity to re-organise its financial affairs. As part of this reconstruction the Peel River Land and Mineral Company was formed. This new Company had a capital of £600,000 in 120,000 shares of £5 each. Of this sum £500,000 was to be paid to the Australian Agricultural Company for the Peel River estate. The shareholders of the Australian Agricultural Company were offered 100,000 shares in the new Company in the proportion of ten shares for every £100 share held in the Australian Agricultural Company. A shareholder declining to receive such shares was paid £50 for each of his Australian Agricultural Company shares. In effect, the proprietors of the Australian Agricultural Company would be repaid the capital they had outlayed and receive as well a bonus of £15 per share. At the same time the nominal capital of the Australian Agricultural Company was reduced to £500,000 and the number of shares to 20,000. The effect of this measure was that the full value of each share was now £25, with £17.10.0 paid-up and liable to possible future calls of only £7.10.0 instead of £65 as previously. Each proprietor now had two shares instead of one.

Thus, a person who had bought a share in the Australian Agricultural Company in 1824 and retained it would be in the following position in 1853. He would have provided £30 to the coffers of the Australian Agricultural Company. In return he would have received £16.8.6 in the form of dividends, plus a bonus of £50, or shares in the Peel River Land and Mineral Company to that value, and would now possess two shares in the Australian Agricultural Company with a total capital of £25.

paid-up value of £35. A return of £66 over twenty-eight years on an initial investment of £30 represents an income of almost 8% per annum, which is a fairly satisfactory achievement.

This modicum of success as measured by financial returns was not equalled by the achievements of the Company's sheep-breeding enterprise. Although the history of the stock department of the Australian Agricultural Company during these years was not without its triumphs, disaster attended its later operations. Heavy stock losses were incurred in more than one season in the later 'forties. Over eight thousand sheep died in 1844, a loss though casualties that was twice that normally sustained. But worse was to follow, for in 1845 ten thousand of the Company's sheep died, in 1846 sixteen thousand, and in 1847 twenty-one thousand.102

The Directors did their best to persuade shareholders that the losses arose "from causes which the greatest care and vigilance could not have prevented", especially mentioning the vicissitudes of the climate, alternating between excessive drought and heavy rains.103 But there was a limit to the extent to which the weather could be held to account for these losses. In December 1853 the Court called for a report on the Company's livestock.104 The task was carried out by J.C. White, who had been in the Company's employ at an earlier stage and who had been appointed by Brownrigg in May 1853 to the post of stock superintendent. Consideration of this report brought home to the Directors a realisation of "the utter neglect for years" which had marked the conduct of the Company's stock department. Equally drastic revelations were made by Brownrigg's successor, Hodgson. This latter

102. Figures obtained from printed Reports.
103. Report, January 1848, p. 5.
104. Gregson, op. cit., pp. 159-60.
105. Court to Brownrigg, 13 April 1855.
Inspected the flocks at Port Stephens and found a "painful and melancholy sight". He became convinced that their retention could "lead to nothing but irreparable loss without any corresponding benefit". One incident indicative of an incompetence which horrified Hodgson warrants recounting here. In November 1855 a flock of 3,600 aged fat ewes left Warrah intended for the Sydney market. But, for reasons unexplained by Hodgson, their destination was altered and eventually they spent the winter of 1856 on a station near Nowendoc where they died in their hundreds, the survivors losing condition badly. Finally, they were taken back to Warrah where, by July 1857, their numbers had declined to three hundred. Hodgson was appalled at the folly of removing "fat and almost toothless ewes from the richest pasture in New South Wales to winter in the cold and swampy tablelands of New England". The Court saw that "great mismanagement of the stock" had occurred and agreed that the flocks should be disposed of. Hodgson was left to deal with the matter.

He wasted little time and in October 1857 informed the Court: "You do not now own a sheep on Port Stephens".

Such was the inglorious termination of an enterprise begun with such high hopes. The Company still possessed its land and its coal mines and a few hundred purchased store cattle and sheep on Warrah, but its attempts to implement the primary object in the minds of its promoters had ended in a dismal failure. Any person who in the future proposed to re-commence sheep-breeding operations would have to advance strong

106. Hodgson to Court, 4 Nov. 1856, A, 7; see also Hodgson to Court 2 Dec. 1856.
107. Hodgson to Court, 4 Nov. 1856, A, 9.
108. Hodgson to Court, 15 July 1857, A, 116-7; for another example of mismanagement see Brownrigg to Court, 5 Feb. 1856.
110. Court to Hodgson, 20 June 1856, p. 5.
arguments if he wished to secure the support of shareholders who had passed through the humiliating experience of the mid-fifties. Moreover, anyone who undertook the responsibility of advising the proprietors to invest their funds in a new phase of such an ill-starred enterprise could scarcely do so unless he had studied the history of the Company's pastoral operations and persuaded himself that he had seen exactly where the mistakes had been made and knew how to avoid a repetition of the earlier episode. It was very easy to draw from these events the moral that the Australian Agricultural Company could not profitably engage in pastoral operations. It remained to be seen how powerful would be the effect of the legacy of this experience in determining later events.
CHAPTER 3

RECOUSE TO COLONIAL TOOLS

A significant alteration of policy marked the history of the Australian Agricultural Company during the last years of the 1850's and the first years of the 1860's. The events of these years might be represented as providing a commentary on, and a vindication of, the text: "You may rely on it that the only tools you can successfully work with are Colonial tools". Certainly, the validity of the dictum was appreciated by men who were in a position to act upon it.

Decision-making in the portals of the Australian Agricultural Company at this time was a process at once tortuous to the observer and tortured to the participant. For some years the Company discussed what should be done with its pastoral properties in New South Wales. A number of possibilities ranging from complete abandonment to large-scale utilisation was considered. The hesitations, the shilly-shallyings, the apparent volte-faces, as these men debated the destinies of their Antipodean enterprise, were a quite understandable result of the difficult nature of the decision which had to be made. Over all these

1. Report of meeting of 2 April 1857. Hamilton was the speaker.
deliberations there hovered the gloomy cloud produced by men's all too conscious and painful memories of the disastrous past; but before them stood a man who, despite temporary waverings, believed sincerely that the future of the Company would be a successful one should it be decided to make a fresh start on its pastoral enterprise. The victory lay with the man who looked to the future, and the fate of Warrah was decided in accordance with the wishes of the man who wished it to be developed by the Company. But such were the doubts and hesitancies that one is inclined to feel that the decision might well have gone the other way, and that the fact that Warrah remained in the hands of the Company was largely a matter of luck. On the other hand, it might well have been that had active steps to dispose of Warrah been initiated, some ardent spirit in the ranks of the Company's shareholders might have persuaded his fellows of the folly of parting with a pastoral station in Australia at a time when flockowners in that part of the world were reaping handsome financial returns from their sheep-grazing activities. The delicate balance in which Warrah's fate for so long was poised might have been the result, not of the arguments for retention on the one hand and disposal on the other being of almost equal weight, but rather the result of the Company permitting the past to count too heavily with it, so giving rise to a tendency to ignore the lesson to be derived from the example of the prosperity of other Australian pastoral properties. Some would say that the Australian Agricultural Company would have been foolish if it had disposed of a quarter of a million acres of freehold land in a rich grazing, high rainfall country in New South Wales in the late 1850's. The fact that the decision for retention was made by such a narrow margin
might be a measure of limitations in the foresight of the Company; but history's judgements can be made with too dangerous a facility, and it might be more charitable and less inaccurate to view the hesitancy as an indication of the potency of the memories engendered by the early unhappy days.

Briefly, the more important developments of these years were as follows. The new General Superintendent, Colonel Arthur Hodgson, arrived in Sydney on 27 September 1856. He promptly set up a Board of Advice which functioned from 1856 to 1860. Meanwhile, in London, a new Director was making his presence felt in the governing circles of the Company. He was Edward Hamilton, who was elected to the Court early in 1856, just prior to serious disturbances in the Company's London administration.

These disturbances were touched off when White's report exposing the wretched plight of the Company's pastoral operations in New South Wales was made public. Hamilton emerged from the turmoil with a reputation unscathed, and, indeed, enhanced, and was elected unanimously to the position of Governor at a special meeting of shareholders held on 4 August 1857. Back in the colony, Hodgson had disposed of most of the remnants of the Company's livestock before he left the Company's service in the spring of 1861. His successor was Edward Christopher Merewether, who entered office on 1 October 1861. At about the same time Samuel A. Craik was engaged as the Company's Stock Superintendent, and, towards the end of 1861, he established the headquarters of the stock department on Warrah. During Hodgson's regime the Company's grazing activities on Warrah had been confined to the purchase and re-sale as fats of small
quantities of store sheep and cattle, the sale of cattle bred on the Port Stephens estate and taken up to Warrah for fattening, and the sale to a neighbour who arranged for the shearing of the fleeces of such fattening sheep as happened to be on the estate at shearing time. Some indication of the negligible importance attached by Hodgson to the transactions in sheep stock may be gathered from the fact that he advanced as a major reason for the purchase of sheep the fact that the shepherded flocks could be employed as a "fence" around the cattle grazing on the inner expanses of the estate. Yet Hodgson prided himself that he had done his best for Warrah and had "not allowed such a noble property to lie idle". The average profit of the stock department over the years 1858 to 1861 was only £5,000. This sum was less than the amount which could have been obtained in rent had the Company decided to lease that part of its land then occupied by livestock. This state of affairs was not to continue. Long discussion on the fate of Warrah ended with the decision of the shareholders, at their meeting of July 1862, to have the property stocked with a flock of breeding sheep, and to devote some attention to having it developed as an up-to-date sheep station.

A turning towards colonial tools – the "Australianization" of the Australian Agricultural Company – can be seen at work in both New South Wales and England. In the former, manifestation of the new approach largely took the form of the changes in the principles upon which the senior executives were appointed, and in the establishment of the

Board of Advice. In the latter the election of Hamilton to the Court, and then to the Governorship of the Company, the "London revolution", and the revitalised discussion of the question of the utilisation of Warrah serve to indicate the new emphasis in the management of the Company's Australian affairs.

It is easy to imagine that Hamilton's strong belief in the efficacy of "colonial tools" was a product of his experience in the colony. However, the eulogistic references made of Hamilton during the troubles of 1857, no less than the rapidity with which he was elevated to the highest position in the Company's hierarchy, make it seem quite probable that the influential portion of the shareholders were in the process of coming to the same opinion as Hamilton. There was something in the spirit of the times which prepared the way for the new Governor. Men were ready to be persuaded. Hamilton's proselytizing task was not made difficult by the need to begin by shaking men out of their cherished convictions. It was over the somewhat different question of the re-establishment of the stock department that Hamilton encountered difficulties, and needed to bring all his persuasive powers into play.

Events immediately subsequent to Captain Brownrigg's dismissal provide some indication of a change, however unconscious it might have been, in the attitude of the Australian Agricultural Company towards the problems of the management of its Australian concerns. Certainly, Brownrigg's successor, Colonel Arthur Hodgson, was a member of much the same social class as had been his predecessors. But at least he was a man of "long colonial experience";  

7. Court to Hodgson, 20 June 1856, p. 5.
having resided in New South Wales for approximately seventeen years. His appointment was confirmed while he was sojourning in England, and he arrived back in the colony in September 1856. In accordance with instructions from the Court he immediately appointed certain colonists, experienced in the commercial and pastoral pursuits of New South Wales, to assist him in an advisory capacity. Although the Company’s association with this Board of Advice was not marked by the treachery connected with the earlier episode of the committee of management, it is doubtful whether much advantage was derived from its establishment. The early enthusiasm for the new instrument soon waned. A year after its formation Hodgson wrote to the Court: "We work well together... I hope never to be without a Board of Advice." Eighteen months later his views had changed completely. So had those of the Court. Hodgson decided on his own initiative to disband the Board, in so doing slightly anticipating instructions to this effect from England. The Board ceased its duties on 31 March 1860. During the last twelve months of its existence its activities had been of little importance in determining the policy of the Company. Each of its three members felt that his attendance was unnecessary. One candidly declared that "he did not object to the receipt of £100 per annum, but would like to do something for the money". The three men vacated their seats in perfect good humour with Hodgson and with the Company.

The experiment with the Board had achieved little in material terms. Nevertheless, the fact of its appointment is of considerable interest if only in that it serves to indicate that the legacy arising from the earlier unhappy attempt to benefit from the experience of prominent colonists was not now weighing so heavily in the minds of the Directors. Certainly, the Board was endowed with advisory powers only, whereas the earlier committee had been the Company's supreme colonial authority. Despite this, the Board's creation was the first hesitant step along the road to recognition of the value of "colonial tools". The fact that it seems to have been authorised before Hamilton was elected to the Court indicates that there were already some elements among the Directors likely to be responsive to the teachings of the future Governor of the Company.

Meanwhile, the effects of the drastic situation in the stock department, referred to in the previous chapter, were yet to make their repercussions felt in London. Hodgson was apprised of these events when he read the following passage in a despatch from Ravenshaw, the Governor of the Company:

"... you will perceive that the management at home is passing through the ordeal of a revolution as radical as that which lately occurred in the colonial administration of its affairs". These disturbances began when the report on the Company's livestock called for by the Court in December 1853 was made known to shareholders. The fact that the existence of this report was not brought to the notice of the body of shareholders until over a year after it had been received in England increased the ardour of the critics of the Court.

At the Annual General Meeting of shareholders on 30

13. Ibid., p. 5; Report of meeting of 2 April 1857, p. 7.
January 1857 the Court's administration of the Company's affairs was subjected to violent criticism. A committee of shareholders was appointed to consider various points which had been raised in the course of the discussion. This body was termed euphemistically a Committee of Consultation, but Ravenshaw persisted in viewing it as a committee of investigation.\textsuperscript{14} And, in fact, the committee appears to have interpreted its consulting function in a most liberal sense. It reported to a special general meeting of shareholders in April 1857. Once again, a long discussion ensued. The Directors numbered some supporters among the shareholders, and the tone of the debate was not an acrimonious one. Yet, the majority was clearly of opinion that a wholesale change in the personnel of the Court would be in the interests of the Company. Most of the Directors realised the strength of the opposition towards them and bowed before the storm. As a result of the acceptance by the shareholders and the Directors of most of the more important arguments of the investigating committee, certain reforms in the London administration of the Company were effected. Relatively minor economy measures were adopted: there was a retrenchment of staff, and the Company's headquarters were shifted to less luxurious offices, at a rental one-third of the previous figure. But the major alteration was the reduction of the size of the Court from twelve to six members. Only two members of the old Court - one of whom was Hamilton - were retained on the new one.\textsuperscript{15}

During the tumult even the sternest critics of the Court had spared Hamilton. In part, this was simply an acknowledgement of the fact that he scarcely could be called

\textsuperscript{14} Ravenshaw to Hodgson, 18 March 1857, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{15} Report of meeting of 2 April 1857, p. 35.
to account for a situation which had arisen before he had had any part in managing the affairs of the Company. But the attitude towards Hamilton was also based upon a real appreciation of his worth. "I think Mr. Hamilton is of great service to the Company," summed up one shareholder, "and his services... ought to be retained."16

Hamilton, as "a very talented young man, who gained honours at Cambridge", had abandoned the possibility of a career in law in order to follow "a pastoral life" in Australia.17 He arrived in New South Wales at the end of 1839. With a friend, George Clive, he purchased the Collaroy property of a mutual friend, the wealthy W.S. Davidson,18 an original shareholder in the Australian Agricultural Company who later became a Director. Close to Collaroy lay the Australian Agricultural Company's Warrah estate, and while manager at Collaroy Hamilton had ample opportunity to equip himself with a sound knowledge of this neighbouring property, the more so because for some years the Company leased certain western sections of their grant to the Collaroy people. A close acquaintance thus formed with Warrah had aroused admiration for its potentialities, tempered by a caution arising from its lack of a permanent water supply. Hamilton had seen the property during the drought of the early 1840's, when its pastures had presented an appearance very different from their normal lushness.19 Hamilton returned to England in 1856, and in circumstances unknown, although for reasons which probably had much to do with personal relationships with shareholders and Directors of the Company, was elected to the Court of Directors of the Australian Agricultural

Company. Once on the Court, the force of Hamilton's personality, the conviction with which he expounded the lessons his experience had taught him, and the nature of the good sense which he disseminated strongly recommended him to the consideration of his fellow Directors and shareholders. At a meeting of shareholders on 4 August 1857 he was elected unanimously to the position of Governor of the Australian Agricultural Company. 20

One cannot avoid being struck by the messianic overtones of the situation. There existed a body of men whose corporate affairs had reached a rather discouraging state of disorganization. At the same time there existed some belief that it was within the province of man to rectify this state of affairs should he be so inspired as to see his way to accomplishing the task. Moreover, there was realisation of the direction in which remedial measures should be taken. There then appeared on the scene a man learned in the ways of the Australian pastoral industry, a man whose experience prompted him to expound with conviction a lesson which his hearers were gradually coming to believe in of their own initiative. Put your faith in colonial ways was the lesson. More men with colonial experience were needed on the London Court; colonially trained men must be found to direct the Company's colonial affairs, and these men must be left to manage the New South Wales undertakings of the Company with as little interference as possible from England. 21 Thus one man crystallised the results of years of experience. Such was the gospel preached by the Messiah thrown up by the new world colony to rescue the old world Company from its difficulties.

Hamilton arrived on the Court at a time when to mention

21. Report of meeting of 2 April 1857, p. 66; see also Ibid., p. 69.
the Australian Agricultural Company's stock department was to be precipitated into an atmosphere of almost total despondency. There was a widespread feeling that the only sensible result of the recent wretched performance would be to abandon the pastoral enterprise completely. Not unnaturally, this view was held most generally among the "old hands" among the shareholders, those whose personal impressions of the continually recurring disasters were most vivid. But their view was shared by others. Hodgson arrived in the colony convinced that the Company should move in the direction of confining itself to its coal-mining and land-selling activities. The energy with which he disposed of the Port Stephens sheep was a reflection of this conviction. Throughout the period of his tenure of the General Superintendence he consistently advocated this view. "There is not the slightest probability", he informed the Court, "of my recommending the revival of your sheep establishment". Hamilton, too, was affected by the prevailing pessimism. In 1856 he advised in favour of the Court's recommendation that the pastoral and agricultural departments should be closed down completely. Even the Messiah had his moments of doubt.

These doubts were temporary. In the following year the question of the reorganisation of the stock department was considered afresh by Hamilton. In August 1857 the Court suggested to Hodgson that if the stud flock had not yet been disposed of it might be as well to retain it, just in case the revival of the sheep-breeding establishment

22. Court to Brownrigg, 13 April 1855; Report of shareholders' meeting of 18 July 1856, p. 2.
23. Hodgson to Court, 7 Nov. 1857, A, 173; see also Hodgson to Court, 12 March 1859, B, 65-72 and Court to Merewether, 26 Aug. 1861, p. 7.
should be decided upon. At the same time Hodgson was asked for his views as to the future use of Warrah, the question being so framed as to leave the impression that the Court anticipated its use rather than its disposal. "Will you ultimately want the whole lot", Hodgson was asked, "for fattening or other purposes?"\(^{25}\)

The future of the Australian Agricultural Company's stock department centred around the future of Warrah and the place this property was to have in the pastoral activities of the Company. None recognised this more clearly than did Hamilton. To Hamilton, the question whether the Company would or would not abandon its pastoral activities was nothing else than the question of the utilisation of Warrah.\(^{26}\)

The establishment of the headquarters of the stock department at Warrah in the spring of 1861, before the shareholders had given their approval of the Court's plan for the stocking of that property with breeding sheep, probably was one of those executive acts, rather innocent in appearance, which, by changing the framework within which a decision is made, had the effect of influencing that decision in a manner desired by the Court. The Court's recourse to "executive" action of this nature was in part a result of the pledge extracted from them by certain alarmed elements at the Company's annual general meeting of July 1858 that no extension of pastoral operations would be initiated without reference to the body of shareholders.\(^{27}\)

26. For expressions of opinion by Hamilton see Report, February 1859, p. 8; Court to Merewether, 26 Dec. 1861, EMD20, p. 6; Court to Merewether 29 Jan. 1862, EMD23, p. 3; Court to Merewether, 26 March 1862, EMD 29, p. 4; Court to Merewether 26 May 1862, EMD32, p. 8; and see also Merewether to Court, 18 Oct. 1861, D, 19-20.
27. Court to Hodgson, 18 March 1859, p. 2.
The steps leading up to the decision to stock Warrah with breeding sheep were many. There is no need to mention more than one or two. On two occasions it seemed that the Court had made the decision to ask the shareholders for authority to stock Warrah, but each time the whole question was thrown once more into the melting pot. The reason for the delay on the second occasion was the reluctance on the part of the Court to burden the newly appointed successor to Hodgson with the task of supervising the initiation of an enterprise of such magnitude at the commencement of his term of office. It was not until July 1862 that the Court acted. It asked the annual general meeting of shareholders held in that month for permission to proceed with the stocking of Warrah. There was very little opposition, probably because the subject had been canvassed so thoroughly before. The requested authority was given, and the requested money voted - a sum of £30,000 representing a call of 30/- per share. It was considered that this amount was as convenient a capital allocation as any to provide for the initial purchase of livestock and equipment.28

The question of the utilisation of Warrah was not discussed solely in terms of whether or not it was to be used for the grazing of breeding sheep. Other possibilities

28. The story of these developments is told in the following documents: Court to Hodgson, 17 May 1859, p.1, 10 Nov. 1859, p. 3, 26 Feb. 1861, p. 6-8, 26 June 1861, p.4; Court to Merewether, 26 Aug. 1861, p.7, 26 May 1862, EMD32, p.8, 26 July 1862, EMD37, p. 3, 26 Sept. 1862, EMD45, p.6; Merewether to Court, 21 March 1862, D141, 20 June 1862, D, 210, 21 Oct. 1862, D, 320-1; Hamilton to Merewether, 26 May 1862, EMD35; Merewether to Craik, 12 Oct. 1861, p. 130, 16 July 1862, p. 542; Craik to Merewether, 16 May 1862, C-14.43; and Report, July 1862, pp. 12-3.
had been presented for the consideration of the Court. Some were strongly of opinion that Warrah should be used solely for fattening purposes. Various advocates of this policy placed a differing emphasis on the relative importance of sheep and cattle in their schemes, although, for the most part, some combination of both types of stock was envisaged. Two Directors, however, suggested that Warrah should be devoted entirely to fattening cattle.29 It was estimated that, in its present state, the run could support eighteen thousand head of cattle and, if fenced, as many as thirty thousand head. All of the cattle on the Port Stephens run could be disposed of, except the pure-breds, and a more suitable breeding station could be purchased "in the northern districts". Hodgson would have used all of Warrah for fattening purposes, but would have allowed purchased store sheep a more important place in the regime, while, rather than disposing of Port Stephens and purchasing a cattle breeding station elsewhere he would have had fattened on Warrah steers and bullocks drafted annually from the coastal property. Hodgson was strongly of opinion that the cattle could be made to pay well and that it would be unwise to sell the existing herds.30 At a later date Craik entered a very strong plea for the avoidance of sheep-breeding and a concentration on fattening purchased store sheep with cattle filling the role of a useful adjunct. He presented figures which demonstrated to his satisfaction that fattening was more profitable than breeding. He argued that the former enterprise was less risky, and that Warrah was pre-eminently

29. G.F. Leslie to J.G. Cattley, 11 Nov. 1858, encl. in Court to Hodgson, 16 Nov. 1858; Court to Hodgson, 16 Nov. 1858, p. 1; Dobie to Hamilton, 16 March 1858, encl. in Court to Hodgson, 16 Nov. 1858.
suited to be a fattening and dealing station. Merewether was inclined to agree with Craik. However, Hamilton was firmly convinced that Warrah would never be turned to full account until the Company bred its own stock. He scarcely gave serious consideration to any other alternative.

It was mentioned earlier that some might argue that the Australian Agricultural Company would have made a bad mistake had they made any other decision than to develop Warrah fully. The subsequent prosperity of the property seems to endorse this viewpoint. But such wise hindsight fails to take into account certain obstacles which were in the way of the Company's deciding to stock Warrah. Perhaps the least easily surmountable of these obstacles were the limitations of Warrah itself, obstacles imposed by the deficiencies in its water supply. Hamilton felt that Warrah, despite its rich pastures, was "not a safe country by itself" because of its lack of a permanent surface water supply. Much of the hesitancy of these years can be understood in the light of these limitations; and at the same time it can be understood why such keen attention was paid to dam construction in the early years of the new regime on Warrah. A second obstacle in the way of those who wished Warrah to be fully utilised was the shareholders' reluctance to foot the bill. Hamilton referred in an apologetic manner to "the odium of calling up further capital". It is difficult to state what bearing upon the utilisation of Warrah was exerted by the Company's ownership of the colliery. At one stage the Court was arguing that if the operations of the colliery were sufficiently

31. Craik's yearly reports, C-YR 1, p. 5, and C-YR 10, p. 16; encl. C-B 105a in Craik to Merewether, 15 Oct. 1863; Merewether to Court, 21 May 1863, E, 20.
32. Court to Hodgson, 10 Jan. 1860, p. 8; Court to Merewether, 26 Feb. 1862, EMD27, p. 6; Report, January 1862, p. 12.
33. Report of meeting of 18 July 1856, p. 28; see also Hodgson to Court, 10 Feb. 1860, E, 276.
34. Court to Merewether, 26 Aug. 1861, p. 8; Court to Hodgson, 26 Dec. 1860, p. 3.
profitable the proceeds therefrom might be employed in the stocking and equipping of Warrah; at another stage the Court expressed concern at the possibility of the colliery not being able to provide returns of a magnitude sufficient to ensure the payment of satisfactory dividends to the shareholders, and saw the re-opening of the stock department as a means of bringing the Company's financial returns up to the required level.

A final verdict on the Australian Agricultural Company's long delayed decision to restock Warrah must depend so much on the vantage point of one hundred years after the event as to render it of doubtful worth. It is easy to point to the contemporary success of their neighbours, and say to the Court; "Go thou and do likewise" and revile them for fools if they did not, and curse them for dawdlers because they took so long to come to a decision whose good sense is so obvious to us. But the importance of the obstacles mentioned in the preceding paragraph must be recognised and, above all, it might be uncharitable to say that the decision-makers should have had the strength of character to disregard the potency of the cloud of past disasters. It is always much easier to advise someone else not to let the past weigh too heavily with one when arranging present affairs and planning for the future, than it is to follow such wise counsel oneself.

By the time the decision to restock Warrah finally was made the two men who were to have the closest connection

35. Court to Hodgson, 18 Aug. 1859, Court to Hodgson, 10 Nov. 1859, p. 4.
36. Court to Hodgson, 18 Aug. 1859, p. 3, Merewether to Court, 20 June 1862, D, 210-1, 214, Court to Merewether, 26 Feb. 1862, EMD27, p. 6-8, Court to Merewether, 26 Sept. 1861, p. 3.
37. See, for example, Court to Merewether, 26 Feb. 1862, EMD27, p. 10.
38. Hamilton memorandum of 1856, p. 9, Court to Merewether, 26 Jan. 1864, p. 4.
with the initial stages of the enterprise had been in the Company's service for some months. A reserved, highly efficient Englishman, Edward Christopher Merewether, was General Superintendent; and a rather more volatile Scot, Samuel A. Craik, was Stock Superintendent. The extent to which the Company's prosperity of the following fourteen years was due to the quality of the management provided by this partnership is a debatable point. Certainly, the contrast between the disasters of the pre-1861 period and the success of the post-1861 period has some connection with the change in personnel. But if it is argued that the early failures were due to bad management, it might well follow that the subsequent successes were due to an absence of bad management, and not to management which necessarily had a touch of the brilliant about it. The conclusion that good management is nothing more or less than the absence of bad management, that efficient management is simply the avoiding of mistakes, is one which perhaps can be applied more readily to the art of stock control than to the art of diplomacy. All that the stock manager had to do was to sit back and let the grass grow, see that the shepherds tended their sheep conscientiously, see that the sheep were not put out to graze on unsuitable pasture, ensure that store sheep were bought and fat sheep sold at the correct time, and, in general, see that the station machine ran smoothly. But managerial indignation at this suggestion would be widespread and, to a certain extent justified. Merewether carefully refrained from voicing an opinion, but Craik had no hesitation in declaring that his own able management was largely responsible for the prosperity of the Australian Agricultural Company's stock department during the period he was at the helm.

39. Sentiments akin to this were expressed in Court to Merewether, 26 Feb, 1862, EMD27, p. 11.
40. Craik to Merewether, 7 Dec. 1870, C-I 141,
      5 Dec. 1870, C-K 153,
      11 June 1873, C-L 78
Merewether was born in London and arrived in New South Wales in 1838 at the age of eighteen. For some time he was private secretary to Governor Gipps. Later, he was for a time Commissioner for Crown Lands in the Hastings River district; and he gave up a position as Clerk of the Legislative Council in order to enter the employ of the Australian Agricultural Company. His official duties had given him a very good opportunity for coming into touch with the commercial and political life of the colony. As well, he possessed certain attributes which well fitted him for the position he now occupied. He was an astute businessman, he was conscientious and extremely hard-working. His administration was noteworthy for his meticulous attention to detail. In 1897 Hamilton spoke of him as "a man unsurpassed for mastery of detail, pen-power, soundness of judgement, and promptness in action." Merewether's business transactions were conducted in accordance with a fairly enlightened interpretation of business morality. His humanity was not completely obliterated by the circumstances of his position. Such of his private life as emerges from his business correspondence indicates that he conformed to conventionally accepted Victorian middle class standards of domestic morality; a somewhat different picture emerges from Craik's business correspondence, and the Scot was quite impressed by Merewether's qualities as a husband and a father. In 1860, at the age of forty, Merewether married

41. See the papers of C.W. Lloyd, Mitchell Library 1460, a note on E.C. Merewether, Vol. 2, p. 152; and Merewether's death certificate and will in the Registrar General's Office in Sydney; see also Gregson, op. cit., p. 235 and 298; and Merewether to Craik, 8 Feb. 1863, p. 313.
42. Hamilton's address in Report, July 1897, p. 1; see also Hamilton's address in Report, February 1893, pp. 6-8, and Report, February 1876, p. 3 and p. 7.
44. See, e.g., his description of the death of a young son of a Company employee, Merewether to Court, 18 Jan. 1862, D, 42; also, his attitude to Darby, Ibid, 26 Jan. 1862, D, 93.
the sister of David Scott Mitchell. This marriage produced ten children. When his father-in-law died Merewether inherited the Burwood colliery, and on his own death in 1893 left an estate valued at £250,000. Connubial constancy and paternal kindliness were only two aspects of a character which to the business world presented a front of suave but ruthless efficiency and demanding administration which boded ill for subordinates who made mistakes or crossed him in any way. On 1 October 1861 this man took up his duties in the service of the Australian Agricultural Company.

Merewether concurred with Hamilton in the conviction that one essential pre-requisite for the success of any future pastoral undertaking was the appointment of a competent Stock Superintendent. This necessity was indicated by the Company’s previous history, and heightened by the fact that Merewether knew very little indeed about sheep-farming, and by the possibility that the new appointee might be obliged to undertake the very responsible task of supervising the re-stocking of Warrah. Both Hamilton and Merewether expected difficulty in obtaining the services of a suitable man, for there were few able and experienced men who were not eager to set up on their own account.

In August 1861, before he entered the service of the Company, but after he had been offered, and accepted, his position, Merewether addressed a letter to Samuel Craik, enquiring as to whether he would be interested in the post.

45. Report, July 1873, p. 3-4.
46. Merewether to Court, 16 Oct. 1861, D, 2; for the negotiations leading up to Merewether’s appointment see Hamilton to Merewether, 26 June 1860, encl. in Court to Hodgson, 25 June 1860. (N.B. This despatch, although dated 25 June, bore a postscript dated 26 June); Hamilton to Merewether, 25 Oct. 1860, encl. in Court to Hodgson, 25 Oct. 1860.
47. Merewether to Court, 20 June 1862, D, 215.
48. Merewether to Court, 20 Aug. 1862, D, 267, 27 Nov. 1874, K, 22; Merewether to Craik, 30 Nov. 1861, p. 305.
of Stock Superintendent for the Australian Agricultural Company. Craik had been recommended to Merewether by Edward Lloyd, a prominent Liverpool Plains squatter, and Craik’s bondsman. Later that year the offer was formally extended to Craik, and accepted by him. Craik was engaged on the understanding that there was no guarantee that he would be entrusted with the task of supervising the re-stocking of Warrah, should that policy be decided upon. Instead, Merewether was to see how Craik shaped. One of Craik’s tasks was to prepare a report on the practical details with which he would be concerned should the decision to restock be given. Merewether informed him that the impression he created would be formed largely by the quality of this report. The report was satisfactory, Merewether thought that Craik was shaping well, and within twelve months Merewether had decided that Craik was the man for the task ahead.

Craik was not on Merewether’s rung in the social ladder. He was an Aberdeen man, educated at Marischall College. He then spent some years as junior clerk in a lawyer’s office, before arriving in New South Wales in 1857. For four years he was an overseer on the White brothers’ Bando station. The observer is more struck by the differences than by the similarities in the characters of the two men, Craik and Merewether. One feels that they had little in common which would have led them to associate with each other had it not been for their common connection with the Australian Agricultural Company. However, circumstances can enforce

49. There is no copy of Merewether’s August letter available. See, Merewether to Court, 18 Oct. 1861, D, 19; Merewether to Craik, 12 Oct. 1861, p. 129; and Craik to Merewether, 6 Nov. 1861, C-4142 and 3 July 1862, C-615.

50. Merewether to Craik, 12 May 1862, p. 266; Merewether to Court, 20 June 1862, D, 216.

51. Merewether to Craik, 3 April 1862, p. 183.

52. Craik to Merewether, 28 July 1864, C-415.

53. Craik to Merewether, 3 Dec. 1861, C-616.

54. Craik to Merewether, 10 Oct. 1872, C-K 127.

55. Craik to Merewether, 16 May 1862, C-123.
tolerance, and provide the opportunity for friendship. Out of this business relationship extending over fourteen years there developed a mutual respect which survived numerous disagreements. Craik came to regard Merewether as a very valuable friend.\textsuperscript{56} Merewether, more practised in the art of dissembling, leaves a less obvious impression of his opinion of Craik. The cool, polished Englishman was always likely to be irritated by Craik's impetuous actions and his brusque manner. But he was aware that his stock manager possessed real abilities, and in time he learnt to allow for some of Craik's foibles.

Craik "is a man who at home would have been only a very ordinary small farmer," wrote a colonial experiencer who spent some months on Warrah. "He has had a rare stroke of fortune in falling in here for there is nothing particularly bright about him".\textsuperscript{57} This description is perhaps as much a commentary on the attitudes of the colonial experiencer as it is an accurate portrayal of the manager on Warrah. Craik lacked Merewether's polish, he married no higher than a Maitland merchant's daughter, and died in 1888 worth only £6,000.\textsuperscript{58} It was of greater cogency that he was "a good judge of cattle" and a capable stock dealer and, although the importance of this attribute may not be apparent at first sight, that he had had considerable experience in the building of dams.\textsuperscript{60}

"I hope that when he gets into our ways", Merewether wrote of the new Stock Superintendent to the Court, "he will be a useful servant to the Company".\textsuperscript{61} Craik proved himself a

\textsuperscript{56} Craik to Merewether, 29 Aug. 1874, C-M 111; Merewether to Craik, 21 Nov. 1874, p. 862.
\textsuperscript{57} Charles Mair to George Clive, 4 Aug. 1871, Ap53, (Mitchell Library).
\textsuperscript{58} Craik's death certificate and will, Registrar General's Office, Sydney.
\textsuperscript{59} Merewether to Court, 21 Jan. 1862, D, 88; Craik was often asked to judge the Durham cattle at shows as far afield as Singleton and Maitland: Craik to Merewether, 1 Aug. 1866, C-E 56, Craik to Merewether, 25 Feb. 1874, C-M 38.
\textsuperscript{60} Merewether stated that Craik's experience in dam making weighed heavily with him when deciding to offer the post to him; Merewether to Court, 20 June 1862, D, 216.
\textsuperscript{61} Merewether to Court, 21 Jan. 1862, D, 88.
useful servant to the Company, but one could scarcely say that he fulfilled the prior condition. He was as determined as was Merewether to serve the Company faithfully, and to help fill its coffers. But Merewether's first impressions of a rather unconventional character were never altered. Merewether admitted that he could not understand Craik; the latter, for his part, had no objection to being termed "rather rough at times and decidedly eccentric". Craik had now reached that comfortable stage of life when it was open to him to console himself with the reflection that he was too old to change his ways. Yet his eccentricities consisted of little beyond a rather vigorous literary style, and other characteristics consistent with the bearing of "any man possessing the smallest claims to the spirit and sensitive feelings of a Scotchman". There is much that is attractive in this personality. But his marriage demonstrated a rather less attractive side of Craik's character. He married in 1871, and enjoyed a short period of wedded bliss. "I saw Mr. Craik yesterday," Merewether wrote to a mutual acquaintance, "He is nearer earth than he was but still somewhat in the clouds." Disillusionment followed swiftly and, rather late in the day, Craik made the painful discovery that he was still a confirmed bachelor. His irritation at the restrictions imposed by his new status was increased by his wife's regrettable tendency to produce daughters, and neglect her duty to provide the desired son and heir. Craik's

62. Craik to Merewether, 23 Oct. 1866, C-E 85; see also
63. Craik to Merewether, 28 March 1868, C-G 30.
64. Craik to Merewether, 23 Dec. 1868, C-G 128.
65. Craik to Merewether, 16 May 1862, C-H 43
66. Craik to Merewether, 10 July 1871, C-J 77 tells of the
67. Craik to Merewether, 14 Aug. 1875, C-N 75.
68. Craik to Merewether, 14 Aug. 1875, C-N 75;  
see Merewether to Craik, 16 Aug. 1875, p. 523 for the 
former's expressions of sympathy.
work provided the emotional satisfaction he failed to derive from his marriage. He lavished his care and attention upon Warrah, and the sight of its lush pastures, its healthy sheep, and its up-to-date equipment was a worthwhile reward for his pains.

At the end of October 1861 Craik left his previous post and travelled down from the Namoi to the Company's Port Stephens estate. There he spent eight days conferring with Green, his predecessor as Superintendent of Stock and Stations, riding over the run and becoming acquainted with the problems posed by the pastures and its stock. His inspection of Port Stephens completed, Craik turned his back on the coast and rode over the ranges to Warrah and, on 19 November, reached that "wonderful tract of country" now to become the site of the headquarters of the Australian Agricultural Company's stock department.

There was reason for haste. Just outside the southern boundary of Warrah, a little higher up the foothills to the Liverpool Ranges, there were two watering points which the Company coveted. On Warrah Creek there was a permanent waterhole a few yards outside the boundary, and on Jack's Creek there was a permanent spring, at a distance of two miles from the Company's property. The Company, desiring to avail itself of the water supply thus provided, had held an area embracing these two points on an eight year license. This license had expired on 31 December 1859, and subsequently, due to official policy dictated by the wishes of land reformers, the Company had been able to

69. Merewether to Craik, 7 Nov. 1861, p. 187.
70. Merewether to Court, 18 Oct. 1861, D, 19.
    18 Nov. 1861, D, 3345.
71. Craik to Merewether, 19 Nov. 1861, C, 17.
secure only an annual license. But colonial politics soon demonstrated even less concern for the well being of the Australian Agricultural Company, and the land bordering Warrah was declared to be in the Second Class Settled Districts under the Crown Lands Occupation Act of 1861. The two watering points, therefore, became open to free selection. It was "highly desirable" that the use of the waterhole and the spring should not be denied the Company by an intruder. The Warrah Creek waterhole was the only permanent water for some miles around. "Were it to be taken up by a dishonest or hostile person, you might sustain much injury", Craik was warned. Under the terms of the Act the Company had until the end of the year to forestall invading settlers by erecting improvements on the land surrounding the watering points. Once these improvements were established, the Company would have a pre-emptive right to purchase the land. Merewether strongly urged the Court to exercise this pre-emptive right, especially in the case of the Warrah Creek waterhole.

It was a race against time. An area of fifty acres at each place was to be fenced. Craik was faced with the "fearful" task of making a road "nearly half-way up the Liverpool Ranges". He had difficulty in obtaining workmen to do the job, and on one occasion had to drag reluctant hired labour out of the Murrurrundi pub. Craik's progress reports, indicating that there would be little time to spare, kept Merewether on tenterhooks for some weeks. The completion of the task could not have been better timed.

72. A description of this situation is given in Merewether to Court, 18 Nov. 1861, D, 35-8; for the earlier apprehensions of Hodgson see Hodgson to Court, 18 Feb. 1861, B, 466.
73. Craik to Merewether, 6 Dec. 1861, C-19/2/18; a sketch plan of the area is enclosed in Craik to Merewether, 9 Nov. 1861.
74. Craik to Merewether, 16 Dec. 1861, C-24/2/3
For Merewether's suspicions of calculated hindrance to the Company on the part of the Workmen see Merewether to Craik, 16 Dec. 1861, p. 402.
The hut and yards on Warrah Creek were finished on the night of 31 December 1861. It was as well for the Company that such vigorous action had been taken, for Craik later reported that a few would-be free selectors had gone to the top of Warrah Creek, only to be disappointed at finding the Company's enclosure there. It had been planned to have stockmen living at each of Warrah and Jack's Creeks huts by the end of the year. Craik could not arrange this because of a shortage of staff, but managed to engage "an old crawler, at low wages" to occupy the hut for the time being "until the first blush of free selection" had "gone by". The enclosing of the Jack's Creek spring was completed a few weeks later. The Company had spent a total of £157 on the two sites. Forestalling free selectors had been an expensive business.

Craik's first impressions of Warrah had been marred by the rather uncivil reception given him by the overseer, Darby, quite different from that of the courteous and obliging Green, for whom Craik had nothing but praise. But the attractions of the estate itself more than compensated for minor irritations caused by an incompetent official soon to leave the Company's employ. Craik zestfully applied himself to his task. This was a twofold one, of managing the old while preparing for the new. The former involved

75. Craik to Merewether, 1 Jan. 1862, C-1861/1
76. Craik to Merewether, 11 Feb. 1862, C-1862/1
77. Merewether to Court, 21 Jan. 1862, D, 93.
78. Craik to Merewether, 18 Feb. 1862, C-1862/1
79. Return of capital expenditure, WPA20.
80. Craik to Merewether, 25 Nov. 1861, C-1861/1
11 Dec. 1861, C-1861/20
12 Dec. 1861, C-1861/21
81. Craik to Merewether, 16 Dec. 1861, C-1861/23
82. Hodgson to Court, 17 May 1861, Supplementary Despatch Book, B/C, p. 3, and Merewether to Court, 21 Jan. 1862, D, 93, indicate agreement on Darby's incompetence.
a continuation and slight extension of Hodgson's policy of purchasing limited quantities of store stock for fattening. The latter involved Craik in the preparation of his report on the methods he would adopt should it be decided to commence a sheep-breeding establishment on Warrah. Craik prepared this report in the belief that it might influence the issue but, in the event, the decision was made before the report reached England.83

The report was a very practical document.84 It was concerned primarily with an examination of those localities on Warrah which were potential out-stations for the depasturing of sheep. Craik discussed the particular use to which each area could be put — whether, for example, a certain station would be suitable for fattening wethers, or whether the water and grass supplies at another location were sufficiently plentiful to make it a suitable lambing station — and gave his estimate of the carrying capacity of the various out-stations. In all, he saw his way to having seventy thousand sheep grazing on Warrah within three or four years of commencing operations. The various items of equipment necessary at each centre were then listed. Requirements ranged from the woolshed to a new bullock dray. Craik concluded his report with the recommendation that there should be no interference with the existing cattle run. In this manner Craik prepared himself for the task which it will be the concern of the following three chapters to discuss.

The management of Warrah during the subsequent fourteen

83. See Merewether to Craik, 3 April 1862 for the terms of reference within which Craik was asked to report.
84. The document, WP-A8, was forwarded to Merewether as an enclosure in Craik to Merewether, 12 Aug. 1862, £. A copy was sent to England, enclosed in Merewether to Court, 20 Aug. 1862.
years was "personalized" rather than "institutionalized". A description of the relations which subsisted between the three men who had most to do with directing the course of events on Warrah—Hamilton, Merewether and Craik—throws much light on this matter. These relations are a particular example of the manner in which one Company tackled the general problem referred to in the introduction, that of the English investors' control over colonial managers; but the relationship within the colony of Craik on Warrah with Merewether at Newcastle is also discussed. It will be shown that the Company had found a satisfactory solution to the general problem.

The chain of administrative command from the shareholders in England to the Stock Superintendent in the colony numbered four links. These were: the body of shareholders; the Court of Directors, with the Governor as its Chairman; the General Superintendent in the colony, stationed at Newcastle; and the Stock Superintendent on Warrah. Generally speaking, each of these authorities had dealings only with that authority immediately adjacent in the hierarchy. Certain exceptions are noteworthy. Towards the end of his period with the Company Craik wrote a rather pathetic letter to the Court asking for some indication in the form of a financial gift of their appreciation of his services. Merewether, while refraining from vetoing the step, had disapproved of it. The Court refused Craik's request.85 A more important exception concerned certain shareholders' criticism of Merewether. At the half-yearly meeting held on 10 February 1874 a group of proprietors launched an attack on the Company's administration for alleged neglect

85. Craik to Merewether, 1 Oct. 1874, C-M 121, 23 Nov. 1874, C-M 136, 26 Nov. 1874, C-M 138, 8 Sept. 1875, C-N 82.
of the Port Stephens estate. Merewether had no difficulty in reading into the remarks of a small section of the shareholders insinuations that his administration of the Company's affairs was influenced by his private business interests. Greatly indignant, Merewether asked to be released from his engagement. The mollifying influence of the Court, combined with the apologies of the shareholders, given concrete expression in the form of a gift of £1,000, induced Merewether to remain in the services of the Company for a twelvemonth after the end of 1874, but beyond that he would not go.86

With the exception of the incidents already referred to the question of the relationship between the Court and the shareholders need not detain us here. Of more importance is the need to clarify the position of the Governor within the Court. This is a simple task. To all intents and purposes Hamilton was the Court. Opinions officially those of the Court were in reality to be attributed to Hamilton. This fact was perfectly well appreciated in the colony. A decision referred to England might be delayed because Hamilton was holidaying on the continent.87 Craik made no bones about the situation, and referred in his correspondence with Merewether to "the Court (which means the Governor)".88 In the light of Hamilton’s first hand knowledge of Warrah and his forceful personality it is quite understandable that

86. Transcript of the shorthand notes of the Half Yearly Meeting of Shareholders on 10 February 1874, encl. in Court to Merewether, 19 March 1874; see also:
Merewether to Court, 16 April 1874, J, 351–3,
14 May 1874, J, 368,
4 June 1874, J, 383,
9 July 1874, J, 399–400,
6 Aug. 1874, J, 417, 424,
3 Sept. 1874, J, 436;
Merewether to Boulton, 5 Oct. 1874, p. 751;
Merewether to Craik, 9 May 1874, p. 388,
16 May 1874, p. 350, and
87. Court to Merewether, 22 May 1868, EMD165, p. 2.
88. Craik to Merewether, 25 Aug. 1866, C-E 64; see also
Craik to Merewether, 22 Feb. 1867, C-F 21.
he should have dominated the Court.

The relations which existed between England and New South Wales were to a large extent nothing more than those which existed between Hamilton and Merewether. They do not lend themselves to neat summing up, other than that they were infused with a spirit of cordiality based on mutual respect. Theoretically, of course, the Court had the final say. But our concern here is not with what might have been done, but with what actually was done. In a business association based on friendship and individual whim there is no clearly discernible area within which the various parties exercise their respective authorities. However, the separate poles are distinguishable. In the case of the Australian Agricultural Company there was a distinction between the more important decisions which were made in England, and the less important decisions which were left to the discretion of the colonial administration. Thus, Craik and Merewether had to bide their time while the question as to whether to restock Warrah or not was thrashed out in England; and the Court pointed out that the scale of rations was one of those "points of local detail" which would have to be decided in the colony. But there was no attempt on the part of the Court to draw up a schedule which would show clearly exactly what matters were "points of local detail". The Court referred to this problem on more than one occasion, but when it did so its pronouncements were more in the nature of a kindly assurance of support than an attempt to lay down precise rules for the guidance of their chief colonial officer. To some extent it was a case of each matter, as events threw it up for discussion, posing its own problem. As each issue arose the General Superintendent had to determine the extent to which he could act on his own initiative.

89. Court to Merewether, 26 Oct. 1867, EMD157, p. 4.
Merewether must have occasionally experienced difficulty in discerning the niceties of the distinction between comment "for consideration only", advice, and instructions.

Hamilton's attempts to inform his General Superintendent as to the position of the limits of his powers must have done little more than impress Merewether with the need to avoid disagreeing with Hamilton on matters on which Hamilton felt strongly.

Two examples will provide some indication of the flexibility of the situation. Craik wanted the Company to engage in the purchase of store cattle, but the Court vetoed the idea; but, although it wanted European rams to be mated with the Warrah ewes, it gave way before the colonial insistence that this should not be so. Thus, when the whole fate of the stud flock was concerned the Court had refrained from pushing its support for a particular policy to extremes, despite the fact that it had earlier taken the trouble to over-ride the colonial management on the less important matter of the purchase of store cattle. Again, on the one hand Merewether was left to decide whether the Warrah clip should be scoured or washed on the sheep's back; while the Court insisted that the basis for calculating lambing percentages should be that which it thought the better, despite the extremely strong protests of a Stock Superintendent who favoured an alternative method. Thus the Court had concerned itself over a minor book-keeping matter while leaving to the General Superintendent

90. For examples of the Court's expressions of opinion on this subject, see Court to Merewether, 27 June 1864, EMD87, p.6, and Court to Merewether, 22 May 1866, EMD134, pp. 1-2.

91. A summary of this controversy may be obtained from the following: Craik to Merewether, 9 Feb. 1874, C-M 27, 13 Feb. 1875, C-N 15; Merewether to Court, 3 Dec. 1869, H, 66; and Gamack to Merewether, 21 May 1870, C-I 56.
The other examples given in this paragraph are discussed below.
a decision which was to have a great deal of influence on subsequent events and which also involved the expenditure of £1,000. The limits of the colonial managers' freedom on each question, it would seem, were determined as much by the strength of the convictions Hamilton held on each particular matter as by the intrinsic importance of each issue. But this conclusion needs to be modified.

The relationship existing between the Company's authorities in England and their managers in the colony was undoubtedly affected by the actual physical facilities which were available for the communication of opinion between London and Newcastle, but in exactly what manner is not immediately obvious. Throughout this period discussion was mainly a matter for sea mail and, in fact, during Merewether's first years in office there was no other means of communication in existence. At first Merewether wrote a monthly despatch, generally leaving Newcastle about the twentyfirst; later, four-weekly mails were commenced. In addition, an annual report and two half-yearly reports were prepared. After a few years the Court, much to Merewether's relief, absolved him of the responsibility of furnishing these latter. In these despatches Merewether replied to points raised in the despatch from the Court of two, or sometimes three, months earlier. An exchange of views on any matter was thus a long and tedious process, subject to all the inconveniences arising from the limitations of the written word, and liable to being affected by changes developing in the

92. Merewether to Craik, 27 May 1862, p. 325.
94. Merewether to Court, 21 Aug. 1863, E, 78.
21 June 1867, F, 462.
95. Merewether to Court, 21 July 1865, F, 41, points out that he cannot receive a reply to this despatch until the following November.
situation being discussed as the despatches passed to and fro. The nineteenth century saw no improvement in this position other than the linking of New South Wales and England by cable. The time taken for the transmission of a message from Newcastle to London was only a few hours. But the benefits of the cable were not so great as this difference might suggest. In practice the cable's use was limited to the furnishing of information; it was of limited benefit for the exchange of views necessary to the making of a decision. Moreover, annoying mistakes in transmission were very common. One other method of communication - a personal meeting of individual shareholders with the personnel of the colonial administrative staff - was only availed of once during this period, when Busby, a Director, spent some time in the colony.

Few would argue that the rather slender nature of the contact between London and Newcastle did not increase the difficulties of management. But these inadequacies in communications could have had one or other of two quite opposite effects on the tightness of the English grip on colonial affairs. Either a desire to avoid the interminable delays associated with the exchange of views could have led the Court to allow the colonial authorities a great deal of latitude; or an over-riding desire to ensure that unreliable colonial officers did not take advantage of delay and distance from England could have led to a request that any decision of any importance should be referred to England for a decision. But this factor of communications did not have as important an influence on the general problem under discussion as did others now to be considered.

96. See, for example, Gregson to Court, 27 Oct. 1876, L, 266.
Supreme importance must be attached to the confidence reposed by Hamilton in Merewether. Hamilton was sure that "a great improvement" had been effected in the management of the Company's affairs following Merewether's acceptance of office. Merewether's administration earned for him the confidence of the Court, and the faith thus engendered affected the day by day working of the managerial structure more than did any other consideration. But there is one other matter of importance which must be mentioned. In a comparatively minor, but nonetheless significant degree, Merewether aroused confidence in his administration by the manner in which he satisfied the Court's desire for a comprehensive description of the Company's affairs, a particular in which his predecessors had been sadly lacking. Merewether's despatches provided the detailed account of the Company's operations necessary if the Court was to have an adequate picture of developments in the colony. Copies of most of the returns which passed through the Newcastle office were sent to England. The checking of these accounts by the London office was no formality, for, on occasions, mistakes in the returns were discovered in London.

From the above discussion there emerges an impression of the manner in which the Australian Agricultural Company achieved a satisfactory solution of the general problem under review. It did so by exercising an over-riding supervision over a chief executive officer in the colony in whom it had complete confidence, the efficiency of this over-riding supervision being greatly increased as a result

98. Court to Merewether, 26 May 1863, EMD65, p. 7; for expressions of a similar viewpoint see:
    Court to Merewether, 26 July 1862, EMD37, p. 4,
    26 May 1862, EMD32, p. 2, and
    26 April 1864, EMD82, p. 7.
99. Court to Merewether, 27 April 1863, EMD64, p. 7.
100. Engstrom to Merewether, 26 July 1862, EMD36;
     Court to Merewether, 29 Jan. 1869, EMD182, p. 5, and
of the wealth of information demanded and obtained. If Merewether had failed to discuss a matter which Hamilton felt needed discussing, Merewether would have been informed of the fact; once assured of being provided with information in the detail thought necessary, Hamilton was equipped to step in with his instructions whenever he felt so inclined. The solution thus arrived at was a highly individual one, depending as it did on the friendship of two men. This is not to say that this was a solution incapable of more general application. There is no reason why other business organisations should not have found a similar solution equally satisfactory. One wonders to what extent the economic development of Australia during the second half of the nineteenth century was influenced by friendships of this nature.

Relations within the colony between Merewether and Craik raise quite different issues for the historian of Warrah. Much of the interest in this question arises from a study of the personal associations of the two men. Later study of the company ownership of Australian pastoral properties might indicate the extent to which the management of Warrah was typical of the management of those other pastoral properties. At present, however, the bearing that the uneasy Craik-Merewether truce had upon the more general problem is not an obvious quantity. Personalities dominate in the following discussion.

It was not without significance that Merewether and Craik had much more opportunity for exchanging their views, and much more opportunity for personal consultation than did Merewether and Hamilton, for it seems likely that this helped to create a situation wherein Merewether exercised a control over Craik much more restrictive and consistent than that exercised by Hamilton over Merewether. The
extent of this control increased over the years, and partly because of this, and partly because of the force of the characters involved, there were frequent clashes between the two men. Craik's relations with Merewether were sometimes cordial, more often strained, but never uninteresting.

Merewether seems to have exercised quite a close supervision over affairs on Warrah. As good an indication as any of this control is provided by the regular episode of the indents for the station's stores. Never did Craik send down to Newcastle for Merewether's approval a list of stores and station supplies which Merewether did not scrutinise minutely; rarely was a list allowed to pass unchallenged; nearly always Merewether refused to authorise the purchase of some item or items on the indent, despite Craik's protestations of absolute necessity. Merewether's interference took more positive form. Many important decisions were taken by Merewether rather than by Craik. A notable instance was Merewether's refusal to listen to Craik's arguments against the establishment of a wool scouring or sheep washing plant on Warrah. It was Merewether who decided when Warrah should be fenced, and by what means. The sites of the head station and of the administrative centre on West Warrah were both selected by Merewether. It was Merewether who decided that auction sales of Company-bred bulls should be held on Warrah. And so Merewether's control extended down to small details. He sometimes over-ruled Craik's plans

101. There are many examples of this type of supervision; among them are Merewether to Craik, 7 Nov. 1862, p. 17, 29 Aug. 1864, p. 48, 24 Aug. 1866, p. 312, 5 April 1868, p. 465, 21 Aug. 1869, p. 705, and 16 Dec. 1870, p. 695; for Craik's reaction see Craik to Merewether, 26 May 1870, C-I 60. For Merewether's complaints regarding Craik's "enormous" consumption of stationery see Merewether to Craik, 1 Jan. 1865, p. 464, 12 Dec. 1870, p. 678, and Craik to Merewether, 15 Dec. 1870, C-I 144.
for the utilisation of a particular paddock.\textsuperscript{102} Merewether decided the order in which the sheep should be shorn; when facilities at the washpool were so overtaxed that not all the sheep could be washed before shearing, it was Merewether who decided which flocks should be shorn in the grease\textsuperscript{104}. Despite Craik's strong opposition, Merewether insisted that the fence surrounding a small paddock at the Bowman River should be constructed on the chock and log principle, and not of wire\textsuperscript{105}.

The opportunity for Merewether's close control over Craik was afforded by the comparatively ready means of communication available. It took only a day for a letter from Newcastle to reach Warrah, and both men were prolific letter writers. During these years a telegraph station at Murrurundi was connected to Newcastle, thus affording Merewether somewhat better facilities for making his decisions known on Warrah with little delay, although telegraphic services were not always what they ought to have been\textsuperscript{107}. In addition, there were fairly frequent meetings between the two men. Craik went down to Port Stephens four times a year, meeting Merewether at Stroud for a day or two. The two men then went over the quarterly accounts together\textsuperscript{108}. Merewether visited Warrah regularly four times a year, generally early in March, June, September and November. As a rule he spent between one and two weeks at the station each time\textsuperscript{109}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{102} Merewether to Craik, 15 June 1871, p. 45.
\item \textsuperscript{103} Merewether to Craik, 2 Sept. 1872, p. 11.
\item \textsuperscript{104} Craik to Merewether, 13 Aug. 1874, C-M 100.
\item \textsuperscript{105} Craik to Merewether, 31 Aug. 1872, C-K 111.
\item \textsuperscript{106} Merewether to Craik, 22 Dec. 1865, p. 605.
\item \textsuperscript{107} Craik to Merewether, 1 April 1874 C-M 52, 11 July 1874 C-M 89.
\item \textsuperscript{108} Merewether to Court, 20 April 1866, F, 211.
\item \textsuperscript{109} The frequency of these meetings detracts from the value of the correspondence as a record of the matters dealt with by the two men. See Craik to Merewether, 15 Sept. 1864, C-C 61.
\end{itemize}
Occasionally, circumstances on the property were such as to suggest the advisability of a special trip to Warrah, and if the pressure of his other duties was light enough to permit it, Merewether would pay such a visit. This happened, for example, when the station's sheep-washing plant commenced operations.

Merewether's restrictions on Craik's freedom of action increased over these years. Merewether's readily admitted ignorance of sheep-farming resulted in him leaning heavily upon Craik for advice in the early 'sixties. However, his accumulating knowledge and experience gradually led him to usurp many of Craik's functions. This extension of Merewether's control covered functions which Craik regarded as specially his own preserve. One such, as we have seen, was the use to which various paddocks could be put from time to time. Another was stock dealing. The infringement of his independence in this field was extremely galling to Craik. Stock dealing, Craik prided himself, was a field in which he was well fitted to excel. And Merewether, earlier, had complimented him on his dexterity in arranging stock sales. 110 But towards the end of their partnership Merewether took over much of the task of negotiating with dealers. 111

Merewether's restrictions on Craik's freedom of action, and the outspoken criticisms he sometimes heaped on his subordinate usually produced a vigorous reaction on the part of Craik. Craik was much more ready to admit that he was cursed by an "impetuous temper" than he was willing to attempt to restrain it. 112 There emerged the common


pattern of criticism from Merewether provoking a rapid response from Craik in the heat of the moment. Once his temper cooled Craik was quite miserable for a time as he realised what he had done. He was full of apologies, and attempted to excuse his actions by reference to his temperament. He claimed that he had learnt to adopt a "cool philosophic view" of the rebukes administered by Merewether, but there is ample evidence to the contrary. "If we were to be together one hundred years more", he observed to Merewether, "something would occur every six months or so to cause unpleasantness between us". A vivid indication of the tender points at which Craik was sensitive to criticism is provided in a passage from a letter written to Merewether in August 1870:

"The last time you were here you appeared to me to be dissatisfied with everything and your remarks were certainly most unkind, uncalled for and unjust as regards myself. You found fault with my bridges (about which I took some trouble) and said they would be washed away. You found fault with my drying yard and said it would be burnt down. My gate-ways were the construction of an idiot and a subject for Punch. Stock shows (which I approve of) were institutions of the devil, and it did the company no good my going to such, and I only did so to flatter my own vanity, to enjoy the dinner and such like.

In short the last time you were here you seemed to me to try to say everything you could to harrow up my feelings which are far more

113. For some examples of these recurrent contretemps see Merewether to Craik, 25 June 1867, p. 884, 24 July 1868, p. 803; Craik to Merewether, 27 Oct. 1866, C-E 87, 19 April 1869, C-H 35, 6 Aug. 1871, C-J 96;

114. Craik to Merewether, 29 Aug. 1874, C-M 111.

115. Craik to Merewether, 16 Aug. 1870, C-M 95."
sensitive than you imagine, although I
smother my natural fiery temper to prevent
a rupture between us which I should regret,
apart from selfish considerations, more than
words can express".

It is possible that other General Superintendents of
other Companies with pastoral undertakings did not have to
deal with station managers of Craik's type. In fact, if
Merewether's summing-up of Craik: "You are the strangest man
I have ever met"116 was based on a fairly comprehensive knowledge
of the general run of station managers in New South Wales,
it follows that Craik was not a typical stock superintendent.
However, Merewether's judgement was probably more impressionistic
than not, and it might be safe to assume that there lived
in New South Wales in the 1860's and 1870's other station
managers who were as interesting and as outspoken as Craik,
and who shared with him the conviction that their job was
worth doing, and worth doing well in the manner they thought
best. But it would be foolhardy to proceed from here to
a demonstration of the relevance of the nuances in the
Craik-Merewether relationship to the superintendent-manager
relationship as it existed in other concerns. To stress
the individual attitudes of the two men, even though it
is recognised that they owe their place in history mainly
to the official positions they held, is not to do too great
a violence to the facts.

It has been shown that an English company was obliged
to meet various difficulties before it could undertake
successful pastoral operations in the colony of New South
Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century.
Problems involving the quality of the personnel mingled
with problems arising from the organization of a joint-stock
company, the distance of New South Wales from the source of funds, and the comparative lack of acquaintance on the part of English investors with the peculiar conditions of the Australian environment to produce a formidable managerial conundrum. Certain aspects of the Australian Agricultural Company's reaction to this situation have been described, and attention has been centred on what appears to have been a change of attitude which occurred in the Company's thinking around the last years of the 1850's. The new approach, and the resulting managerial-cum-personal relationship it evolved in order to deal with its responsibilities has been discussed largely in terms of the men involved. We now leave these matters, and, with Craik in November 1861, turn our attention to "that wonderful tract of country" which lay ready to produce its fruits.
Warrah, as Craik first saw it in 1861, was little changed from its natural state. An unimpressive list of improvements summed up the achievement of almost thirty years of nominal occupation by the Company. The buildings at the head station were in a state of disrepair. There was a "tumbledown woolshed" at Jack's Creek. Scattered over the estate were about twenty sheep stations, the yards old and full of sheep dung, most of the few huts badly in need of repair. There were no dams, and only six wells, half of them being fitted with gins. Over half of the run was on lease to neighbours. On the remainder of the estate the Company ran 3,300 head of cattle and between 5,000 and 6,000 recently purchased store wethers.

This chapter describes the provision on Warrah of the physical equipment necessary for the operation of a pastoral property. Four specific items accounted for the bulk of the Company's expenditure in this field.
during these years. These items were the buildings, the wire fencing, the water supply, and the washpool. A description of the erection of each of these assets, together with an account of the selection of the sites for the administrative centres on the station makes up most of this chapter. Before plunging into this discussion, however, mention is made of the sources of the funds used for this equipment, and of the amounts spent on the various items. Fluctuations in the annual level of the Company's expenditure in this field are noticed, and attention is directed to the extent to which Warrah was able to draw on its own material resources for the provision of its buildings and fences.

A total of £31,585 from all sources was spent on the equipment of Warrah between the years 1861 and 1875 inclusive. Of this sum, £18,277 was provided by the funds of English shareholders, and £13,308 from revenue earned by activities on Warrah. Buildings and yards accounted for £6,792 of this total, the water supply for £2,464, wire fencing for £13,670, and the washpool for £4,278. In addition, there was an amount of £4,381, principally wages and rations, which was not charged specifically to one or other of the four major items.

Expenditure out of shareholders' funds was confined to three distinct charges. Of the initial vote of £30,000, £5,214 was spent on various physical items of equipment. Additions to the washpool in 1870 costing a total of £1,435 were charged to capital account, and £11,628 of the cost of the wire fencing during this period was also charged to this account.

1. See Appendix 4 for annual expenditure on various items.
2. See Appendix 5 for annual total of expenditure from shareholders' funds.
There were fluctuations in the level of annual expenditure on these physical assets. During the three year period 1861-1863 there was a negligible expenditure in this direction. Expenditure for the three year period 1864-1866 totalled £5,718. In May 1866 Craik informed Merewether "improvements are now rapidly drawing to a close". There was a lull in 1867, when the comparatively paltry sum of £648 was spent. In the following year work began on a major project - the enclosing and subdividing of Warrah with wire fencing - which was to absorb a considerable amount of money in subsequent years. Of the total expenditure of £21,990 which, during the years 1868 to 1875 inclusive, can be attributed specifically to one or other of the four major items, £13,670, or 62.2%, was spent on wire fencing, £4,278, or 19.4%, on the washpool, £2,856, or 13.0%, on buildings and yards, and £1,186, or 5.4%, on the water supply. During this period total annual expenditure on all these items only once fell below £2,700, when, in 1869, slightly under £1,600 was spent.

The Court imposed no arbitrary upper limit on the amount that should be spent each year. The annual fluctuations in the level of expenditure reflected the readiness of the Company to treat each question on its merits whenever it considered that the appropriate time had arrived. It is significant that two large-scale projects - fencing, and the washpool - were commenced at almost the same time. In fact, when the commencement of work on one particular item was postponed because of excessive commitments elsewhere, as happened in the case of fencing in the early 'sixties, it was just as likely that the advocates of caution would be the men on the spot confronted with the practical

3. Craik to Merewether, 12 May 1866, C-E 40.
difficulties of supervising a number of important undertakings at the same time as it was that they would be Directors, apprehensive that too much might be spent at any one time. However, the Court did have moments when it was more economy minded than at others, and these occasional phases of financial caution modify the more usually accepted Company principle that the station should always be provided with the best equipment possible.

A considerable amount of the building material required for the development of Warrah was supplied from the natural resources of the estate itself. The forests of Warrah were not particularly extensive, but they were sufficient to supply the Company with most, if not all, of the smaller timber sections required during these years. Practically all the fencing timber was sawn from trees growing on Warrah. A significant innovation concerned the utilisation of the washpool plant during the off-season. The steam engine which worked the pump at shearing time was used to drive a circular saw during the remainder of the year. This procedure, begun in 1868, resulted in a marked decrease in the cost of building construction on Warrah. When the engine first used at the washpool was replaced by a more powerful one, the former machine was removed, eventually to a location on West Warrah, where it was used solely for sawing timber. The scale of

4. Court to Merewether, 23 Dec. 1865, EMD123, p. 2; 26 Feb. 1866, EMD128, p. 2;
   Merewether to Craik, 14 July 1869, p. 628;
   Craik to Merewether, 24 Feb. 1868, C-G 23.
5. Court to Merewether, 26 Feb. 1864, EMD79, p. 6; 26 May 1864, EMD85, p. 6;
6. Merewether to Court, 21 Oct. 1862, D, 322;
   Craik to Merewether, 22 March 1871, C-J 34.
7. Merewether to Court, 27 March 1868, G, 164.
9. Craik to Merewether, 10 May 1872, C-K 67.
10. Craik to Merewether, 2/24 June 1873, C-L 85; 24 Nov. 1875, C-MR 23.
these timber milling operations was quite respectable. At the end of December 1875 there was seventy thousand feet of sawn timber, valued at £420, stored on the property for future use. Most of this was cypress pine, and included flooring, lining and weatherboards, slabs, joists, roofing and fencing battens, and shingles. Craik later contracted for the building of a shed, fifty feet by sixteen feet, to house this timber. The accumulation of supplies in such quantities enabled the timber to be seasoned prior to use.

Two general principles guided the Company's attitude towards the equipping of its pastoral property. The one, mentioned before, was that, as a rule, Warrah was to be provided with the best. The other emphasised the value of experience over originality. In cases such as the selection of sites for the head station and the various out-stations, the decisions made by Warrah's managers were the result of applying certain universally held and widely attested guiding rules. In other cases, such as the building of the woolshed, it was an even more straightforward matter of copying from the best available examples on neighbouring properties. The close investigation of the effects fencing had had upon the squatters' position in the Western District of Victoria carried out by Merewether at the behest of the Court before the Company committed itself to fencing, betokens a desire to move slowly but surely, and to avoid making experiments. The Company was not an innovator. The best was to be provided for the property, but the experience

11. Craik to Merewether, 22 Dec. 1875, C-MR 24
14: Merewether to Court, 19 June 1863, E, 43-4;
Craik to Merewether, 7 Nov. 1862, C-A 88,
19 Dec. 1868, C-G 126.
of others was to determine what was the best. This caution bears on the importance of the role of the Australian Agricultural Company in the development of the New South Wales pastoral industry. The Company, during these years at least, derived a great deal of benefit from the experience of others, but contributed little or nothing in return to the common pool of industrial knowledge. Warrah's model appearance in 1875 stood as an example of a codification of existing experience rather than as a pioneering effort. Warrah's managers used the ideas of others who were more experienced or more venturesome. To the experience of others was added a meticulous attention to detail and an awareness of the manner in which the mistakes of others could be avoided. When to this skilled synthesis was added the backing of financial strength the result was an imposing achievement.

The sprinkling of buildings which appeared on Warrah during the early 'sixties represented the transmutation into effectiveness of the long-maturing scheme for the systematic exploitation of the property. This plan was not simply an expression of the particular conception of a handful of individuals; it was also a reflection of a state of affairs which was general throughout the colony for the Australian Agricultural Company's method of equipping Warrah was in accordance with a system whose suitability had been demonstrated by the flockmasters of New South Wales during the four decades and more preceding. Nor did these buildings exemplify solely a technological phenomenon, narrowly defined. Their design, even the very material of which they were constructed, was intimately associated with the ethos of an era whose attitudes were on the verge of disappearance as new techniques and equipment came to be applied to the Australian pastoral industry.
With considerations of geography and accepted stock management techniques determining the issue, the strategic planning called for by the decision to stock Warrah resulted in the establishment of administrative and supervisory centres at three levels. At the apex of the hierarchy, in common with all pastoral properties, was the head station. But, in the particular case of Warrah, the size of the estate was sufficiently large to induce the Company to create a distinction between the eastern and the western portions of the property. This division, which was operative at a significant administrative level second only to that represented by the occupant of the cottage at East Warrah head station, necessitated the establishment of a subordinate supervisory centre which also filled the role of a "head station" on West Warrah. The basic unit for the tending of the sheep was the out-station, the comparative permanency of the type erected on Warrah serving as a feature distinguishing it from that normally built by pastoralists. With the exception of the sheep drafting yards at Jack’s Creek all the yards and buildings erected on Warrah during these years can be accounted for in terms of one or other of these three supervisory levels.

The site for the head station had to be close to a good water supply and yet safe from flooding. A central position on the estate would possess the obvious advantage of affording equally convenient communication with all corners of the property, but a site towards the north-east corner offered the no less desirable benefits of being close to the route of the postal service and of acting as a screen to protect the run from trespassers. After much debate preference was given the latter alternative. The site chosen was on an extensive gravelly

15. Craik to Merewether, 29 Dec. 1868, C-G 130.
ridge rising gradually to the eastward from the black-soil plains, due north of and on the opposite side of Warrah Creek which here flowed in a north-westerly direction - from the then existing dilapidated head station.  

Of the £5,214 from the capital vote spent on the various improvements on Warrah, £2,656 was accounted for by buildings and yards at the head station. Of this amount £1,483, including £125 for the cost of purchasing, transporting and installing the wool press, was required for the construction of the woolshed and its attached store rooms and yards. It originally was hoped that this key item of station equipment would be completed in readiness for the 1863 shearing. However, various difficulties, including an unusually wet season, and troublesome contractors, so interfered with progress that the commencement of the 1864 shearing was delayed a few weeks while workmen were hastily putting the finishing touches to the building. Craik was responsible for designing the woolshed, first making a close scrutiny of sheds already existing and seeking advice from neighbouring flockmasters. After the shearing shed, the most expensive item at the head station was the superintendent's cottage, costing a trifle in excess of £400. It was in the form of

17. Some idea of the issues raised when considering the site for the head station may be obtained from the following:

Court to Merewether, 27 Oct. 1862, EMD48, p. 5;
Merewether to Court, 19 Dec. 1862, D, 371-2;
Merewether to Craik, 3 April 1862, p. 183,
16 Dec. 1862, p. 117; and

Craik to Merewether, 7 May 1862, C-A 40.

18. A detailed list of the improvements on Warrah was drawn up early in 1866 and forwarded to England as an enclosure to Merewether to Court, 22 May 1866, F, 228. Much of the description in the following paragraphs is taken from that document.

21. This story is sketched in the following documents:

Craik to Merewether, 15 Sept. 1863, C-B 96,
15 Dec. 1863, C-B 112,
21 Nov. 1864, C-C 78,
16 Dec. 1864, C-C 85, and

Merewether to Craik, 28 Dec. 1864, p. 356.
two rectangular sections - living quarters for Craik and his visitors, along with a storeroom and office in one, the kitchen and servant's quarters in the other - connected by a covered way. Commodious if inelegant, the cottage stood, an eloquent and accurate expression of the land and the society of which it formed a part. Its rough exterior reflected the unimpressive history of the European occupation of the country it commanded; it made no pretensions to permanency; it asserted no proud past, nor did it lay claim to an assured future. Its virtues were utilitarian. It provided a not outrageously uncomfortable haven for the man whose concern it was to be, in the eyes of the Company at least, to extract profits from his charge. Grouped around this structure were various other buildings - the store, the storekeeper's hut, a hut which comprised two semi-detached dwellings for married employees and their families, and the shearers' hut. All of these buildings had shingled roofs, slabbed walls and pine-board floors. The chimneys were of stone; the doors and shutters were painted. The superintendent's cottage was distinguished from the other buildings in that its front wall was constructed of the more attractive weatherboards. Two-rail and three-rail timber fencing for two paddocks at the head station cost the Company £150. A killing yard and a milking bail were relatively inexpensive items. Such was the complement at Warrah head station at the end of 1865.

Geographically distinct from the head station, and dating from a different age, but administratively integrated with it, was the establishment which now came to be called Old Warrah. This was the group of buildings, already referred to, which faced the new homestead from across Warrah Creek. With the exception of a bail, costing £7, required to hold cattle being inoculated against pleuro-pneumonia, no additional improvements were made at this centre. Moreover, it seems that in the
pre-1866 period little or nothing was done in the way of repair work at Old Warrah, the Company apparently proceeding on the sound principle that the buildings were in a condition of such advanced decay that it would be wiser to extract a little more use from them and build completely new replacements when they were no longer servicable. In the following ten years the horse and bullock yards were built anew, and the overseer's cottage and blacksmith's hut were torn down and replaced. As well, a hut was built for the cattle overseer.23

During this ten year period noteworthy additions were made to the list of structures at the head station, or New Warrah as it was frequently termed. A new butchery was built, a hut constructed for the engineer, and there arose a large shed which was employed for multifarious purposes. At one and the same time it was used as a stable, tool shed, and a cart shed. Another shed was required for the storing of tallow. Major extensions to the woolshed were carried out in 1874, while Craik's marriage necessitated extensive additions to his cottage in 1872. A further room was added in 1875. Craik's comment on the former enlargements demonstrated prior inadequacies: "the place is now pretty complete and comfortable. There has been nothing ornamental done, but everything is strong, permanent and substantial - at least as much so as wood will make it".24

As was the case with the head station, different ideas were held on the matter of the most suitable site for the immediately subordinate centre on West Warrah.25 Whereas in the earlier instance the choice made was much in accord with Hamilton's wishes, in this case Merewether eventually decided against the Governor's favoured Philips Creek, and chose

23. Merewether to Court, 16 April 1874, J, 357; Craik's letters give many references to progress made on the various buildings put up at Warrah, but the most easily accessible record of these activities, although in summarised form, is to be obtained from his monthly reports, under the section headed "Improvements."
24. Craik to Merewether, 10 May 1872, C-K 67.
Windy Point. The site was in the north-west corner of the property, being about five miles south of the northern boundary and five miles east of the western boundary, on a ridge overlooking the plains to the north-west. The Conadilly or Mooki River ran through these plains, about a mile from Windy. This centre was twentytwo miles distant from the head station. Prior to 1866 £600 was spent on the provision of buildings at the West Warrah head station. At the termination of the initial phase of construction activity the tiniest of settlements was grouped around an overseer's cottage about half the size of the dwelling inhabited by the manager at East Warrah. There was a store, a shingled shepherds' hut and a separate kitchen which also housed one sleeping room. Perhaps there is no statement more indicative of the attitudes of those responsible for this settlement - it being always remembered that these attitudes were in keeping with the accepted practice, and indeed the requirements of the time – than the fact that almost as much was spent on the homestead paddocks, the stockyards, and the drafting yards as was spent on the dwellings for the human beings stationed there. Craik, ensconced in his comparative comfort, felt for his fellows at Windy: "The luxuries at Windy at present consist of mutton, dampers, pints, quarts and deal boards - as for crockery, that has never yet been thought of". The balance was somewhat redressed in the following years, for four huts were added to the station, as well as a meat store and a general store, while there were only comparatively minor accretions in the form of paddocks and horse yards. It is significant, however, that these latter additions preceded the erection of practically all the dwellings mentioned. Among the last of these improvements at Windy

were renovations to the cottage, including its lining and papering. Craik's comment was austere but expressive: "it really wanted to have something done to it as it was very cold in winter".27

Alterations at East Warrah and at Windy over these years were changes in magnitude rather than changes in kind. An observer who saw these two stations at the beginning of 1866 and returned ten years later possibly might have been struck more by the differences than the similarities between the two scenes, but it was nevertheless the case that there were many similarities ready for recognition. Far different was it with the out-stations, for they were an essential item in the system of stock management employed on Warrah at the beginning of the 'sixties, but with the coming of fencing the need for them disappeared.

When choosing the sites for the outlying sheep stations Craik was guided largely by the practice of his predecessors. He found no reason to alter the location of those already established at the time of his arrival, although in the majority of cases he replaced the existing yards with new ones.28 Some buildings were erected at completely new sites.29 The equipment at these centres consisted of permanent yards for the sheep and rough living quarters for the shepherds and hut-keepers. Craik enthused over two American-type zig-zag log yards erected at different localities,30 but generally the yards were constructed according to the most simple design and with the most readily accessible materials. In the building of the dwellings for the men employed at these out-stations

27. Craik to Merewether, 6 Aug. 1871, C-J 97.
28. Craik to Merewether, 26 May 1862, C-A 45.
29. Craik to Merewether, 16 Feb. 1865, C-D 14, 12 May 1866, C-E 40.
the twin guiding principles of cheese-paring economy and ease of construction were consulted to the detriment of the comfort of the employees. The three or four bark huts which were erected at some of these stations were the height of luxury compared with the gunyahs which were the more normal habitation. None of these gunyahs, costing £1 apiece, were put up at various centres on the run. Eleven out-stations were either initially established or completely rebuilt with funds provided by the shareholders' vote, at a total cost of approximately £170.

One respect in which the arrangements for the establishment of the equipment at these out-stations differed from the arrangements for the two major centres is worth mentioning here. Most of the work to which reference has been made had been entrusted to contractors, the Company negotiating directly with these entrepreneurs. However, this procedure was not adopted in the case of the out-lying yards and huts. Some were put up by on-station labour. Others were provided by lessees. At the beginning of the 'sixties one or two small sections on the outer perimeter of East Warrah as well as West Warrah were leased to neighbouring squatters for varying periods. During the period when the property was being stocked this leasing policy was continued and to some extent expanded. The Company's colonial officials perceived an opportunity to render the Company good service and wrote into most leasing contracts a clause providing that the lessee should erect huts and yards in return for the use of the grazing area. In one case a lessee was also required to sink a well. In this way three out-centres, of a type of construction which compared more than favourably with that authorised by the Company in the centres whose establishment was directly supervised by it, were added to the station's complement of equipment. However, the Court did not approve
of these contracts and soon placed a veto on any further negoti-31ations of this character.

The transformation effected by fencing is soon to be described more fully. Prior to this fundamental metamorphosis, however, there had been minor changes in the appearance and incidence of the out-stations. At one place the old post and rail yards were torn down and paling yards substituted. At two other sites "very fine" log yards were provided. At another, two "splendid" log yards were erected. Later, huts began to replace gunyahs. This phase was somewhat independent of fencing; for as late as April 1873, when the work of sub-division was nearing the half-way mark, an "excellent" new hut was built at Harrison's sheep station. But these changes might be compared with the last-minute petty reforms of a dying regime, for with the completion of paddocking the sheep yards and their associated dwelling quarters — whether they be gunyahs, or the less uncomfortable bark huts — disappeared from the Warrah scene.

The enclosing and sub-dividing of Warrah with wire fencing during the ten years prior to 1877 was a triumph for carefully conceived, overall, long-term planning. The magnitude of the task called for this type of approach, while at the same time it afforded a convenient opportunity for the exercise of latent strategic talents. The Company coped with the situation admirably. Work was in progress for over a decade; while at the same time a pressing need was felt for the completion of some enclosures before others, and it was realised that even this immense project was only one step towards the consummation of a much more comprehensive conception, still embryonic, of paddocking on Warrah.32 Nevertheless, at the outset a scheme

32. Court to Merewether, 26 July 1867, EMD154, pp. 2-3, and Merewether to Court, 20 July 1864, E, 271.
was devised which, in essentials, was not departed from during the following years. Moreover, it seems that marked success attended the Company's efforts to erect fences in such a manner as to afford considerable immediate advantage and at the same time provide a good basis for the further sub-division envisaged. The execution of the plan, minor set-backs notwithstanding, was as well organised as the conception. The results, again despite lesser disadvantages, equalled expectations. Once the initial decision had been made, the fencing progressed with a remorseless inevitability in keeping with the manner in which homage now was being paid to the increasingly demanding principles of efficiency and highly organised planning. That atmosphere of desultory casualness associated with the semi-nomadic shepherding existence was about to disappear.

Fencing, Merewether commented in 1862, was "a very large" question, and one which would require "much consideration".

He proved himself an accurate prophet. As early as September 1862 the Court remarked on the "great deal of iron wire fencing" in existence in the colony and informed Merewether that it would view with favour any requisition for a supply of that commodity. The benefits which the Court expected would accrue from the enclosing and sub-dividing of Warrah were specifically enumerated to Merewether, but the latter's enthusiasm was engaged only to the extent of being prepared to concede that it would be necessary to fence the property at some future date. Craik, fully occupied as he was,

33. Merewether to Court, 21 Nov. 1862, D, 348.
34. Court to Merewether, 28 Sept. 1862, EMD45, p. 9.
supported Merewether in his contention that fencing could well wait. It was unusual for the colonial management to hesitate thus when it was a question of spending money on Warrah. Merewether's somewhat strange reluctance to pronounce in favour of fencing was long-lived, and had it not been for the persistent pressure of the Court it is possible that Warrah might have remained unfenced longer than it did. Moreover, Merewether was curiously behind the times in his conception of the material to be employed in any fences which might be built, for he was not at all certain that a post-and-rail fence, or a log fence, would not be more suitable for containing livestock than the seemingly frail strands of wire. It was not until May 1867 that Merewether acceded to the Court's request, repeated more than once, that he pay a visit of inspection to Victoria. There he saw "a great variety of wire, stone, log and brush fences and obtained all necessary information with respect to the construction and cost of each". A few weeks spent conversing with representatives of the well-established squatters of the Western District of Victoria caused a change in attitude on Merewether's part which some years of prompting from the Court had failed to induce. His newly found enthusiasm was unbounded. "Everyone tells me," he reported, "that fencing a run adds 50% to its carrying capacity. Fancy Warrah with 150,000 sheep on it".

Merewether originally considered a fencing project of a piece-meal nature, but this was speedily incorporated into a comprehensive scheme. Long before he was convinced of the wisdom of fencing that portion of the property which was

37. Merewether to Court, 19 Nov. 1864, E, 358, 22 April 1867, F, 420.
38. Merewether to Court, 22 May 1867, F, 436.
40. Merewether to Craik, 24 May 1867, p. 824.
devoted to sheep grazing, Merewether had agreed with the Court that the cattle run could not long remain unfenced. If for no other reason, prompt action was desirable as an aid towards the thwarting of cattle rustlers whose depredations had been costing the Australian Agricultural Company a considerable amount of money.\textsuperscript{41} In June 1867 Merewether forwarded to England a plan for enclosing a cattle paddock of about 30,000 acres.\textsuperscript{42} However, before this work was commenced, Merewether was proceeding with the preparation of a plan for the sub-division of the entire estate.

It was decided that practically all of Warrah should be enclosed. Only two small areas of rough country in the north-east and south-east corners were to be left unfenced.\textsuperscript{43} Three officials of the Company shared the duty of determining the internal fence lines, Ogden, the surveyor, conferring with Craik and Merewether before carrying out the instructions agreed upon.\textsuperscript{44} No record of this discussion is extant. It may be assumed, however, that the fence lines were planned so that as far as possible each paddock should possess a unity of topography and pasture.

Construction work was commenced in 1868. On April 28th., 1869, the herd was turned into the large cattle paddock of 29,800 acres - as yet undivided.\textsuperscript{45} Thereafter, it was a story of paddock after paddock being added to the Warrah complement. The fencing of East Warrah was completed during 1873.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{41} Court to Merewether, 26 May 1864, EMD85, p. 6, 26 Feb. 1867, EMD148, p. 3; Merewether to Court, 21 Dec. 1866, F, 352, 22 April 1867, F, 420, and 21 June 1867, F, 457.
\textsuperscript{42} Merewether to Court, 21 June 1867, F, 456-8.
\textsuperscript{43} Merewether to Court, 13 July 1869, G, 452.
\textsuperscript{44} Merewether to Court, 31 Jan. 1868, G, 108.
\textsuperscript{45} Craik to Merewether, 11 May 1869, C–H 39.
\textsuperscript{46} Merewether to Court, 5 March 1874, J, 302.
end of 1874 the western boundary fence was finished, virtually all of the estate then being enclosed.\textsuperscript{47} A few months before his departure Craik let contracts for the last six paddocks, on the southern boundary of West Warrah.\textsuperscript{48} This work was completed during 1877. The fence lines on Warrah included a few short internal subdivision fences, such as those at the washpool and those erected to facilitate the management of the stud flock, not provided for in Merewether's original plan, as well as the enclosure of the mountainous south-east corner of the estate. The Company had entered into an arrangement whereby the lessee of the north-east corner fenced its boundary, so that the whole of Warrah was enclosed except for a few acres of rugged country at the head of the Page River.\textsuperscript{50}

Various forms of contracts were entered into by the Company for the erection of fencing. In some cases one contract covered all the procedures associated with the work. Alternatively, contracts could be let for various portions of the task - the splitting of the timber, its carriage to the line of fence, the post-hole sinking, and so forth. In almost all cases the contract provided that some of the preliminary work, in addition to the surveying, should be performed by the Company. Craik's last fencing contract bound the Company to deliver the wire and battens at two named assembly points, the contract price to be paid in respect of "clearing line, getting, drawing, and erecting wood work of fence, and straining wire". The Company was to find the wire and the bored battens, but the contractors were to pay 2/- per hundred for the boring of the said battens.\textsuperscript{51}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{47} Craik to Merewether, 27 Dec. 1874, C-MR 11.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Craik to Merewether, 3 Aug. 1875, C-MR 19.
\item \textsuperscript{49} Merewether to Court, 26 Nov. 1875, K, 332.
\item \textsuperscript{50} Gregson to Court, 6 March 1878, M, 269-70.
\item \textsuperscript{51} Examples of fencing contracts are to be found in the following: Merewether to Court, 5 Nov. 1869, H, 51;
\end{itemize}
Difficulties of no small nuisance value marked the carrying out of this work. At the outset there was a delay as a result of a labour shortage accentuated by the demand created by the Great Northern Railway extensions. Merewether's insistence that workmen should provide their own tools created another obstacle in the way of a speedy start to fencing. At that particular time independent labourers were in so satisfactory a position that they simply refused to offer for employment on these terms. It was only after determined pressure by Craik had persuaded Merewether to alter the contract to include a "tools found" provision that men came forward to accept work. Then it became evident that the Court had blundered badly in despatching from England a type of wire different from that suggested by Merewether. Infuriated workmen wasted hours in splicing together the ends of strands which had broken during straining. One rather unscrupulous contractor successfully sued the Company, taking advantage of loose wording in the contract to do so. Another, a "talking swell", absconded, leaving his workmen unpaid and a £40 account at the Warrah store. And a frequent source of complaint among fencing contractors was that Ogden's lines were


53. Craik to Merewether, 18 May 1868, C-G 48, 22 May 1868, C-G 51, 13 June 1868, C-G 56, and 17 June 1868, C-G 57.


inaccurate.  

The outlay incurred during the course of the undertaking was greatly in excess of Merewether's original estimate. This was a matter which caused some concern to the Court, but beyond making rueful comparisons with the costs reported by other colonial pastoralists, there was little it could do. The expenditure, year by year, on the fencing of Warrah was as follows:

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Expenditure totalled £17,472 for an over-all average cost for fences of all types of £45.5.10 a mile.

The Court eagerly awaited reports on the result of this investment. Unusually wet weather for some time prevented the making of a satisfactory comparison between paddocked and shepherded sheep. By November 1871, however, Craik felt that he was in a position to pronounce a reasonably definitive verdict:

"There can be no doubt of the improvement in paddock-fed sheep as compared to shepherded sheep. They are larger in carcase and in better condition. The wool is better grown, more mellow to the touch, cleaner, and therefore very much more easily and quickly washed."

Further advice to the same effect followed, as Craik became

57. Craik to Merewether, 11 July 1870, C-I 74, and 23 July 1870, C-I 79.
59. Court to Merewether, 29 Jan. 1869, EMD182, p. 4.
60. Craik to Merewether, 22 March 1871, C-J 34.
61. Craik to Merewether, 1 Nov. 1871, C-J 130.
more and more thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the course adopted by the Company. These reports confirmed expectations, not only in their general approbation of the over-all benefit derived from the investment, but also in their references to the particular directions in which improvement resulted. Craik's descriptions of the various particulars in which fencing increased the flocks' productivity were virtually a recapitulation of the assurances the Company earlier had received from the Victorian squatters.62

To some extent, these improvements were not necessarily dependent upon fencing. By 1870 it had been demonstrated that many of the advantages of the open range system of grazing could be achieved without acquiring the physical article of wire strands threaded through a long series of wooden posts. Early in the 'sixties Craik introduced the first of a sequence of significant alterations in traditional shepherding procedure. Gradualness was the keynote of the exercise. Step by step small modifications were inaugurated. The sum total of these changes a decade later was a complete departure from the system of sheep-tending as it existed on Warrah at the beginning of the 'sixties.

Under the time-honoured system as employed on Warrah the sheep were yarded each night at a permanent out-station. Each were escorted to a grazing place, this locality varying diurnally. Great disadvantages accompanied the herding of a large number of sheep into the same small area night after night. The ravages of the disease footrot could be attributed to this practice. Craik observed that its incidence was greatest at stations where the yards were old and "very full of dung".63 Certain remedial

63. Merewether to Court, 20 Oct. 1865, F, 94.
measures were soon applied. In 1862 some flocks were spared the hardship of the nightly yarning in the permanent stations. Instead, hurdles were placed out on the plains and the sheep camped there every second night. Success attended this innovation and the procedure was continued and developed further in subsequent years. The sheep were permitted to graze freely, and the shepherd's duties were reduced to riding out two or three times a day in order to maintain some measure of supervision over them. In time, the yards constructed of movable hurdles ceased to be a necessary constituent of the grazing system. In May 1871 all the sheep on the run were camped out, some of the flocks being "a good way" from their station. The fact that the sheep fared "far better than could have been reasonably expected" during a lengthy period of very wet weather was attributed by Craik to the virtual abandonment of the old mode of shepherding and yarning. He explained:

"the swampy plains and dirty and boggy yards are avoided, and the sheep are to be seen snuggly camped at night on the mountain sides, and on the ridge tops".

The benefits resulting from this new technique had so attracted Craik that he viewed the destruction by floods of some permanent sheep yards as "a circumstance not much to be regretted".

The bearing this innovation had upon the question of fencing is a matter for some conjecture. Some indication

64. Craik to Merewether, 13 Dec. 1862, C-A 97.
65. See Craik's yearly reports for 1863 and 1870: C-YR2, p6, and C-YR9, p. 4 and p. 8; see also Merewether to Court, 8 Oct. 1869, H, 26.
66. Craik to Merewether, 19 May 1871, C-J 58.
67. Craik to Merewether, 11 June 1870, C-I 67.
68. Craik to Merewether, 1 Sept. 1870, C-I 103.
69. Craik to Merewether, 9 July 1870, C-I 73.
has been given of the extent to which the advantages derived from this system were commensurate with those obtained from enclosing and sub-dividing. However, a stockowner who left his sheep to feed at will on an unfenced property, with only token supervision, could scarcely but expect undesirable consequences to follow. There was an increase in the number of losses through stealing and straying and in the inconvenience resulting from the necessity to resolve "boxing matches" - the term employed to describe the unwanted intermingling of two flocks of sheep. Thus, while the case for fencing as compared with the open range system of grazing seems a little less strong than the case for fencing as compared with shepherding and yarding, solid reasons for enclosing can be found in those risks which were too much in evidence on an unprotected property. It is not clear what significance should be attached to the fact that at no stage did those in charge of the Company's affairs discuss the advisability of fencing in the light of the development of these new grazing techniques. The most likely explanation of this silence would appear to be that these innovations were regarded as only a transient phenomenon. Perhaps this may be interpreted as a demonstration of obtuseness on the part of those concerned, for, conceivably, the new system would have withstood more than temporary application. However, speculation of this nature must be treated with circumspection when in actual fact the Company indulged in no second thoughts concerning the advisability of instituting its fencing programme.

Enclosure brought problems in its train. For the most part, they were teething troubles, rather than defects inherent in the paddocking system. And those disadvantages which

70. Merewether to Craik, 17 June 1873, p. 632.
71. Craik to Merewether, 19 Oct. 1872, C-K 134, and 16 June 1873, C-C 81.
emerged as permanent were ascribable to the partial nature of the application of the sub-dividing principle rather than to any weakness in the principle itself. In any case, only rarely was heard the complaint that the new system compared unfavourably with the old in any particular respect. Rather, such complaints as were made were directed at the inability to exploit to the utmost the full benefits latent in the situation.

The art of managing stock on a paddocked station was acquired by Craik with a gradualness which testified to the difficulty of the process. Fenced in cattle were no longer free to roam at will looking for pasture. Instead, they might find themselves confined within an area which offered little sustenance. The limitations of the new system were made painfully apparent during the winter when the cattle within the restricted confines of a paddock were compelled to take refuge amongst the ridges, despite the innutritious pastures available there, because the plains were waterlogged. The cattle were thus reduced to "walking skeletons" for several months of the year. It was some time before Craik evolved a technique to cope with this situation. Similar problems arose with the sheep. Initial estimates of the carrying capacity of the various paddocks were sometimes rather optimistic. When a predicament of this nature arose the solution was the simple one of removing a flock from a paddock earlier than had originally been planned. On one occasion when faced with this problem Craik was not able to apply so ready a remedy. The Court naturally wished to have as accurate an indication as possible of the advantages of

72. Craik to Merewether, 9 July 1870, C-I 73 mentions writing to Thomas Shaw (one of the Western District squatters met by Merewether) for information as to how he managed sheep in wire fenced paddocks.

73. Craik to Merewether, 3 Sept. 1871, C-J 114, and 4 Oct. 1871, C-J 118.

74. Craik to Merewether, 1 Sept. 1870, C-I 103.
paddocking sheep, in the specific terms of alterations in body weight and fleece characteristics. The method adopted to obtain this information was to select two flocks of sheep of the same type and age and to graze one under the new and the other under the old system, duly comparing their progress at the termination of the experimental period. However, the application of this procedure in accordance with the rigid interpretation insisted upon by Merewether meant that the sheep were retained within the one paddock even after it had become "miserably bare of grass". Craik complained that "these paddock experiments... did not add to (the) percentage either of lambs or fat sheep". One might go further and question the worth of an experiment which was carried out scarcely in conformance with sound principles of stock management, for the grazier was hardly likely to keep sheep in sparsely grassed paddocks when good pasture elsewhere was left unused.

Other problems continued to worry Craik for a much longer period. Cattle stealing continued, although only with the connivance of the head stockman, who was soon replaced by a more trustworthy employee. Once the shepherd and the hut-keeper departed full opportunity was afforded the dingo to indulge his predatory inclinations. So serious became the onslaught of this marauder that the sheep were removed from the paddock at the top of Warrah Creek, the paddock remaining unoccupied for months on end. The raiders became more audacious and penetrated the plains country, a stockman killing one at the washpool. Then it was found that the Australian Merino's innate gregariousness militated

75. Craik to Merewether, 18 Oct. 1872, C-K 132.
76. Merewether to Court, 15 March 1873, J, 42-3; Craik to Merewether, 20 Feb. 1872, C-K 31; and Craik's annual report for 1872, C-YR11, p. 23.
77. Merewether to Court, 27 Feb. 1875, K, 124.
against an optimum utilisation of pasture resources, since this ovine characteristic resulted in uneven grazing. Favourite patches of each paddock were eaten bare, while other patches were left untouched. Though horsemen might ride through each flock, scattering the sheep to the four corners of the paddock, the determined creatures always drifted together again in a matter of a few days. Again, butchers and dealers affected to look askance at fat sheep which had spent their lives in paddocks, declaring that paddocked sheep were "wild" and consequently were more troublesome on the way to market and more liable to lose condition than were shepherded sheep. Since a corollary of this argument was that dealers offered less for paddocked sheep it was regarded by Merewether with a great deal of suspicion. However, for some years lip service was paid to the reasoning underlying this attitude, and Craik arranged for the shepherding of formerly paddocked sheep during the weeks subsequent to their delivery to a buyer, in order to "steady them for the road".

Certain difficulties arose directly as a result of the fact that the paddocks were very large. The original plans for an extravagantly large cattle paddock of approximately thirty thousand acres were soon modified and the run was divided into six paddocks ranging from 3,350 acres to two of 7,000 acres. These areas were probably quite convenient for the management of cattle, but the sheep paddocks, which should have been smaller, were actually larger. On East Warrah 82,600 acres were divided into thirteen sheep paddocks.

78. Merewether to Craik, 1 June, 1870, p. 258; 9 June 1870, p. 278; Callenden to Merewether, 17 May 1870, C-I 55.

79. Merewether to Court, 2 March 1872, I, 212-2; 15 March 1873, J, 40; 5 March 1874, J, 302; Merewether to Craik, 31 Jan. 1872, p. 613; Craik to Merewether, 2 Feb. 1872, C-K 19; Hudson to Merewether, 31 Jan. 1872, C-K 18.
averaging about 6,300 acres each. They varied from 4,700 acres to 8,650 acres, seven of them being around the 6,000 acres mark. All of West Warrah's 137,200 acres was devoted to sheep grazing, being divided into twenty paddocks averaging about 6,800 acres each. These paddocks ranged from 4,400 acres to 9,700 acres, eleven of them being between 5,300 acres and 6,600 acres. Under this system flock sizes were inconveniently large, and recourse had to be made to the vexatious expedient of mixing different ages within the one flock. So, experience demonstrated that the early fears that there would be limitations to the benefits to be derived from fencing so long as the paddocks remained at their original extent, were valid ones. However, since the Company laid its plans and executed its conception with this realisation clearly in mind, in so far as its prudence in refraining from incurring any further heavy expenditure on fencing was soundly based, the defects encountered by Craik were an unavoidable accompaniment of a particular stage of development.

The erection of fences enabled the Company to institute a new lambing procedure. So-called "free lambing in paddocks" was introduced in 1872, when all but the stud ewes were thus lambed down. Under the system in vogue until that date lambing ewes were placed in hurdles, and the number of men in attendance was sufficient to provide that each ewe should virtually receive individual attention. The distinctiveness of the new method consisted in the ewes being turned into paddocks where they were practically left to fend for themselves. Only a skeleton labour force, ready to render assistance to

any ewe obviously in difficulties, was employed.  

From the outset Craik regarded the approaching experiment with considerable misgivings. The first trial of the new procedure seemed to confirm his worst fears, for the percentage of lambs cut was significantly below that recorded at previous lambings. Merewether, on the other hand, argued that a reduction of less than 10% in the lambing figures should not be regarded as too great a price to pay for a much lower wages bill. But he must have been more impressed with the force of Craik's reasoning than he was prepared to admit at the time, for in 1873 a more painstaking approach to lambing was adopted. Certain advice proffered by the overseers was followed, and the Company was less sparing in its use of labour. The ewes were divided into thirteen flocks, of which seven, containing 17,265 sheep, were lambed down in paddocks, and six, containing 6,947 sheep, were accorded closer attendance. The ratio of lambs cut was 95.64% in the case of the former flocks and 90.13% in the case of the latter. Merewether felt that these results provided a vindication of his earlier convictions. Both hand lambing and free lambing procedures were employed in subsequent years, but the respective returns were such as soon to persuade Merewether to have all but the stud ewes lambed down free in paddocks.

This alteration in the technique of supervising lambing was only one example of the manner in which the enclosing and

82. Merewether to Court, 15 March 1873, J, 30, provides a summary of the new method.
83. Craik to Merewether, 6 Aug. 1872, C-K 102.
85. Merewether to Court, 5 March 1874, J, 297; Craik to Merewether, 8 July 1873, C-L 95.
86. Merewether to Court, 5 March 1874, J, 295.
87. Merewether to Court, 27 Feb. 1875, #, 117; Craik to Merewether, 31 Aug. 1873, C-L 128; Gregson to Court, 18 Feb. 1876, L, 8.
sub-dividing of Warrah enabled the Company to effect substantial savings in labour costs. There are no surviving wages sheets, and so it is not possible to describe with any degree of precision the transition in terms of the labour force employed from one system of tending sheep to the other. However, some comments relating to this issue can be offered. Before fencing, the average size of the flocks on Warrah was about two thousand. To control this flock a shepherd and a hut-keeper would be required. Larger flocks were possible, indeed a matter of inconvenient necessity, once paddocks had been erected. A corresponding saving was effected, the more so since one boundary rider, with the assistance of a boy, was entrusted with the upkeep of two paddocks. Let us suppose that there were 100,000 sheep on Warrah. If these sheep were divided into flocks of two thousand, with a shepherd and a hut-keeper for each flock, one hundred men would be required for their supervision. On the other hand, turn them out to graze distributed amongst the thirty-three sheep paddocks of the estate and, theoretically, seventeen men would suffice for the task. As Merewether explained to Craik: "When Warrah is enclosed between thirty and forty men will be all that we shall employ for 120,000 sheep." It will be noticed that one of the more significant modifications in pastoral management resulting from fencing was that there was not so close a relationship between the number of sheep grazing on the property at any one time and the amount of labour required. Previously, the arrival of an extra two thousand sheep on

89. Merewether to Court, 22 Jan. 1875, K, 72.
Warrah immediately increased the station's labour requirements by two men; after fencing, the determinant of the property's demand for labour from time to time tended to be less the number of sheep grazing on its pastures than the miles of fencing stretching across its expanses. This metamorphosis was of considerable importance in offering the Company scope to profit from the economies of large-scale operations.

Practical results afford a more satisfying indication of the advantages derived by the Company from enclosures than is provided by the rather hypothetical reasoning of the foregoing paragraph. During the latter half of the 'sixties the average cost per head of the upkeep of the sheep establishment on Warrah had tended to rise slightly. Comparisons between yearly averages must be treated with a due measure of caution since in the case of both cattle and sheep, though especially with the former, the average struck in accordance with the Company's book-keeping conventions was subject to marked fluctuations caused by intermittent bursts of building activity upon the property. Nevertheless, Merewether had no hesitation, when comparing the relevant figure of 1s. 4½d. for sheep management in 1872 with 1s. 7¾d. in the previous year, in concluding that the reduction was "entirely due to the saving effected in wages and rations by grazing the sheep at large in enclosures". A further fall occurred in the following year. Although the cattle establishment appears to have been subject to rising costs which the sheep establishment escaped, a reduction in the average cost per head of supervising the herd from 4s. 3½d. in 1869 to 3s. 6¼d. in 1870 probably could be attributed

91. See Appendix 7.
92. Merewether to Court, 15 March 1873, J, 40.
93. Merewether to Court, 27 Feb. 1875, K, 130.
to the enclosing of the cattle paddock. A further indication of the trend towards lower costs is provided by a comparison between the wages bill of the Company's stock department of £4,052 in 1868 when the Company ran 65,000 sheep and 9,000 head of cattle, and the figure of £4,951 in 1875 when it ran 103,000 sheep and 13,000 head of cattle.  

If fencing represented a triumph for careful long-term planning, the provision of a water supply on Warrah was an excellent example of the success which might attend an apparently quite different method of supplying an essential item of equipment. The approach referred to was characterised by a flexibility which scarcely would have suited the execution of the fencing programme. In coping with the water supply problem the Company was dealing with more of an unknown quantity than when it was tackling the enclosure and sub-division of the property. This state of affairs called for a readiness to admit that a procedure in which the Company had expended a considerable sum of money might not be the best available solution. It can be seen that the contrast to which attention here is being drawn was not an example of any conceptual ambivalence on the part of the Company; it was not a distinction between planning and non-planning. The situation is better appreciated if it is seen as a distinction between a static problem and one which changed from time to time as new information was obtained, an important portion of this new information being obtained from the results of the attempts to cope with the previous stage of the problem, as it was understood by the Company's officials.

It had been mentioned that the station lacked a permanent surface water supply. Several watercourses crossed the estate.

94. See Appendix 6
At times, these watercourses could be raging torrents liable to burst their banks and flood large areas of the surrounding plains; at other times, they might be stretches of sand, perhaps occasionally interrupted by shallow pools of small significance to a property grazing thousands of sheep and cattle. The Company was early aware that this deficiency might be remedied, at least in part, by utilization of water stored below the surface. The extent of the underground water reserves was a matter for conjecture, but the knowledge that some such reserves did exist was reassuring.

The provision of water for Warrah represented a problem which the Company was obliged to solve for itself employing only those resources above and below the surface which Warrah's broad acres could supply. There was no benevolent government maturing plans for a comprehensive reticulation scheme which would supply Warrah with water from afar. Nor, with the relatively minor exceptions mentioned in a previous chapter, was the Company in a position itself to tap any resources outside Warrah's boundaries.

Consideration was given the utilisation of each of the two natural sources of water. No one in a decision making position held a brief for one or other of the two possible avenues of action - the sinking of wells, or the construction of dams, that is, earthen retaining walls thrown across the watercourses at strategic locations. Rather, it was for both to be attempted, and for experience to dictate whether or no one form of equipment would repay attention more handsomely than the other. In the period immediately prior to 1861 attention had been directed almost exclusively to the sinking of wells. The initial phase of the re-stocking of Warrah was associated with an almost exclusive emphasis upon the

95. See above, pp. 66-8.
construction of dams. The experience of a few years sufficed to demonstrate that a continuation of this trend was not feasibly.

During the period 1862 to 1865 inclusive the Australian Agricultural Company spent approximately £750 on the construction of five dams on Warrah. Two were on East Warrah, one near the head station and another close to the southern boundary, somewhat east of the centre of the property. Of the others, one was about three-quarters of a mile north-west of the West Warrah head station, another was further north-west, about half a mile inside the boundary, and the fifth was in the south, about five miles inside the boundary and roughly halfway between the eastern and western boundaries. Three of these dams were completed before the winter rain of 1863 and the remaining two a few months later. The retaining wall at the largest of these — at Windy Point — was one hundred and seventyseven yards long. Earthen wings, faced with timber, were thrown out from the extremities of the retaining walls of each dam. It was hoped thus to afford the walls some protection against the full force of creeks in flood. Post and rail fences prevented stock from damaging the walls, and couch grass was planted on the slopes and crests. Shortly after its completion Windy Point dam was throwing back the water for a mile. All five dams stood firm throughout the "strong and repeated floods" resulting from the persistently heavy downpours of 1863, while "almost all the other dams of Liverpool Plains" failed to withstand the onslaught. A year later Craik was still of


98. Craik to Merewether, 28 Sept. 1863, C-B 104.

99. Craik to Merewether, 30 July 1863, C-B 81.

100. Memo. attached to Merewether to Court, 16 Nov. 1863, E, 136-7.

101. Craik’s annual report for 1863, C-YR2, p. 11.
the opinion that these dams were "a great success" and that they "vastly" enhanced the value of the property. However, the limitations of these earthworks were plainly revealed during the summer of 1865-6, for the water failed rapidly in all of these storages. It became all too obvious that reliance could not be placed upon such narrow, shallow reservoirs during dry seasons. Other means of watering the stock would be required.

At the time, the only alternative which presented itself was to tap the underground water supply by sinking wells. Yet, it was some time before much was accomplished in this direction. At the end of 1868 there were eleven wells on Warrah—only two more than in 1862. In fact, expenditure on the provision of facilities of this nature during the years of feverish activity following 1861 was probably little greater than it had been during the years of scarcely disturbed inertia immediately preceding 1861, for, during Hodgson's period as General Superintendent, a number of wells had been sunk at various points on the property. The Company's interest in wells during the first years of the 'sixties was virtually confined to the improvement of those already in existence at the beginning of the decade. Some of the wells were suffering as a result of long periods of disuse, and their shafts needed re-timbering. Almost all were deepened a few feet, the beneficial results corresponding with expectations. Some expenditure was incurred on the

103. Merewether to Court, 22 June 1866, F, 239.
104. Court to Brownrigg, 4 April 1855, Hodgson to Court, 9 Nov. 1857, A, 180, 11 July 1859, B, 148.
provision of horse-drawn gins—a device whereby water was brought to the surface through the agency of a horse driven on a circular track around the well. Only a handful of wells had been so equipped at the beginning of the 1860's; in the majority of cases the water was hauled up by a man employing a windlass. Between 1867 and 1874 six wells were fitted with gins, all of them being treated to two or three protective coats of paint.106

A new departure in the planning of a water supply was associated with the sub-division of Warrah.107 The creation of over thirty paddocks necessitated the provision of many new watering points. Coping with this situation was partly a matter of sinking wells. Besides this, however, recourse was had to a second type of dam, alternatively referred to as a waterhole. This involved scooping a storage reservoir out of the ground at some natural depression where the run-off from the surrounding country would accumulate readily.108 Between 1871 and 1875 the creation of these supply points figured prominently in lists of improvements on Warrah. Ten such dams were of sufficient importance to warrant specific mention in Craik's monthly reports. As well, Warrah's manager pointed out that numerous small dams had been made in other paddocks, while more were to be constructed.109

By 1875 the brunt of the task of supplying the stock on Warrah with water was borne by the wells. Little reliance was placed upon the earthern retaining walls thrown across the watercourses, those works upon which so much money, time and trouble had been expended during the early 'sixties.

106. Craik to Merewether, 14 May 1873, C-L 69.
107. For an example of the problem posed see: Merewether to Court, 31 Dec. 1869, H, 67.
108. Craik to Merewether, 26 Dec. 1871, C-J 148; Craik's annual report for 1867, C-YR6, p. 7.
109. Craik to Merewether, 12 June 1872, C-K 78.
There seemed to be more likelihood of future development being in the direction of the waterhole system. Along with these devices went the necessary troughing. Two materials—the indigenous iron-bark and the imported galvanised iron—were employed for this purpose. The Court's action in despatching the latter commodity was viewed with some concern by Craik who, besides being horrified at the expense, maintained that iron-bark was as durable and as servicable in other respects. Despite Craik's protests the home-grown article was gradually replaced by the manufactured good.

With the exception of the years 1867-1868, a comprehensive account of the expenditure on the various items comprising the water supply is available. A total of £2,251 was charged to the water supply, £1,193 of this being accounted for prior to 1866 by expenditure under the £30,000 capital vote, the remaining £1,058 from 1869 onwards being provided for out of revenue. The following table shows the expenditure upon the various items for the two periods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1861-1866</th>
<th>1869-1875</th>
<th>1861-1866 plus 1869-1875</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dams</td>
<td>746</td>
<td></td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(watercourses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including gins)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dams</td>
<td></td>
<td>501</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(waterholes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troughing</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>1,058</td>
<td>2,251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

110. Court to Merewether, 22 Jan. 1863, EMD60, p. 7; Merewether to Court, 21 Nov. 1862, D, 346; Craik to Merewether, 20 Feb. 1867, C-F 20.
The figures probably are not strictly accurate, since under the rather flexible book-keeping practices employed in the preparation of this return it is quite likely, for example, that some expenditure on troughing might be included in the item "wells", and so forth. Nevertheless, the distinction is quite obvious. During the period prior to 1867 over nine times as much was spent on the earthen retaining walls as upon wells. During the period subsequent to 1869 there was virtually no expenditure on these walls, water supply expenditure being almost equally divided between wells and waterholes.

The result of this outlay was the provision of supply points sufficient to water the 105,000 sheep and 2,700 head of cattle which Warrah grazed in 1875 - provided that the season was not outrageously unkind. For wells, dams and waterholes offered no insurance against the dangers arising from a period of particularly sparse rainfall. These items must be regarded as instruments for turning certain resources to better advantage rather than as representing the implementation of a master plan designed to insulate Warrah from the vagaries of the season. The measure of the success of the Company's efforts to store water on Warrah, therefore, can not be decided in absolute terms after making calculations involving factors such as the total length of the period during which the dams were dry, the quantity of water drawn from the wells, and the number of sheep which died of thirst. Instead, the significance of the Company's achievement in this direction lay in the fact that it afforded probably the best example of the triumph of the piecemeal approach. Given a problem, the Company tackled it according to the means which from time to time seemed most suitable. The change in methods can be taken as an indication of the receptiveness of the
Company's officials to new ideas, rather than an adverse commentary on the adoption of the initial procedure. The problem was solved as well as the circumstances permitted.

Probably no single problem confronting the men entrusted with the destinies of Warrah during the 'sixties was so productive of mental anguish for those concerned as that involving the method of getting up the wool. The Court decreed that unless there were "special reasons to the contrary" the clip was to be sold in London, and not in the colony. But in what form was the commodity to be offered to the London wool-buyers? Several alternatives presented themselves. On the one hand, the clip could be sold in the grease; on the other hand, the article could be subjected to certain processes preparatory to its sale. The sheep could be washed before shearing; or the fleece could be scoured after shearing. This latter operation could be carried out on the property, or at some suitable locality distant from Warrah but under Company supervision, or it could be entrusted to one of the commercial scouring plants being established throughout the colony. Had the only factors to be weighed been the external ones of buyers' preferences and freight charges the Company almost certainly would have provided Warrah at an early stage with the plant wither to wash the sheep before shearing or else to scour the shorn fleece. But there was considerable doubt not only as to whether Warrah boasted a water supply capable of providing the necessary quantity of water, but also as to whether the Liverpool Plains water was suitable for satisfactory washing. Craik was convinced that these obstacles were

111. Court to Merewether, 26 Aug. 1863, EMD70, p. 3.
112. Merewether to Court, 19 June 1863, E, 44.
113. Merewether to Court, 21 March 1865, E, 436.
insurmountable. 

Merewether, following the fiasco of 1864, when temporary arrangements were made for the washing of the sheep in Warrah Creek, was by no means sure that Craik was wrong. So apprehensive was he of the possible risks involved that he turned away from the alluring prospect of having the entire process of preparing the clip for market carried out on Warrah and devoted considerable attention to the other alternatives. For years, Merewether struggled to find a solution to the dilemma which confronted him. Now he favoured one course, now another; he could not long consider one particular line of action without becoming aware of the serious objections which could be raised to it. Most of the clips of 1865, 1866 and 1867 was scoured in the colony, either at Haigh's establishment in Sydney or at Wright's in Muswellbrook. Freight charges were heavy, the quality of the work not particularly satisfactory, and Merewether was not beyond doubting the honesty of the proprietors of the scouring plants. An experimental shipment of a small lot of wool from the clip of 1866 was sold in London in the grease. The proceeds therefrom were so discouraging as to dissuade the Court from repeating the venture. The Court could offer Merewether little guidance, for it tended to alter its opinion with even greater frequency than was the case with Merewether. Each possibility was discussed at length, viewed from all angles, and then dismissed as being unsatisfactory, only to be taken up again.

114. Craik to Merewether, 10 Dec. 1866, C-E 95.
115. Merewether to Court, 19 May 1865, F, 6,
20 Oct. 1865, F, 93;
Craik to Merewether, 15 Dec. 1864, C-C 84.
116. Merewether to Court, 21 March 1865, E, 437;
Craik to Merewether, 26 April 1865, C-D 28.
118. Merewether to Court, 20 Aug. 1862, D, 269,
21 Dec. 1865, F, 122,
22 April 1867, F, 424;
Merewether to Haigh, 16 March 1866, p. 34.
119. Court to Merewether, 26 June 1867, EMD153, p. 3,
Merewether to Court, 21 Dec. 1866, F, 350.
120. Court to Merewether, 21 Dec. 1866, EMD146, pp. 2-3 for an example of a rapid change of opinion.
and rediscussed at even greater length. Small wonder that Craik should comment, "with all due respect", that the Directors were "somewhat changeable in their views".  

While this was so, the Court did exert increasing pressure upon Merewether to come to a definite decision. Thus spurred on, Merewether examined Warrah's water resources anew and eventually determined to make an attempt to have the clip completely prepared for market on the station. The taking of this decision still left open the question as to whether the wool would be washed on the sheep's back or scoured after shearing. Once more Merewether was confronted with a variety of factors difficult of evaluation in the same terms. Hamilton tended to favour scouring, since this would avoid an operation which imposed considerable physical hardship upon the sheep; he does not seem to have been aware that the washpool should have provided these fortunate creatures with "a pleasant Turkish bath". Merewether would have preferred washing, but permitted his prudence to restrict him to the compromise of scouring, this latter process requiring a lesser quantity of water. At the end of 1866 he forwarded to England plans, the preparation of which had caused him a great deal of trouble, for a scouring plant at Warrah. However, the last word had not yet been uttered on the matter. A report from the Company's wool-brokers strengthened the case for washing on the sheep's back rather than scouring. And the final decision eventually was made with an ultimate rapidity.

122. Court to Merewether, 22 May 1866, EMD134, p. 3, 26 April 1867, EMD150, p. 3.
123. Merewether to Court, 21 June 1867, F, 461.
125. Description of sheep-washing plant as used at Ercildoun, Victoria, by Thomas Learmonth, a pamphlet in the Warrah Wool Papers, WWP-J3a.
126. Merewether to Court, 21 Nov. 1866, F, 352-3.
which contrasted strangely with the earlier protracted cerebrations of the personnel of the Company. The reason for this probably lay in the fact that this decision virtually was made by an outsider who was not at all aware of the many difficulties in the situation. A.K. Smith was a Melbourne engineer who happened to be engaged on a contract at Newcastle. He had constructed several sheep-washing plants for Victorian squatters and, when approached by Merewether, suggested certain alterations in his plans for the Warrah scouring plant. He agreed to visit Warrah in September 1867, took one look at Warrah Creek, in "semi-flood" as Craik scornfully remarked, and declared that it provided ample water, not only for scouring, but, better still, for washing. Merewether was converted immediately, and straightway offered him the task of constructing the washpool plant.

Several mishaps marked the commencement of work on the washpool. The Court did not have complete confidence in the changes in the plans adopted by Merewether on the advice of Smith; considerable difficulty was experienced in shipping the 16 H.P. engine from Melbourne, and when it finally arrived at the railhead at Singleton the Hunter River teamsters "got frightened" and it was some time before Smith could find a driver courageous enough to haul it to Warrah. The first engine driver disobeyed two instructions within his first forty-eight hours' employment and was soon dismissed. The contractor himself was late in arriving at Warrah and was obliged to leave the station, to attend to other clients,

127. Merewether to Court, 23 Aug. 1867, G, 22.
130. Merewether to Court, 11 Aug. 1868, G, 328; Craik to Merewether, 31 July 1868, p. 824.
before the completion of the work. Smith had promised to have all ready to begin on 9th, September, but washing did not commence until the 23rd. Winship, the Company's colliery manager, accompanied Merewether to Warrah and supervised the finishing touches.  

About three miles east-north-east of the head station Warrah Creek meandered uncertainly along a barely defined watercourse. To the east stretched a low lying plain, swamp-land in the wet season, and broken by several gullies. West of the creek the ground rose gradually, affording a site for the washpool plant reasonably safe from flooding. There, early one September afternoon, before the anxious eyes of Merewether, Craik and Martin, the washpool manager, the first sheep were thrown into the warm and soapy water of the soak tank. They remained there a few minutes, and then scrambled along the swim to a platform, whence they were seized and held for a couple of minutes under the jets of water from the spouting cistern, and then allowed to stagger along a race to the drying yards. When washing ended for the day three hundred and fifty sheep stood for inspection. Alas for Craik and his prophecies of sheep "rolling out... fast and furious snow white". The tips of the fleeces were well washed, but the fibres nearest the skin were scarcely cleaned at all. "In most instances", Craik ruefully reported, "the dirt seemed set in a harsh gluey and dingy form at the roots of the wool from which it could not be removed".

Numerous experiments were carried out under Merewether's

133. For a plan of the plant see the tracings in WWP-J4.
134. Merewether to Court, 9 Oct. 1868, G, 278.
135. Craik to Merewether, 5 Sept. 1868, C-G 85.
supervision. The strength of the scour, the temperature of the water in the soak, the length of time spent in the soak and under the spout—all were varied, and combination after combination tried. Some methods produced better results than others, but up to the time Merewether left the station the sheep had not been turned out "even moderately well". And, as for "fast and furious": the average number of sheep washed daily was well below the eight hundred mark, and much less than the out-turn expected by Merewether. The experiments continued after Merewether's departure. Craik came down from the shearing shed one day, took matters out of Martin's hands and carried out certain trials of his own. Martin commented on the appearance of sheep washed by one of Craik's experimental methods: "... that lot came out almost as dirty as they went in". A Sunday visit to a neighbouring station, followed by a heartening telegram: "Back from Walhollow. Learned much. Think I can now wash properly", heralded the most significant alteration in the plant to be effected that season. The seven spouts supplied by Smith were replaced by four great wedge-shaped contrivances. They measured 2' 6" by 1'4" at their junction with the spouting cistern, barrowing down to an opening of one-eighth of an inch. A powerful jet was thus obtained, but only a very slight improvement resulted in the quality of the work, while the rate of work diminished. The pump and engine could not keep full a cistern which was drained so rapidly, and so it became necessary to close one of the four spouts. When work came to an end on 4th.

137. Merewether to Court, 9 Oct. 1868, G, 278.
138. For examples of these experiments see:
   Merewether to Martin, 3 Oct. 1868, p. 2,
   7 Oct. 1868, p. 34, and
   12 Oct. 1868, p. 57;
   Martin to Merewether, 1 Oct. 1868, C-G 90, and
   5 Oct. 1868, C-G 92.
139. Martin's washpool report for 1868.
140. Craik to Merewether, (telegram) 13 Oct. 1868, C-G 98.
December only 37,000 of the 67,000 sheep shorn had been washed. The shearing of 1868 had been a severe disappointment to Merewether. Sadly he summed up: it had "been a mess all through owing to the washing going wrong".\(^\text{141}\)

Craik felt the failure as keenly as did Merewether. It hurt him to be forced to admit that the washing had been a "farce" and "an expensive one too". "We are", lamented Craik, "simply the laughing stock of the country as regards sheep-washing".\(^\text{142}\) The reports of the wool-broker were "humiliating".\(^\text{143}\) The dreaded sales results were even worse than had been expected, for the London wool market in 1869 was very much in buyer's favour. The highest price received for any lot of Warrah wool - ls. 6d. per lb. - was less than the average price received for the two previous clips.\(^\text{144}\) The proceeds of the 1868 clip were the lowest for three years, and the average price fell to ls. 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)d. per lb. Hamilton was a very worried man; Craik felt that Merewether's decision had been "the first unfortunate step" taken in the stock department since 1861. He expressed a determination "to leave no stone unturned" in his endeavours to make a success of the following season's sheep-washing,\(^\text{145}\) but he felt that Merewether viewed his enthusiasm with suspicion.\(^\text{146}\)

Where lay the reason for the failure? It was seen in a mixture of two factors - the quality of the water, and the character of the wool. On 10 November 1,047 wethers had been washed "beautifully clean". This sole example of a successful day's washing was due, Craik felt sure, to the fact that the

\(^{141}\) Merewether to Craik, 30 Nov. 1868, p. 176.
\(^{142}\) Craik to Merewether, 10 Oct. 1868, C-G 97.
\(^{143}\) Craik to Merewether, 25 June 1869, C-H 56; Merewether to Court, 18 May 1869, G, 409.
\(^{144}\) See Appendix 17.
\(^{145}\) Craik to Merewether, 11 Nov. 1868, C-G 110.
\(^{146}\) Craik to Merewether, 16 Aug. 1870, C-I 95.
sheep concerned were recent arrivals from New England and had been drenched by fairly heavy rain for thirtysix hours previous to going to the washpool. Something could be done about the hardness of the water. Merewether blamed himself for failing to have it analysed. He mow repaired his omission and the chemist's report, along with advice received from many squatters, led him to place his trust in caustic soda for the 1869 washing, even though there was some controversy as to whether its use was entirely beneficial. Nothing could be done, however, about the character of the wool of the Liverpool Plains sheep. Those concerned scarcely dared to hope that it would ever be possible to wash wool more than moderately well on Warrah. In the whole sorry business there was only one matter for self-congratulation: the dam provided a plentiful supply of water.

The Company continued to spend substantial sums on the washpool. The dam always required attention, whether it be sluicing out debris and silt brought down by the floods or lengthening and strengthening the wall. More drying yards were built. Better accommodation was provided for the washers. A "very expensive" well was blasted through twenty-five feet of rock. Troughs were installed in order that drying sheep might obtain water for inconvenience resulted when thirst-maddened sheep rushed a dam and dirtied their belly wool. Merewether cast envious eyes on Dr. Traill's new Appold pump; and he regretted that he had not followed

147. Martin to Merewether, 10 Nov. 1868, C-G 109.
150. Merewether to Court, 25 Feb. 1869, G, 368.
152. Craik to Merewether, 9 July 1870, C-I 73, 22 March 1871, C-J 34.
Hamilton's advice and installed a 20 H.P. engine. The Directors were eager to provide the best equipment possible for the washpool, and both pump and engine were shipped from England in 1870. For three weeks the engine remained at Willow Tree, four miles from Warrah, while Craik waited for the black soil bogs to dry. Then, casting caution to the winds, he confounded his scoffing neighbours and had it hurried across dubious tracks and safely stowed away at Warrah. He looked the new arrival over and commented: "I should have liked better to have seen the price of it in the Company's coffers, but I suppose this is no business of mine". The pump was a different matter. Craik had it installed that winter, along with a new eight-spouted cistern, and wrote in glowing terms of the "gushing beauty". It was found that the original engine, in association with the new pump, could easily keep the cistern full and eight spouts in operation. The 20 H.P. engine stayed in its packing cases during three seasons. The washpool underwent an extensive remodelling prior to the 1873 washing. The 20 H.P. engine, along with boilers and hot water pipes, was encased in a "compact and complete" brickwork construction. This example of contemporary engineering prowess was a far cry from the primitive arrangements of the 1864 season. The solidity of the construction reflected the reaching of a stage of assurance in Warrah's economic and technological development.

158. Craik to Merewether, 14 Oct. 1870, C-I 118.
159. Craik to Merewether, 5 Oct. 1870, C-I 113.; the story of these improvements is sketched in the following documents:
   Merewether to Stead, 21 June 1870, p. 314;
   13 Sept. 1870, p. 499;
   Craik to Merewether, 23 Aug. 1870, C-I 98;
   10 Sept. 1870 (telegram) C-I 107,
   3 Oct. 1870, C-I 112, and
   5 Oct. 1870, C-I 113.
A steady improvement in the quality of the work done accompanied these rather expensive additions to the washpool plant. Craik thought that the washing in 1869 was distinctly better than that of the previous season. Next year, as the first flocks left the washpool, Craik was overjoyed to see that their fleeces were "really beautiful". Similar enthusiastic comments flowed from his pen throughout the remainder of the season. By the mid-seventies Warrah's washing was "simply perfection". Could anyone in those gloomy days of 1868 have prophesied such an achievement? Craik was so enamoured of this fine piece of equipment that he quite forgot his earlier opposition to the scheme.

The washing process continued to be employed on Warrah for a decade after Craik's departure from the scene. Early in the 'eighties, as woollen manufacturers made increasing use of the yolk which was removed during washing, the advantages of washing as compared with shearing in the grease became more and more a matter for discussion. It eventually was decided that experiments should be carried out during the 1884 season. Several types of flocks were involved in "trials especially designed to ensure a fair comparison between" shearing washed sheep and shearing in the grease. The results obtained showed that with every item of cost and income from sales being taken into account, but with no allowance being made for sheep losses at the pool, washing gave a worse result by 0.71d. per sheep. Gregson was surprised at the result, but decided that washing should be discontinued as soon as the

162. Craik to Merewether, 3 Oct. 1870, C-I 112.
163. Craik to Merewether, 30 Nov. 1870, C-I 139,
     29 Dec. 1870, C-I 153.
164. Craik to Merewether, 14 Oct. 1874, C-M 125.
large existing stocks of soda and soap had been consumed. A commencement was made at the washpool on 27 August 1885, but seasonal factors intervened and as soon as the first flock was finished the men were paid off and washing was brought "to an early close and very probably to a final one". The latter prophecy was accurate. Regret was expressed that this plant which had involved the Company in "considerable expense" further £1,920 had been spent on this item after 1875, practically all of it in 1876 and 1877, making a total of £6,198 expended on the washpool from start to finish - should be allowed to lie idle, but there seemed to be no help for it. No opportunity of utilizing it in any other manner presented itself, and if washing conferred no advantage in money terms and was also more wearing on stock and management there seemed to be no good reason in continuing solely for the sake of employing otherwise obsolete equipment. Gregson consoled himself with the thought that the plant had "probably repaid its cost". And so, on Warrah, as elsewhere, men might sing:

"We'll mourn the washer's sad downfall
In our regretful strain,
Lamenting on the days gone by
Ne'er to return again."

On this note our attention shifts from its emphasis upon material things and focusses itself upon the policy adopted by the men using these things.

165. Gregson to Court, 2 March 1886, S, 48.
166. For the trials and Gregson's reaction to the results see: Gregson to Court, 25 July 1884, R, 5-6, 27 June 1884, Q, 443-4, 29 May 1885, R, 282, and Report, July 1887, pp. 6-7.
CHAPTER 5

STATION POLICY

The 1862 decision that Warrah should be operated primarily as a station for the breeding of sheep for wool still left other matters to be decided. It was necessary that the Company should determine what type of sheep it should graze and what type of fleece it should strive to obtain. It was also open for the Company to establish a stud flock. These larger questions naturally gave rise to other subsidiary issues.

The Company was not able to give full effect to its wish during these years\(^1\). Warrah did not become predominantly a wool growing station; instead, it remained a dual purpose station, with its profits coming in roughly equal proportions from two sources - from the wool clip, and from the sale of fat livestock. Two factors unduly inflated the importance of fattening store stock in Warrah's economy. The first was the existence of the Port Stephens estate. The only

\(^1\) Court to Merewether, 27 June 1864, p. 6, Merewether to Court, 19 Aug. 1864, E, 307, agree on the desirability of dealing in store stock being only a subsidiary branch of operations on Warrah.
Manner evident to the Company of turning this area to some account was by breeding cattle. These cattle could not be fattened on the poor Port Stephens pastures, and so part of Warrah had to be set aside for them. The second arose from the fact that the station management could not see its way to increasing the size of the flock of Warrah-bred sheep to the point where it could utilise all the pasture available on the property. A question of standards was involved. A concern for the overall quality of the flock meant that a certain proportion of the breeding ewes each year would be rejected as being of inferior stock. The higher the quality sought, the slower would be the process of building up the size of the Warrah-bred flock. The result of the limitation thus imposed on the rate of increase of the Warrah-bred flock was that heavy purchases of store stock from outside sources were necessary in order to ensure that Warrah's grasses were not let lie unused.

By the end of the 'sixties the pattern of the distribution of Warrah's gross income between the three components of the sale of cattle, the sale of sheep, and the proceeds from the wool clip was establishing itself according to lines from which there was to be no major long term deviation in the years up to 1908. For the first years of the 'sixties Warrah continued to be operated almost solely as a fattening station. A few flocks of store sheep were purchased, and were re-sold at a satisfactory profit. In 1864 Craik indulged in two

3. An A.N.U. seminar paper on the income of Warrah, 1861-1908, provides the material upon which this statement is based. See also Appendix 1.
4. Merewether to Court, 18 Feb. 1862, D, 101, 17 April 1862, D, 157, and 14 Feb. 1863, D, 408.
important transactions involving the purchase of over 1,600 head of store cattle. He would have liked to have continued and extended this policy in later years, but the Court warned against any further speculations of such a nature. During these early years such sheep as happened to be on the property at shearing time were driven to a neighbour who had them shorn at so much per head, he keeping the fleeces. The year 1864 marks the appearance of wool in the economy of Warrah, for in that year sheep were first shorn in the property's new shearing shed. At about the same time the first lambs were dropped on the station. In 1867, for the first time, and again in 1869, the net proceeds of the wool clip exceeded the gross income received in respect of livestock sales. Thenceforth, Warrah's income was accounted for by livestock sales and the proceeds of the wool clip in approximately equal proportions. Of the receipts for livestock sold over the years 1861–1875 sheep sales represented two-thirds of the total and cattle sales one-third.

A substantial measure of agreement among those entrusted with policy direction characterised the Company's sheep-breeding programme. The major aim was to breed for wool, rather than for the butcher. All shared a determination to avoid a repetition of the earlier mistake of the Company—that of concentrating almost exclusively on obtaining wool of the highest quality while neglecting both the weight of the fleece and the constitution of the animal. The natural

5. Craik to Merewether, 4 March 1864, C-C 16, 14 March 1864, C-C 17, 12 April 1864, C-C 26.
6. Court to Merewether, 26 May 1865, p. 5;
Craik to Merewether, 30 July 1863, C-B 81.
endowments of the Liverpool Plains were such as to support Hamilton and his associates in this resolve, for Warrah's soils and pastures were not regarded as being especially suited for the growing of super-fine wool.10 The situation called for a nice balancing of partially irreconcilable objectives. Craik stated a preference for sheep which would cut "four pounds of wool of medium quality" rather than "two pounds of extra fine wool";11 but at the same time due attention was to be given the "great difficulty" of combining quality and weight in the one fleece.12 Hamilton pointed out that long stapled combing wool was more "enquired for" on the English market than was clothing wool, and it was decided to breed for this apparently increasing demand. It was realised that considerable time must elapse before the Company could succeed in evolving a uniform flock peculiarly suited to the particular Warrah environment. Likewise, it was not expected that the ACo. A brand would overnight regain the position it had once enjoyed on the London market. At some time in the future, perhaps, the best New South Wales clips might be rivalled; but years of painstaking attention to detail would form a necessary prelude to such an achievement.14 In the meantime, the Company would endeavour to breed sheep which would grow long stapled fleeces of medium quality and good combing properties.15

The general principles having been agreed upon, the task

10. Hamilton to Merewether, 26 Aug. 1864, EMD92, p. 3; Craik's annual report for 1866, C-YR5, p. 17.
11. Craik to Merewether, 16 May 1864, C-C 33a.
12. Court to Merewether, EMD93, p. 5. The date of this despatch is illegible, but it was written in the winter (Southern Hemisphere time) of 1864.
13. Hamilton to Merewether, 26 Aug. 1864, EMD92, p. 3.
14. Report, July 1864, p. 6;
   Court to Merewether, 17 July 1868, EMD167, p. 3;
   Merewether to Court, 21 Dec. 1865, F, 119;
   Craik to Merewether, 3 March 1869, C-H 19.
15. Merewether to Court, 20 June 1864, E, 255.
of their particular application devolved upon Craik and a professional sheep-classer not in the Company's employ. William Bramma was hired in a permanent capacity by Dr. Traill, Warrah's neighbour. The Company entered into an agreement with Traill whereby Bramma's services were loaned to it for the annual classing of the Warrah flocks. Bramma's son, also named William, was employed as classer by the Company following the death of William Bramma, senior. If possible, Bramma also accompanied Craik on his expeditions to purchase stud sheep. The limitations of this temporary employment are obvious. However, while toying with the idea of employing a permanent sheep-classer, Hamilton balked at the expense involved. Only one breed of sheep entered into the calculations of Craik and Bramma. That was the Merino. Perusal of a journal article in 1864 led Merewether to suggest the possibility of obtaining a long stapled fleece by crossing Merino ewes with Cheviot rams. Craik threw cold water on the idea, and Hamilton advised against any crossing with coarse woolled sheep. It was not until long after the departure of Craik and Merewether from the scene that thoughts of such a policy were entertained and eventually acted upon by the Company.

Craik's was the responsibility of choosing the first breeding flocks to appear on Warrah. In his report on the stocking of the property he listed six squatters from one or more of whom he thought it advisable to purchase ewes and rams. Craik furnished no elaboration of the principles guiding his choices. To various of the names listed he appended comments such as that one had "attained a name as a sheep-breeder", another had "devoted considerable attention to sheep breeding

17. Hamilton to Merewether, 26 Aug. 1864, EMD92, p. 3; Merewether to Court, 20 June 1864, E, 255; Craik to Merewether, 25 June 1864, C-C 42.
of late years" and was "an excellent judge both of carcase and wool", and that the increase of a third's "would on the Warrah pastures... be all that could be desired". All six properties were on the Tablelands of New South Wales, and quite close to Warrah. Two were near neighbours, and the furthest distant were two Mudgee breeders.

Craik found that he was not able to obtain all his breeding sheep from the pastoralists he had recommended in his report. However, he was able to arrange to purchase sheep from squatters in approximately the same localities as those originally chosen. In the three years 1863-1865 almost five hundred and fifty rams were bought at a price ranging from £2 to £3 each. Slightly over eleven thousand breeding ewes arrived on the run in 1864, followed by 5,237 ewes, with 3,562 lambs at heel, in 1865. With the exception of stud ewes later purchased these 16,250 ewes comprised the total complement of female breeding sheep purchased by the Company during this period. The Warrah flock, therefore, was descended from this collection of ewes from seven different flockowners. At the end of March 1864 twenty rams were put to the ewes purchased from the neighbouring Loder, and Craik wrote announcing the commencement of the Warrah sheep-breeding establishment.

The purchase of rams from other flockmasters became a less and less prominent feature of the Company's transactions as greater use was made of Warrah-bred rams. The establishment of a stud flock was considered by the Court as early as 1864, but no one thought that haste was advisable. The saving

20. Craik to Merewether, 31 March 1864, C-C 22.
21. Court to Merewether, 26 April 1864, EMD82, p. 4; Hamilton to Merewether, 26 Aug. 1864, EMD92, p. 4; Merewether to Court, 20 June 1864, E, 254.
that could be effected by avoiding the need to purchase rams each year was advanced as a strong reason for establishing the stud, but a much more potent factor was the desirability of breeding rams peculiarly suited to the Warrah environment. It was not until 1866 that Craik and Bramma selected from the ordinary breeding flocks on Warrah three hundred and twenty-seven of the best ewes to serve for stud purposes. All but seventy-four of these sheep were Warrah-bred. Most of the remainder were chosen from three year olds recently purchased from Dr. Traill. The sheep were marked in July and then returned to the flocks from whence they had been removed. They remained so distributed until the time came for them to be put to the tup. The rams were purchased at Mudgee, Craik thus being able to carry into effect a decision he had made years previously. Two two year olds were bought off E.K. Cox for £25 each, and five yearlings from Bayly for £10 each. Craik was not at all clear as to the pedigree of these animals. He could only describe them as "Saxon Merinos with a dash of the Silesian in them". Apparently, their arrival in the district was greeted with derisory comments by some of the neighbouring stockholders, for Craik felt the need to defend his choice. He admitted that they were "cats" compared with the Liverpool Plains sheep, that the Mudgee breeders paid little attention to the carcase or to the way in which the sheep was covered on the belly and legs, and that their wool was not so thickly grown as on Traill's sheep, but for all that he was convinced that they were "the correct thing".

22. Court to Merewether, 26 Jan. 1866, pp. 4-5.
23. For an estimation of the importance of this policy see Merewether to Court, 24 Dec. 1875, K, 348.
24. Craik to Merewether, 28 July 1866, C-E 55.
25. Merewether to Court, 23 Nov. 1866, F, 332.
27. Craik to Merewether, 18 Oct. 1866, C-E 82.
28. Craik to Merewether, 18 Oct. 1866, C-E 82, 28 July 1866, C-E 55.
The reliance thus early reposed in Mudgee stock was departed from on only one occasion in the following years. During his visit to Victoria Merewether had been very impressed by rams on the properties of Shaw and Learmonth. Six three years olds were purchased from the former grazier, they arriving on Warrah in April 1869. Their cost, landed on the station, was almost £25 each, but they provided a poor return for all the care Craik had lavished upon them. The cross with the Warrah stud ewes was not successful, and these rams were relegated to the ordinary breeding flocks. While he had been only too ready to make this ill-fated experiment, Craik had steadfastly refused to have anything to do with another projected innovation in breeding techniques. Hamilton looked to the time when the stud ewes would attain characteristics of such excellence as would justify their being mated with "rams of high quality from Germany". Craik was not swayed by the Court's repeated suggestions to this effect. He had no desire to see "any short woolled, loose skinned, frilled and wrinkled imported European rams" mated with Warrah's stud ewes, and in an outburst characteristic of his unreasonable ness declared that should the Directors send out such rams he would decline to make use of them. Craik claimed to have the support of the opinions of the woolclasser and of other breeders, and eventually Merewether came to agree with him. The Court was persuaded accordingly, and Craik was not embarrassed by the presence of expensive unwanted animals. Craik also

29. Craik to Merewether, 7 April 1869, C-H 27;
    Merewether to Court, 2 March 1872, I, 200.
30. Court to Merewether, EMD125, p. 5.
31. Craik to Merewether, 1 Sept. 1870, C-I 103.
32. Craik to Merewether, 15 Aug. 1868, C-G 77.
33. Craik to Merewether, 8 Oct. 1868, C-G 96.
34. Merewether to Craik, 12 Aug. 1868, p. 855.
successfully opposed the plan for the importation of Tasmanian stud sheep.

The dependence upon Mudgee stock was consolidated in the following years. Purchases of stud rams were made in 1871, 1872 and 1875, C. Cox's Broombi stud supplying the majority of the animals. The prices paid in the first two years mentioned were not excessive, ranging from £10 to £30. In 1875 the Company's policy was altered at the initiative of Merewether's successor-elect, Jesse Gregson, an experienced pastoralist. He believed that it was better to spend a certain sum of money on the purchase of five really first class rams than on ten of lesser stamp. Thus it was that on his last visit to the Mudgee show as a buyer for the Australian Agricultural Company Craik had authority to buy five rams costing up to £100 each. He purchased a £100 and a £65 ram from C. Cox, and three others at £50 from other breeders.

Purchases of stud sheep from Mudgee were not confined to males. On his 1871 visit to Mudgee Craik learnt that C. Cox was offering a lot of stud ewes for sale. Craik eagerly advocated their purchase by the Company. Merewether vetoed the suggestion at first, but soon came to admit that he was sorely tempted by the idea of their acquisition. When, in April 1872, Cox held an auction sale of his stock, Craik attended armed with authority to spend a considerable amount of money. He purchased eight hundred and thirynine

36. Craik to Merewether, 1 Sept. 1874, C-MR 7.
37. Craik to Merewether, 31 July 1871, C-J 93, 15 April 1872, C-K 54.
40. Merewether to Craik, 2 Aug. 1871, p. 149, 5 Aug. 1871, p. 154;
Craik to Merewether, 31 July 1871, C-J 93.
ewes at an average cost of 17s. 2d. per head. Not all of these ewes were used for stud purposes on Warrah. Bramma culled out one hundred and three for fattening, four hundred were placed in the ordinary breeding flocks, and the remaining three hundred and thirty-six constituted a second stud flock.\textsuperscript{41}

The changing composition of the Warrah ram flock provides some indication of the success attending the Company’s stud breeding activities. Over three hundred rams for ordinary breeding purposes were purchased in the three year period 1869-1871, and approximately fifty in each of the years 1872 and 1875. These purchases represented an expenditure of over £1,500. However, no such purchases were made in 1868, 1873 or 1874. In the first of these years the first ram lambs were weaned on Warrah – eighty-eight in all.\textsuperscript{42} Thereafter, with the exception of a set-back in 1872, increasing numbers of Warrah-bred rams were put to service among the ordinary breeding flocks. At the end of 1875 nine hundred and eighty of the twelve hundred and six rams on Warrah were Warrah-bred. All of the remainder had been purchased from the Mudgee district.\textsuperscript{43} The number of stud ewes left for the ram in 1875 was eight hundred and fifty-two.\textsuperscript{44}

The classing and culling of the ordinary breeding flock was entrusted to Bramma, although Craik was usually in attendance. Classing usually began about the middle of May. The task generally occupied about three weeks,\textsuperscript{45} unless rain came to interrupt proceedings, in which case a further opportunity to complete the work might not arise until the spring.\textsuperscript{46} Bramma

\textsuperscript{41} Merewether to Court, 15 March 1873, J, 29 and 34.
\textsuperscript{42} See Appendix \textsuperscript{21}.
\textsuperscript{43} Gregson to Court, 18 Feb. 1876, L, 36.
\textsuperscript{44} Gregson to Court, 18 Feb. 1876, L, 39–40.
\textsuperscript{45} Craik to Merewether, 1 Sept. 1870, C-I 103.
\textsuperscript{46} Craik to Merewether, 3 Sept. 1873, C-L 130.
was well paid for his services, his remuneration being at the rate of £1.10.0 for each thousand sheep classed. There exists no detailed statement of the principles according to which Bramma made his decision as to whether each individual ewe should be culled out for fattening purposes, retained for breeding purposes, or selected to enter the stud flock. Rather, it would seem that Bramma was made aware of the Company's wool-breeding aim, informed as to how many breeding ewes were required from year to year, and proceeded to select the sheep which seemed to him those best suited to the Company's plans, up to the number specified. There is no record of any instance when Craik and Bramma disagreed as to whether a particular sheep should be culled out of the breeding flocks or not. Craik's and Merewether's eulogistic comments of early years on Bramma's classing later gave way to some misgivings, but on the whole Warrah's sheep-classer gave satisfaction. Gregson was of opinion that his work had been "very successful". The number of ewes annually classed increased without interruption from twentyone thousand in 1869 to thirtyseven thousand in 1875. A fraction of these went to stud, and a proportion ranging from as low as 16% to as high as 25% was culled for the fattening flocks.

A major difference of opinion developed between Craik and his employers as to the culling policy to be adopted on Warrah. This controversy was not conducted in terms of the principles which should determine the selection of sheep—

48. Craik to Merewether, 21 May 1873, C-L 73; Bramma to Craik, 27 July 1872, C-K 89.
51. See Appendix 17.
it would have been difficult for two parties twelve thousand
miles apart to have engaged in such an argument — but on
the more prosaic issue, lending itself more readily to
literary exposition, of a contest between quality and quantity.
The desire to have Warrah fully stocked, combined with an
acute awareness of the undesirability of having a considerable
amount of the Company's money more or less permanently
invested in the purchase of store sheep caused Hamilton to
exert continuous pressure upon the colonial management to
increase the number of ewes put to the tup. 52 Hamilton's
targets — by the beginning of the 'seventies he would have
liked twenty thousand ewes put to the ram 53 and by the mid-
seventies the number hoped for had risen to thirty thousand 54—
were always in excess of that thought desirable by the manager
on Warrah. Craik was as consistent and persuasive an advocate
of the principle of favouring quality in preference to numbers
as Hamilton was of the reverse policy. Merewether occupied
an intermediate position, having a great deal of sympathy for
Craik's attitude, but feeling that his position as a servant
of the Company required that he should support the Court. 55
The conflict could have been resolved by the purchase of more
breeding ewes, but although such action was suggested by
Craik and considered by Merewether, no such purchases were
made. 56

Craik pleaded his case with fervour and his sheer
stubborness earned him a modicum of success in thwarting
the Court's efforts to impose its policy. He pointed out
that the classing had been directed towards the obtaining of

55. *Merewether to Court, 21 April 1868, G, 183.*
56. *Craik to Merewether, 12 April 1871, C–J 421*
"uniformity in the shape, wool and cover of the sheep". To breed from inferior sheep opened up the horrifying prospect of undoing at one fell swoop the good work of previous years. To have the progeny of culls in his flocks would be "intolerable". Craik was reduced to the necessity of conducting a rearguard action, which he did with a measure of success. In 1869 and again in 1870 he had a thousand or more ewes put in a special "clothing" flock, explaining to Merewether that he would have preferred to have culled out these sheep as fatteners, but that, in deference to the wish for greater numbers, he had set them aside to be mated with specially selected long-woolled rams, in the hope that their progeny might approach an average length staple. In 1873 Craik was obliged to select a few hundred ewes for the ram from amongst a flock of culls. Craik carried out his instructions with a very bad grace. In the following year, however, he was able to carry his policy of obstinacy to a successful conclusion: he simply reported that all of the cull ewes were "much of a muchness" and that they were all "far inferior" to the breeding ewes. Merewether did not press the matter further. But the last round of the battle lay with the Directors. In 1875 Bramma was compelled to cull considerably less than was absolutely required in order that the desired number of thirty thousand ewes might be kept for the ram. Craik's annoyance at the persistent refusal of the Directors to listen to his strictures was increased by reason of the fact that at the same time that he was forced to breed from ewes which he

58. Craik to Merewether, 20 Aug. 1869, C-H 71,
    1 Sept. 1870, C-I 103.
59. Craik to Merewether, 28 May 1874, C-M 78;
    Merewether to Craik, 30 May 1874, p. 399.
and Bramma declared should be culled from the breeding flocks
he was also prevented from putting to the ram aged ewes
which he insisted would produce good lambs. This controversy
was as lengthy as that concerning the culling percentages.
Craik asserted that on Warrah's lush pastures ewes as old as
six or seven years could give birth to a healthy lamb.
Hamilton refused to be convinced, although after years of
discussion he eventually permitted Craik to put five year
old ewes to the tup. 60

The time for lambing on Warrah was altered on more than
one occasion during the decade after 1864. In that year,
and again in 1865, there was the one lambing, in the spring.
As the number of breeding ewes increased, Warrah's capacity
to handle the entire drop in the one short period came to be
questioned, and an autumn lambing was instituted. 61 For
various reasons, this became quite a controversial topic in
following years. The autumn lambing percentages were
markedly below those obtained in the spring. 62 Moreover,
the spring lambs thrived to such an extent that the autumn
lambs appeared sickly in comparison; the spring lambs at six
months were often as well grown as the lambs of the previous
autumn. Despite the obvious disadvantages of the autumn
lambing the policy remained unchanged for some years. Finally,
Merewether yielded to the entreaties of Craik and his sheep
overseer, Hudson, and in 1870 the month of September went past
without the ewes being put to the ram. Henceforth, there
were the so-called "winter" and "spring" lambings. There was

60. Court to Merewether, 2 Oct. 1874, pp. 5-8;
Merewether to Court, 14 May 1874, J, 369;
Merewether to Craik, 25 Feb. 1865, p. 494,
18 May 1874, p. 355;
Craik to Merewether, 9 June 1874, C-MR 5, and
18 Jan. 1875, C-MR 12.

61. See Appendix 62.
62. Merewether to Craik, 12 Sept. 1870, p. 488;
Craik to Merewether, 29 July 1870, C-I 82;
Hudson to Merewether, 5 June 1870, C-I 63.
very little difference between the timing of the two, the second lot of full-bellied ewes being moved on to the lambing stations shortly after the removal of the first contingent of ewes with their lambs. The results justified the change in policy, and no one denied that the winter lambing was a "great success".63

The Company's breeding policy for the most part was conducted with long term interests in mind. Therefore, its success or otherwise was not determined by the position at the end of 1875. Nevertheless, its achievement up till this date can be described. The size of the Warrah flocks had increased from nothing at the end of 1862 to 104,654 at the end of 1875.64 The rate of increase had been particularly rapid until the end of 1866. This had been followed by a marked tapering off until 1872 when the flock population began again to increase rapidly, to a peak of 106,681 as at 31 December 1873. After the initial stocking had been completed the bulk of the increase in the sheep population of Warrah can be accounted for by the two years 1872 and 1873 when numbers increased by 63% from 65,500 to 106,700. In contrast with this rapid accumulation of livestock there was a rise of only 11,300 from 1866 to 1871, representing an average annual increment of a little over 4%, and an actual decline after 1873. These fluctuations in the rate of increase were caused by stock transaction policy, and not directly by the vagaries of the weather as reflected in the lambing returns and the number of deaths. Whereas between 1863 and 1868 inclusive the number of sheep purchased in any one year never fell below 14,000, the total bought in the three-year period 1869–1871 was 23,000. And in 1872 and 1873 very heavy purchases were made; a total for the two years of almost 60,000. The increase from births on Warrah was

63. Merewether to Court, 27 Feb. 1875, K, 118; Craik to Merewether, 20 March 1872, C-K 40.
64. See Appendix /5.
stabilised at about the 12,000 to 15,000 mark between 1866 and 1872. The two following years were notable for the large number of lambs weaned – 26,000 and 23,000. The gradual improvement in the flock's ability to replace itself and thus reduce the necessity to purchase stores is demonstrated by the fact that whereas in the years 1865-1868 inclusive 41% of the additions to the flock were the progeny of Warrah's ewes, in the years 1869-1875 53% of the addition was the result of natural increase. These figures still betoken a substantial degree of dependence upon the purchase of sheep and in individual years as late as 1872 and 1873 the number of sheep bought was considerably in excess of the number of lambs weaned on the property.

It is difficult to state with precision the effect that the policy and management of these years had on the type of fleece produced by the Warrah sheep. Figures for fleece weights are available for practically all the period, but not worthwhile conclusions can be drawn from an average struck on the whole flock, when that flock included a large and annually varying number of purchased sheep. For these and many other reasons little or no significance can be attached to the fact that the average weight of the 1865 clip was "about" 5\frac{1}{4} lbs. of greasy wool, and that the average weight of a washed fleece was 3.11 lbs. for the clip of 1869 and 3.23 lbs. for the clip of 1875. Especially is this so when it is pointed out that the corresponding figures for 1871 and 1872 were 2.70 lbs. and 2.87 lbs. respectively. From 1872 onwards figures more valuable for comparative purposes were kept by the Company. These took the form of average fleece weights for selected types of Warrah-bred sheep. However, the period under consideration is so short, and the annual fluctuations were so much conditioned

65. Merewether to Court, 20 March 1866, F, 184.
66. See Appendix 2.2.
by climatic vicissitudes, the quality of the washing, and other extraneous factors as to render the returns inconclusive.  

It appears that there was some improvement in the quality of the wool grown by the Warrah-bred sheep over these years. The change was not measurable, and the judgements were subjective and therefore to be treated with caution. A surfeit of comments has survived. Bramma, if prodded sufficiently, supplied a report on each year's classing. Stead, the wool classer, furnished cursory remarks, at times nothing but a small sheaf of pencilled scrawls; and there also remain the reports of the Company's London wool brokers, the observations of squatters visiting Warrah and, of course, the comments of Craik himself. The contents of the last mentioned remarks must be discounted by an understanding of Craik's enthusiasm and his inclination towards boasting. Moreover, a visit to an agricultural show, or to another flock owner, could easily cause a change in his opinion of the relative standard of Warrah wool. However, very few denied that the quality of the Warrah grown fleece did improve over these years, while the Warrah-bred wethers certainly grew a heavy fleece. But, although Bramma's report usually gave "a most satisfactory account of the progress" made in this direction, Stead's report on the clip of 1875, supported by Bramma himself, leaves the impression that there still remained much room for improvement. However, this was not a reflection upon inadequacies in the Company's management, but a commentary upon the magnitude of the problem confronting it.

Some might say that the most important result of all.

67. See, for example, Craik to Merewether, 18 Feb. 1871, C-J 26, and 1 Nov. 1871, C-J 130.
68. Craik to Merewether, 15 Dec. 1871, C-J 146.
69. These reports are in the Warrah wool papers, WWP-A.
70. Craik to Merewether, 18 Aug. 1866, C-E 61.
71. Merewether to Court, 15 March 1873, J, 35.
72. Gregson to Court, 18 Feb. 1876, L, 39.
this activity was to be seen in the annual wool cheque. This grew rapidly, as there was both a steady increase in the numbers shorn and an improvement in the average price per pound received for the wool. In 1864 13,779 sheep were shorn on Warrah. In each of the following years there were substantial increases in the shearing number until the figure of 71,607 was reached in 1867. After that there was a levelling off followed by a steadier increase to 97,675 in 1874 and 92,413 in 1875. The value of this ever bigger clip was enhanced by the improvement in prices. The clip of 1868 sold for an average price of 1s. 1½d. per pound of washed wool – the nadir of the Company's experiences in this field. The clip of 1871 sold for an average of 2s. 1½d. per pound. Not until the 1875 clip was sold did the Company's average price again drop below 2s. per pound. These price changes are not a measure of an improvement in the quality of the fleece, for other factors, notably the improvement in the technique of washing the clip, and the movement of the market in seller's favour in the early 'seventies, were very important. Nevertheless, the Company's standing relative to other New South Wales wool growers did not deteriorate over these years, although the less exuberant Merewether was not able to see in certain results the complete triumph over neighbouring rivals which Craik enthusiastically discerned. The clip of 1870 was the first for which the Company received gross proceeds of over £20,000; thereafter the gross receipts of the clip consistently exceeded this figure. The net proceeds of the clip of 1864 were £2,722; of 1869 £16,073; of 1874 £27,295.

73. Merewether to Craik, 21 Aug. 1869, p. 704, 22 April 1872, p. 761, 7 July 1873, pp. 664-5; Merewether to Hudson, 28 July 1874, p. 507.
Warrah provides an excellent example of the profitability of a wool growing enterprise. For the clips of the period 1868-1875 inclusive the Australian Agricultural Company received a total of £178,182 from the buyer. Since the same animal was growing wool and meat at the same time and since it presumably would at some stage be sold to the butcher, it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory expenditure total to debit against these wool receipts. For present purposes we shall confine ourselves to those items directly attributable by the Company's book-keeping conventions to the cost of getting up the wool clip. The colonial charges under this head included all expenses incurred from the time the sheep left the paddock until the time of their return, together with the cost of getting the wool to the port of shipment. For the clips 1868-1875 inclusive the total of these charges came to £26,535. To this must be added the London charges which included sea freight, warehouse charges and the other selling costs. For the clips above mentioned this sum totalled £13,017. This left a total surplus, for these 75 years, of £138,630.

Although the Company's decisions with respect to its herds were not for the most part put into effect on Warrah's broad acres, some consideration of the cattle breeding policy of the Company is required here. In the case of the herds the Company did not make the clear break with the past which it had made in the sheep-breeding establishment. However, the condition of these herds was so deplorable at the beginning of the 'sixties as to call for drastic remedial measures which entailed a change of policy almost as significant as a new beginning. As was the case with the sheep, Craik

75. See Appendices $\& \& 14$. 
attacked his task with great gusto, and with the passage of
time saw fit to declare that he had accomplished much towards
the improvement of the Company's herds. As also was the
case with the sheep, there is no reason for doubting that
Craik had some justification for his claims.

The state of the Company's herds when Craik assumed
responsibility for their control left room for much
improvement. In bygone days the Company had occupied a
proud position among the colonial breeders of Durham cattle,
but neglect and mismanagement had followed these triumphant
years. Numbers had been increased at the expense of quality.
In recent years the Company's cattle had been "rather at a
discount". Merewether felt it his position to inform the
Court: "Mr. Craik has not a high opinion of your young bulls".
However, the new Stock Superintendent hoped that "a little
judicious selection and attention" might prelude a return to
former greatness. The Port Stephens herds, both at Gloucester
and the Bowman, were drastically culled. Almost £4,000
was received in the period 1861-1863 from the sale of cull
female breeding cattle. Over the same period seventyfive
bulls were sold for £1,165. Craik was "almost ashamed" of
those remaining, and most were castrated. At the same time
an extensive speying programme was instituted. Both Craik
and Martin, his first cattle overseer, learnt how to perform
the operation. 86 Many spayed cows were sold as fats, bringing into the Company more than they would have if sold as breeders. 87 After this wholesale disposal of unwanted breeding stock the Company was naturally not in a position to figure as a prominent seller of Durham cattle. Bull sales were of negligible importance for some years while Craik carried out his plans for retrieving the position.

For some time the fate of the herd hung in the balance. Craik, a cattleman at heart, was all in favour of retaining and improving the herd, 88 but the Court was by no means sure that this was the best policy to follow. Cattle were hard to manage, pleuro-pneumonia was decimating them, the depredations of cattle duffers were no light consideration, and the prospects of a substantial financial return from them was at no time as bright as it was in the case of the sheep. 89 But for the fact that it already possessed the Port Stephens estate the Court would have begrudged every blade of grass on Warrah that was not reserved for sheep. However, the Court could not see its way to utilizing its coastal property in any way other than that of breeding cattle. Thus the incubus of the choice made in 1826 continued to affect the management of Warrah even after its establishment as the headquarters of the Australian Agricultural Company's stock department. And this state of affairs continued until the Port Stephens estate was finally disposed of in 1903. Consideration of this problem during the 'sixties did not result in any change of policy. By the end of the decade, and during the 'seventies, the desire to dispose of the cattle weakened, as the herd

86. Craik to Merewether, 1 May 1862, C-A 39.
87. Merewether to Court, 13 Feb. 1865, E, 410-1.
88. Craik to Merewether, 16 May 1862, C-A 43.
89. Craik to Merewether, 20 May 1863, C-B 62, 16 March 1865, C-D 17; for some indication of the Court's attitude towards this problem see: Court to Merewether, 26 Nov. 1861, EMD18, and 26 Feb. 1862, EMD27, p. 10.
emerged as the source of some not inconsiderable financial gain.

In his plans for improving the Company's herds Craik placed almost complete reliance upon the importation of fresh blood from England and the exercise of his critical judgement in the selection of the most suitable cows to mate with these bulls. Craik was continually agitating for new imported bulls, but was obliged to wait until the Company's financial position permitted such an expenditure. Considerations of this nature lay behind the transactions of 1863 when Craik exchanged twenty Bowman heifers with G.M. Dangar of Neotsfield for a six year old imported bull, and eight young Company-bred bulls with Edward Lloyd for an eight year old bull. In the following two years further negotiations of a like nature were carried to a successful termination. Craik regarded these transactions as stop-gap measures and still looked forward to the day when he could arrange for the direct importation of English bulls by the Company. The Court was becoming more favourably inclined towards the idea, and after some final hesitation on the score of expense eventually made the desired purchase. Three bulls arrived in the colony towards the end of 1869. Three more, including the Duke of Oxford 24th, which cost one thousand guineas, were despatched in 1873. With animals of such high quality under his control Craik plunged into his work with a ready will,

91. Craik to Merewether, 16 March 1863, C-B 32.
92. Craik to Merewether, 15 July 1863, C-B 72.
93. Craik to Merewether, 16 Nov. 1864, C-C 77, and 15 Aug. 1865, C-D 52.
94. Craik to Merewether, 14 April 1866, C-E 32;
Craik's annual report for 1868, C-YR7, pp. 19-20.
95. Court to Merewether, 14 Aug. 1868, EMD171, p. 4.
96. Court to Merewether, 10 Sept. 1869, EMD198, p. 5.
97. Merewether to Craik, 12 May 1873, p. 578.
deriving as much encouragement from the early results as he
had obtained inspiration from the raw material.98

The fruits of this expenditure and careful management were
to be seen, in part at least, in the substantial increase in
the revenue received from the sale of bulls. From 1864 to
1867 inclusive the Company sold seven bulls for a total of
£70. In 1868 and in every year thereafter the Company
received at least £1,000 from this source, receipts exceeding
£5,500 in 1874. Most of these bulls were sold by auction, the
annual sale becoming quite a feature of Warrah's life. The
first of these sales was held in January 1873, Merewether
having decided accordingly in the previous month.99 Despite
the short period allowed for making the necessary arrangements,
a good attendance of buyers was forthcoming, and the sale was
a pronounced success. Craik was jubilant. "I consider", he
wrote, "this sale is the greatest of all our successes... It
was a grand affair in every way".100 Merewether expressed
himself as being "extremely pleased with the result".101 The
results of the two following sales, while not to be compared
with the "wonderful" auction of 1873, were quite satisfactory.102

Over the fifteen years 1861–1875 15,857 head of cattle
were transferred from Port Stephens to Warrah. By far the
greater proportion of these were destined for the butchers.
Steers and cows for fattening generally were moved to the
Liverpool Plains estate at the age of from two to two-and-a-
half years.103 There was also a minor transference of breeding

98. Craik to Merewether, 27 Dec. 1869, C-H 119,
    9 July 1870, C-I 73, and
100. Craik to Merewether, 7 Jan. 1873, C-L 6.
stock to and fro, a total of 658 animals being taken back from Warrah to Port Stephens during this period.105 Droversing the cattle from estate to estate was not Craik's responsibility, but mishaps on the trip caused him several headaches. One of the early mobs to arrive on Warrah came through Dungog and Singleton,106 but the usual route was a one hundred and forty mile zig-zag. The trail lay north-west from the coast through Nowendoc and across the Divide, and then south-west to Warrah.107 To bring a few hundred head of cattle safely along this route was no mean feat. Shareholders in their comfortable London surroundings were informed of the difficulties of negotiating Hungry Hill.108 Craik opined that no one could be expected to take more than six hundred head at a time past "Hell Hole".109 The loss of a few animals en route was accepted as being almost inevitable. Craik praised "John the German" as "the best drover in the district",110 but it was the more prosaically named John Higgins who performed "the best piece of droving" for the Company while Craik was on Warrah. He brought 572 store steers from Gloucester without losing a beast.111 Cattle dropped east of Hungry Hill could be relied upon to make their way back to their Port Stephens run; but a drover who mislaid animals west of the Divide would be obliged to return on his track in search of them.112 Before the days of fences certain difficulties attended the retention of the newly arrived cattle on Warrah. Their homing instinct was

104. Craik to Merewether, 1 Nov. 1871, C-J 530.
105. See Appendix 177
106. Merewether to Court, 20 Oct. 1865, F, 100-1.
107. Craik to Merewether, 5 April 1862, C-A 32,
19 Feb. 1870, C-I 25,
22 Nov. 1875, C-N 99.
110. Craik to Merewether, 10 Aug. 1868, C-G 75.
111. Craik to Merewether, 26 Dec. 1874, C-K 174.
112. Craik to Merewether, 17 March 1866, C-E 23,
9 July 1870, C-I 73.
strongly developed and much time and energy was expended in retrieving animals coastwise bound. In July 1863 Craik instituted the system of herding each new mob for a few months before turning it out on the open range, this innovation proving successful. Drovers charges were fairly constant during these years, the Company usually paying 2s. a head for bringing store cattle up from the coast.

Careful attention to breeding and animal husbandry generally might result in the growth of an admirable beast, but success in this regard would be poor consolation to a Company concerned with pecuniary returns if the said beast was not disposed of to advantage. Livestock dealing formed an important part of Craik's duties. It would be too much to say that Craik was an independent agent practising certain skills which enabled him to obtain for Warrah's product a return greater than the market would otherwise have been prepared to offer him. Rather, in this as in so many other aspects of pastoral management, success lay in the somewhat negative virtue of avoiding mistakes, rather than in any positive brilliance in the application of principles of startling originality. Craik diligently studied the stock prices but frequently was obliged to admit that he was at a loss to explain their movements. The Warrah management had no control over certain factors which profoundly influenced the price obtained for its stock - ordinary market fluctuations,

113. Martin to Merewether, 23 June 1862, C-A 55.
114. Craik to Merewether, 15 July 1863, C-B 72.
117. Craik to Merewether, 6 June 1870, C-I 64.
the vagaries of the weather, and the machinations of the professional stock dealers and buyers.\(^{118}\) Also, the colonial management's hand was often forced by the need to satisfy the constant demand from England for remittances.\(^{119}\) Each individual sale involved a discussion, sometimes in great detail, between Craik and Merewether, regarding the policy to be adopted.\(^{120}\) No transaction could be finalised by one man without the other being consulted. This was a cumbersome arrangement which at times showed its disadvantages, when a rival squatter secured a tempting flock for which the Australian Agricultural Company had been angling. "We are", Craik once lamented, "unfortunately so long about our deals".\(^{121}\) As has been mentioned, in later years Merewether exercised a firmer control over the details of stock dealing.

The Australian Agricultural Company's stock transactions were conducted on a large scale. Warrah had the resources to cope with large numbers, and because of the difficulties of inspection and the overhead involved in the cost of droving, the management scarcely could interest itself in small mobs of sheep any distance from Warrah, although on occasions small flocks were bought off near neighbours.\(^{122}\) Such exceptions aside, it was a rarity for a mob of purchased stores to number less than five thousand. On several occasions mobs of around the twelve thousand mark changed hands. It was the same with selling. A few sheep and cattle were disposed of locally, mainly to butchers, although

118. Merewether to Craik, 28 March 1873, p. 513; Craik to Merewether, 16 Oct. 1862, C-A 84; for an example of the manner in which a fall of rain could result in a complete reversal of selling policy see: Craik to Merewether, 17 April, 1869, C-H 34.


120. See Craik to Merewether, 25 Jan. 1870, C-I 10 for an example of a detailed consideration of market possibilities.

121. Craik to Merewether, 1 April 1867, C-F 28.

122. For example, in April and June 1870; December 1872; and October 1873. See the relevant monthly reports from Craik.
neighbours now and then bought Company livestock for rations.\textsuperscript{123} By far the greater proportion of sales off Warrah, however, was made to the Sydney dealers and carcase butchers.\textsuperscript{124} A bullock sale of two hundred head, or a sale of three thousand sheep, would represent a normal transaction. One of the largest deals involved the sale of twenty-four thousand sheep for £16,835.\textsuperscript{125}

The Company spent almost £90,000 on the purchase of store sheep during the period 1861–1875. The number bought each year varied with the prospects of the fat stock market, the condition of Warrah's pastures, and the price of the stores themselves, and throughout these years a shortage of funds was always likely to be a limiting factor.\textsuperscript{126} More than twenty thousand store sheep were bought in 1864 and again in 1866, while the total for the three years 1869–1871 barely equalled these earlier annual purchases.\textsuperscript{127} Then, almost thirty thousand were bought in each of the years 1872 and 1873. Three year old sheep, and wethers in preference to ewes, were the best proposition if a quick turnover of fattening stock was desired.\textsuperscript{128} One of the earliest of the purchases under the new management was a flock of five year old wethers,\textsuperscript{129} but thereafter the Company was successful in being able to obtain sheep of a more suitable age, few flocks being younger than two-and-a-half years or older than four years. Craik and Merewether had decided preferences as to the districts from which stores should be purchased. New England sheep were to be resorted to only when all other sources failed. According to Craik, sheep from that area were generally small and flukey and took longer to fatten.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{123} Merewether to Court, 13 Feb. 1864, E, 181;
  Craik to Merewether, 28 Oct. 1874, C-MR 9, and 10 Dec. 1866, C-E 95.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Merewether to Craik, 14 Oct. 1872, p. 97.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} Craik to Merewether, 7 June 1875, C-MR17.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} Merewether to Craik, 29 Oct. 1872, p. 131.
  \item \textsuperscript{127} See Appendix 9.
  \item \textsuperscript{128} Court to Merewether, 26 Feb. 1862, EMD27, p. 5, Merewether to Craik, 23 Oct. 1871, p. 328.
  \item \textsuperscript{129} Court to Merewether, 26 Feb. 1862, EMD27, p. 5.
\end{itemize}
than did sheep from sounder country. Unfortunately, on several occasions Craik, in the absence of other prospects, was compelled to accept delivery of sheep from this region. Craik expressed frequent complaints as to the poor fattening qualities of these stores. Sheep from the western country, from the Gwydir and beyond, were much sought after by the Company, and Craik and Merewether were able to secure a number of large drafts from these parts. But the inland plains of Queensland bred the sheep most favoured in the eyes of Warrah's management. Craik protested an inability to sleep soundly until the Company had secured a mob of twelve thousand from the Comet and Dawson Rivers; his wishes were fulfilled and the sheep arrived on Warrah in July 1867. These sheep, Craik declared, would be ready for market much earlier than New England wethers. Merewether was prepared to disrupt station routine to the extent of ordering a second shearing in February 1872 in order that delivery might be taken of a flock of Queensland wethers. Generally speaking, Warrah's dependence upon New England as a source of supply for its store sheep was reduced with the passage of time as Craik availed himself of the increasing opportunities for purchasing from inland New South Wales and Queensland.

There were two rules from which the Company rarely departed when selling its livestock. One was that the purchaser should pay cash, and the other was that the purchaser should take delivery on the station. The first

130. Merewether to Craik, 16 June 1874, p. 455, Craik to Merewether, 3 May 1873, C-L 64, Hudson to Merewether, 6 May 1874, C-M 69.
132. Merewether to Court, 23 July 1867, G, 14, Craik to Merewether, 27 May 1867, C-F, 49, 30 May 1867, C-F 49.
133. Craik to Merewether, 11 Dec. 1871, C-J 144.
134. Merewether to Court, 21 Sept. 1865, F, 85, 22 March 1867, F, 403.
maxim was a result of the need to forward remittances promptly to England; the second was a reflection of the bargaining power of a supplier of livestock on a large scale. That the Company was able successfully to conclude sales on this basis throughout most of the period under review, however, was a measure of the happy circumstances in which the station management found itself rather than a testimony to the dealing ability of Craik and Merewether. York, Richards, Seivel, Sullivan, McElhone and McIvor were the dealers to whom most of Warrah's livestock was sold. Their names figure prominently in the letters of Craik and Merewether, but they were not always referred to in eulogistic terms. Craik claimed that York and the devil "would make a good buggy pair", and Merewether agreed. This antipathy was due to the "unpleasant but true" fact that men like York had the fat sheep market in their grasp. However, Craik pointed out, it was no use "having a row" with York, for the butchers were together "as one man", and to cross one would be to antagonise the Sydney buying ring.

Despite such misgivings, only once was Merewether goaded into attempting to break this alleged ting. The incident is worth describing in some detail. During the winter of 1874 the Sydney buyers refused to offer Merewether what he considered to be a sufficient price for certain flocks he had for sale. Merewether was determined to dispose of approximately fifteen thousand sheep before shearing, but had no intention of selling them cheaply. His plans to "bring the big buyers to reason" rested upon the despatch of sheep from Warrah for auction sale at the Homebush yards in

137. Craik to Merewether, 31 March 1863, C-B 41.
138. Merewether to Court, 21 Sept. 1865, F, 85;
    Craik to Merewether, 3 April 1863, C-B 44.
Sydney. After Merewether had thrashed out the details with the stock and station agents, G.M. Pitt and Son, the shipment got under way. The first truckloads left Murrurundi early in July, and thereafter mobs were despatched as directed by Merewether on telegraphic advice received from Pitt. Craik did not take kindly to the extra work involved in arranging for these numerous and irregular consignments, and Merewether too did not relish undertaking the tortuous arrangements required. Right up to the last Merewether displayed a desire to avoid recourse to such methods, writing to McElhone: "I don't like turning retail dealer and as usual am always open to a reasonable offer". After a struggle lasting some weeks the "uphill business (of) fighting the big butchers" was relinquished. Craik and Merewether were both quite satisfied to call it a day once it had become apparent that they could not force the buyers' hand. Craik summed up his reaction to the incident thus: "I am very glad you have closed with the butchers although the wretches have got too much of their way this time". Dealing with the butchers, in fact, was always a ticklish business. As the period began, so it ended. In 1862 Merewether warned Craik: "Above all things do not let them suppose for one

139. The story of this brush with the Sydney dealers may be traced in the following documents:

Merewether to Court, 6 Aug. 1874, J, 428;
Merewether to Craik, 15 June 1874, pp. 448-9,
3 July 1874, p. 465,
10 July 1874, p. 485,
1 Aug. 1874, p. 532,
8 Aug. 1874, p. 552,
10 Aug. 1874, p. 559-60,
31 Aug. 1874, p. 667;

Merewether to Hudson 28 July 1874, p. 505,
Merewether to G.M. Pitt and Son, 20 June 1874, p. 461,
3 July 1874, pp. 466-7; 19 Aug. 1874, p. 603,

Merewether to McElhone, 10 July 1874, p. 478;
Craik to Merewether, 8 July 1874, C-M 88,
11 July 1874, C-M 89;
13 Aug. 1874, C-M 100;
2 Sept. 1874, C-M 113.
minute that we are in their hands and compelled to take what they offer".\textsuperscript{140} As his term drew to a close Merewether proferred similar advice to the man who eventually was to occupy Craik's position.\textsuperscript{141}

The livestock sold off Warrah could be grouped into various categories. There were the fat sheep, which were of three classes - those which had originally been purchased as stores, ewes culled out for fattening, and Warrah-bred wethers. Small numbers of breeding sheep were sold, comprising a few cull rams in most years from 1865 onwards,\textsuperscript{142} and a little under three thousand ewes in 1871.\textsuperscript{143} In the case of cattle a similar distinction could be made between breeding animals, bull sales, as we have seen, being an important item in the stock department's economy in 1869 and subsequent years, and fats sold to the butchers. After Craik's initial purchases of store cattle had been disposed of all cattle sold off Warrah were Company-bred.

In this period the proceeds from the sale of sheep accounted for a little over one-third of Warrah's gross income. The minor transactions of the first years of the 'sixties - so minor indeed that Craik was able to furnish a fairly accurate profit and loss account for each flock involved - gave way to bigger things. From 1863 onwards substantial numbers of fat sheep - never less than ten thousand a year - were sold off the pastures of Warrah. In the years 1871-1875 these sales reached extremely large proportions, almost 140,000 sheep being disposed of over these five years. Fat stock prices, which had been in the doldrums in the late 'sixties, so that 11,500 wethers had been sent to the boiling down works,

\textsuperscript{140} Merewether to Craik, 2 Oct. 1862, p. 671.
\textsuperscript{141} Merewether to FĂirbairn, 1 May 1875, pp. 269-70.
\textsuperscript{142} For an example of such a sale see Craik to Merewether, 30 March 1865, C-D 20.
\textsuperscript{143} Merewether to Court, 2 March 1872, I, 202.
recovered to their level of a decade earlier by the mid-seventies, the wethers sold in 1875 averaging 14s. 3d. per head. A combination of good prices and large turnover resulted in a gross income of over £40,000 from the sale of sheep in the two years 1874 and 1875.

On such lines was Warrah's wealth organised. To those whose major interest lay in the financial returns it may not have occurred that incidental to profit making there was evolving a way of life on Warrah. The next chapter attempts a description of the attitude towards this life of the man who was its central figure.
Something more than the prospect of his quarterly pay cheque lay behind Craik's long attachment to Warrah. Certainly, Craik's concern with financial matters was no less than tradition, or prejudice, would lead us to assume was usually the case with men of his nationality. His frequent references to money, his requests for higher pay, and his plea for a special allowance upon his retirement afford sufficient evidence of his cupidity. He had little reason to complain, for he managed to save quite a tidy sum out of his earnings while in the employ of the Australian Agricultural Company. Despite this homage paid to filthy lucre Craik loved his work for its work's sake. His role may not have been of surpassing importance, he may have felt himself hedged in all the time by the necessity to comply with the policies of the

1. Craik to Merewether, 13 Nov. 1865, C-D 73, 12 Aug. 1867, C-F 71.
Court and the wished of Merewether, but he nevertheless thought of himself, and rightly so, as a man who had a significant duty to perform. It meant much to him that he should satisfactorily fulfil his duty. When to this sense of dedication was added his sense of achievement, in itself a measure of a shallow personality, there emerges the picture of a light-hearted grasping of life, tempered only by nostalgic memories of his mother still living in Scotland. His work existed to be enjoyed. His sensitivity, and his readiness to take an interest in the everyday occurrences of the world around him, stood him in good stead among the limited attractions of the Liverpool Plains.

"We commenced to shift engines on Friday (yesterday)", Craik wrote, "after lunch, and by means of bullocks and horses I am glad to say the old engine was placed high and dry on Warrah ridge and the new engine was put into engine shed at sundown... This morning I went down early and saw the new engine safely put on its frame by 12 o'clock noon... You may say what you like but brute strength and bullocks are fine things in black soil after four weeks rain... We did all the shifting of the engine by Brute Strength, except, of course, the putting of the new engine in position, which I must say Brock did with great care and credit to himself. I gave them all a good glass of grog this evening?"

Ten weeks later Craik was even happier, his sense of achievement heightened, his belief in his work consolidated. In a spirit of supreme exaltation, radiating a good humour which embraced wife, family, his superior, his workmen, and, above all, Warrah and the new jewel in its diadem, Craik

5. Craik to Merewether, 21 June 1873, C-L 85.
wrote to Newcastle:

"I should indeed have been glad to have had you at washpool on Thursday night when I went down with Mrs. Craik to start the new engine attached to the 'gushing beauty' for the first time. Mrs. Craik started it and named it the 'Augusta' after your little daughter as Brock insisted on its being christened. I gave the men some grog etc. It was quite refreshing to see how smoothly and easily it worked and the Beauty did gush! and no mistake! Brock has certainly done his work most creditably as regards both the fitting of the new engine and the setting of boilers. In fact you will hardly know the washpool when you next come up!"

It was in such manner that Craik triumphed over life and work. Moments of great despondency there were but a praiseworthy resilience and the ability to pay more attention to the pleasant than to the unpleasant things around him enabled him, for the most part, and despite the occasional pronouncements to the contrary, "to sail smoothly all his life through the ocean of trouble known as the world".

Craik gives no indication that he was ever oppressed by that element of monotony in the task of supervising the day by day affairs of a sheep station which was painfully evident to at least one of his subordinates. He had the capacity of deriving enjoyment from tasks which to others might seem to be most mundane and trivial. Apart from a brief period immediately preceding and following his marriage, which took place in August 1871, Warrah took pride of place in Craik's affections, even displacing his beloved Scotland. Indeed, some would say that he lavished upon Warrah a love which might well have been directed

9. See below, p. 177.
towards his wife and family. He waxed lyrical over an up-to-date plant for washing sheep, but regarded his spouse and offspring as nuisances, and persisted in making slighting references to them in his business correspondence with Merewether. Such a man, apparently lacking in the ability to understand his fellow man, was perhaps supremely equipped for the arduous task of developing and organising a sheep station. By the same token, he was able to derive from his work and his relationship with Warrah an emotional satisfaction which filled the vacuum left by his inability to communicate with his fellows. He was in tune with his surroundings, and derived his enjoyment from riding amongst the sheep, boasting about Warrah's lambing percentages, and displaying the latest improvement at the washpool. Craik manages to convey the impression that he thought of himself as living a full and satisfying life.

Craik's year began with complaints about the heat of the Liverpool Plains. January was a month of anti-climax on Warrah. Shearing had been completed, the last of the wool had left the station and, apart from the bull sale instituted in the last years of Craik's stay on Warrah, January was a month devoid of exceptional incident, a month to be devoted to maintenance work and routine improvements neglected during the hurly-burly of shearing. About the middle of the month Craik left for the first of his quarterly visits to the Port Stephens properties. At Stroud, he and Merewether went through the accounts for the previous quarter. Occasionally Merewether would accompany him to the cattle stations at Gloucester and on the Bowman, but more often the task to be performed here was strictly within Craik's

10. Craik to Merewether, 16 April 1873, C-L 55, 10 Sept. 1873, C-L 134, 1 Feb. 1875, C-N 9, and 19 March 1875, C-N 25.
province. There were calves to be branded, cows to be set aside for the bulls, fences and buildings to be examined, store bullocks to be drafted for the fattening pastures of the Liverpool Plains, while Craik jumped at the opportunity to ride at leisure through the country comprising the Port Stephens estate. He once claimed that he was never happier than when he was with his "pet thoroughbreds at Gloucester". He liked the type of country on which these cattle grazed; his wife detested the dreary, uncomfortable, scrub lands. Disagreements on issues such as this contributed towards their estrangement.

At intervals, Craik supervised musters of the Port Stephens cattle. But this operation cost the Company dearly in terms of man-hours and the damage to horse flesh unavoidable when rounding up cattle in the rugged back country of the estate. As a result, the interval between musters tended to be fairly lengthy.

On his return to Warrah Craik would gather from his subordinates information on developments on the property during his absence. He would then ride over the property in order to acquaint himself with the current situation.

The next seasonal occupation was the weaning of the spring lambs, generally completed by the third week of February. A month later the rams would be put to the ewes for the next drop of spring lambs.

The first of Merewether's quarterly visits to Warrah usually took place in the second week of March. These visits were interesting landmarks in the yearly round of

the two men, appreciated by both since they afforded an opportunity for combining business with pleasure.

Merewether's travel arrangements were discussed in some detail before every trip to Warrah. At first, the journey was a somewhat arduous one. In 1862 Merewether left Newcastle on a Sunday morning and arrived at Willow Tree at daylight the following day. As the railway line extended north-west from Newcastle Merewether's travelling time was diminished. By 1875 Merewether could "easily" reach Warrah within ten hours of leaving his home in Newcastle. At the same time the last stage of the journey to the homestead at Warrah was made more comfortable. Occasionally Merewether expressed his intention of walking from the Willow Tree Inn – the stopping place of the mail coach – to the head station, but Craik always managed to have transport waiting for him. When Craik became the proud possessor of a buggy, this insignia of social status was placed at the disposal of his superior.

Pleasure generally took the form of shooting trips. "You will bring your shooting gear with you I suppose", Craik wrote to Merewether, "as I think you are fairly entitled to a few days relaxation". Warrah's plains afforded some limited opportunity for hunting small game. There were times when quail abounded, while Craik on occasions managed to bag duck, turkey or pigeon. Game

15. Merewether to Craik, 28 Feb. 1862, p. 44.
17. Merewether to Court, 10 June 1875, K, 207.
19. Craik to Merewether, 8 Sept. 1872, C-K 118.
21. Craik to Merewether, 22 May 1868, C-G 51, 14 July 1871, C-J 82.
shooting was regarded by Craik as a matter of some importance, measured by the fact that he spent £35 on a "beautiful" breech-loader, "a grand gun"\textsuperscript{22} and went to the trouble of ordering a "fine setter dog" from Sydney.\textsuperscript{23}

Travelling arrangements required special attention on that memorable occasion when Merewether brought his wife and family to enjoy a holiday at Warrah. Four adults and five children took the train to Muswellbrook, and a hired coach transported them from the railhead to Murrurindi, where they were met by Craik's buggy and two spring carts. The visitors remained at Warrah for almost a fortnight.

Merewether was profuse in his thanks; Craik spoke of the General Superintendent's "dear little children". "I think", he continued, "a few more such visits would tend considerably to civilize me and make me become more amiable".\textsuperscript{24}

Merewether was but rarely accompanied by his family when visiting Warrah. In the more normal absence of the pacifying influence of Mrs. Merewether the meetings of the two men were not noted for their amiability. Discussions on the details of dam sites, drafting yards, and paddock arrangements provided ample opportunity for disagreement between two strong-willed men who knew most that there was to be known about the matters at issue. The nature and content of these altercations are not recorded. Mysterious references to an "unpleasantness", or to a "very stormy and unpleasant meeting" have been preserved, along with Craik's

\textsuperscript{22} Craik to Merewether, 3 Aug. 1873, C-L 112.
\textsuperscript{23} Craik to Merewether, 11 May 1868, C-G 44.
\textsuperscript{24} Craik to Merewether, 7 Aug. 1869, C-H 66; for an account of the arrangements for this trip see:
Merewether to Craik, 5 Aug. 1869, p. 654,
26 June 1869, pp. 601-2;
Craik to Merewether, 12 July 1869, C-H 62;
14 July 1869, C-H 63;
Gamack to Merewether, 12 July 1869, C-H 61.
profuse apologies for forgetting his position and losing his temper.  

It was some consolation for Craik that Merewether hardly ever interfered in the choice of sites for lambing stations. With infinite care and patience Craik decided which locations had the lushest pastures and most plentiful water supply and were therefore most suitable for lambing down stations. "I was round among the East Warrah sheep yesterday", Craik informed Merewether, "arranging lambing stations. I lamb the 2,800 ewes in three flocks, one at Little Jack's Creek, one at McDonald's Creek and one at Pump Station Creek close to our southern boundary". Lambing yards had to be erected, and the necessary repairs made, while hundreds of hurdles were needed. Most of these lambing stations were temporary structures - "bush yards with bark gunyahs" - the latter being the accommodation provided for the employees. Lambing down was responsible work, for lack of careful attention could prove expensive. Craik left little to chance in 1864: "Lambing is now going ahead and Hudson is camped in a tent in the middle of the lambing stations, so that the lambing may be thoroughly attended to". Cutting followed shortly after the last lamb had been dropped. The returns were made up and then it was a time for excuse and explanation or for self-congratulation, depending upon the result. Generally, Craik was ever-ready with excuses and by no means loth to claim a triumph. He commented on the first lambing: "I have the vanity to think that the above lambing is as good as any the Company ever had had

25. Craik to Merewether, 17 March 1862, C-A 23, 14 Nov. 1864, C-C 76, 13 Nov. 1865, C-D 73, 27 March 1869, C-H 23.
27. Merewether to Court, 13 Feb. 1865, E, 408.
28. Craik to Merewether, 31 Aug. 1864, C-C 60.
before".  Lambing percentages were usually very good indeed, with occasional flocks averaging over 100%, and Craik prided himself that Warrah compared more than favourably with other properties in this respect.

No sooner had lambing been completed than shearing began. This task dominated the station year. Before the reports of the sales of the wool of one clip had reached the colony Craik was beginning to make his plans for the forthcoming shearing season. Washing was "drawing near" as early as May, and arrangements were set in train for the employment of the washpool manager and the woolclasser.

By July Craik had men at work obtaining firewood for the washpool plant. The necessary stores were usually ordered in the same month. Extra rations were needed, along with the additional luxury of coffee. Soap, washing soda, blue, twine, Stockholm Tar and the wool packs comprised the material for the getting up of the wool. Rowes Embrocation provided for the frequent muscular complaints, and Holloway's Pills for internal disorders. A consideration for the palate of the shearer was indicated by the Company's purchase of sādād oil, while currants and raisins added variety to the shearer's diet. Lastly, there was the consignment of rum around which controversy so often raged.

Craik might find himself fully occupied at various times during the preceding months, but once shearing commenced life was one continual turmoil. The task of organising called for a skill approaching that possessed by able military tacticians. To arrange a time-table

31. Craik to Merewether, 28 Sept. 1867, C-F 88, 3 Sept. 1873, C-L 130.
32. Merewether to Craik, 22 May 1874, p. 371; Craik to Merewether, 21 May 1874, C-M 77.
33. Craik to Merewether, 7 July 1874
34. For an example of an order for shearing supplies see encl. b. to Craik to Merewether, 25 Aug. 1864, C-C 59.
which would ensure that flocks of varying sizes grazing in parts of Warrah up to thirty miles distant would arrive at the washpool at the correct time was no easy task. An early arrival might mean congestion and confusion in the yards; a late arrival would waste valuable time.

Something has been said of the Company's sheep-washing methods. The ideal aimed at by Craik and Merewether from the time of the first use of the washpool plant was to have all the sheep washed before being shorn. This ideal was achieved in only five of the seasons after 1868. Almost one-half of the sheep were shorn in the grease in 1868, in the following year almost one-quarter, and in 1874 almost one-fifth. On the other hand, however, the number of sheep washed each season increased fairly steadily over this period, commensurate with the improvement in the capacity and efficiency of the washpool plant.

By the mid-seventies a satisfactory washing routine had been evolved. The same man, A.G. Martin, was employed as washpool manager for season after season. Martin's gradually accumulating store of experience resulted in a smoothly running performance and a ready remedy for any difficulty that arose. The other key post at the washpool was the engine driver's. This position, also, was filled for years by the one man, Brock, who took a due professional pride in skilfully operating his engine so that the spouting cistern was always full, but never overflowed, and so that the hot water was always maintained at the correct temperature. One of Martin's duties was to prepare a brief report on each day's operations. Every few days these reports were

35. Merewether to Court, 27 Feb. 1875, K, 119.
36. Except where otherwise stated, the material used in this and the following paragraphs was obtained from Martin's washpool reports, WWPJ6-15.
forwarded to Merewether, after perusal by Craik, who occasionally added a comment or elucidated some point, such as the number of the flock washed that day, on which Martin was doubtful. In these reports Martin informed Merewether which sheep were being washed, the type of scour used, the number washed before and after dinner; he told him how he had adjusted the temperatures of the soak, swim and spouting cistern to suit the particular conditions of the day and of the flock; and he told him the times at which he had changed the water in the soak, an operation generally undertaken three or four times a day. Merewether was informed of the difficulties Martin had had in instructing new men in the art of washing, and of any mishaps which might have occurred to the plant and machinery. Martin also commented on the success or otherwise of each day's work.

Washing began early in September, usually in such "infernally cold" weather that Craik did not wonder "that the poor devils could not stand the water". The hours worked varied considerably, depending largely on Martin's interpretation of the needs and circumstances of each particular day. During September 1875 work began between 8 A.M. and 9 A.M., fluctuating according to the temperature and Martin's success in rousing the men from their beds. Occasionally the situation called for persuasive powers of no small order. Martin describes one incident:

"Heavy and continuous rain this forenoon, upon sounding the whistle at 5 mins. to 8 only 6 men responded to it by coming to work, sounded it again at 8 but no men came went up to the hut to see what was the matter, when they told me all had agreed not to go to work as it was too wet, pointed out to them the folly of stopping especially as some of the men had gone down and also explained

37. Craik to Merewether, 6 Sept. 1873, C-L 132.
to spouters and men under cover, that they could not put the wet as an excuse; so after half an hour's talk, and at last with a threat as to the consequences they all came.

Generally, longer hours began on 1 October, although other factors, such as a shortage of shearers, might lead to the retention of September hours for a further week or so. There was no set dinner hour, and "knock off" time was even more variable. If a flock was finished at 4 o'clock no attempt was made to begin a new flock that day. On the other hand, work might be prolonged till 6 P.M. in order to finish a flock. However, washing usually had ceased by 5 P.M. or shortly afterwards, and it was considered advisable to dall a halt to the day's work reasonably early in order that there might be some time for the last sheep washed to dry a little before sundown. But the day's routine was affected occasionally by considerations less obviously the preserve of station management: "Began work at 7 A.M. so as to finish early that men could have a practice at cricket".

During the last weeks of washing the weather was as distressingly hot as it earlier had been uncomfortably cold. As early as the beginning of November it was as likely as not that work would be carried out in conditions thus described: "a horrible day a hot westerly gale blowing which sent the dust all over the drying yards". Rapid climatic changes aggravated the arduous nature of the work. On one day a torrential downpour would bring work to a standstill; three days later the weather could be so "fearfully hot and close" that many men "knocked up from the heat". Sickness among the men was a very ordinary occurrence. In the first weeks of washing men would be laid up with bad hands, "swelled wrists", sore fingers, "belly ache", and afflictions of a more serious nature: "One of the men very ill last night thought he was going to die"; or again: "Their
(sic) is no doubt the men who are laid up are really ill... a kind of influenza". A few weeks later would find the washers succumbing to sun-stroke, or simply "knocking-up" under the strain of weeks of heavy physical labour carried out in unpleasant conditions. Martin declared of the washers in 1870: "the best of them do not stand longer than a few days and some of them only a few hours", and relates the following incident:

"Craik sent three fresh men from station, tryed (sic) them all at spouts besides two others I had here and after half washing and nearly drowning a few sheep each they all gave in before 2 P.M."

Indeed, at one stage Martin himself was "nearly knocked up" as a result of his strenuous endeavours "to keep the work going".

The men did have their compensations. Towards the end of the season's work Martin would announce: "General Holyday. Annual Cricket Match washers v. shearsers". This event had originated in a challenge from the shearsers to the washers in October 1871. The washers asked Merewether to captain their eleven, since they considered - and rightly so, felt Merewether - his connection with the washpool to be stronger than with the shearing shed. Merewether was unable to oblige with his presence but willingly forwarded the necessary equipment. The match was not without after effects of a type similar to that induced by the labour of washing: "Began work at usual time some of the men laid up after their exertions of Saturday".

The driving of the washed sheep to the shearing shed posed a problem which Craik at first thought would be virtually insoluble, except at considerable expense. In a pessimistic mood he declared that it was "simply impossible" to bring washed sheep to "a shed four or five miles away (over soft

38. Merewether to Craik, 9 Nov. 1871, p. 366; 23 Oct. 1871, p. 329; Merewether, 11 Sept. 1873, C-L 135. Craik to Merewether
dusty plains and blind gullies cut up by horses and cattle) in a clean state. The problem seemed so serious that the construction of a new shearing shed near the washpool, connected thereto by a battened lane, was considered. This expenditure was not sanctioned. Certain less drastic remedial measures were applied. Craik devoted much time to discovering the most satisfactory route. A low bridge thrown across a creek bed helped to reduce the dust menace. Or, when the moon was in the appropriate quarter, the sheep would be driven to the shed during the early hours of the morning. No matter how careful the man in charge of the flock—and the fact that he was styled a "pilot" and not a "drover", and given a wage of 25/- a week, is perhaps an indication of the responsibility of the position—it was beyond his powers to escort the sheep to the shed without picking up a little dust. But Craik's early pessimism was partly dissolved as experience showed that careful management could go a long way towards solving this problem. Craik's complaints that the sheep got "terribly dirty" on this journey gave way to a rather satisfied acceptance of the results of the later manoeuvres.

In the shearing shed work was carried out under the surveillance of Craik. From 5.30 in the morning until 6.30 in the evening Craik's attention was focused upon the shed. He was convinced that to leave it unwatched was to lead to serious loss, for shearers were addicted to "roughing it" when left unattended. Occasionally, he "knocked off" a

40. Merewether to Court, 8 Oct. 1869, H, 32.
41. Craik to Merewether, 19 Aug. 1868, C-G 78.
42. Craik to Merewether, 3 Nov. 1869, C-H 94.
43. Craik to Merewether, 11 Nov. 1869, C-H 97.
44. Craik to Merewether, 11 Oct. 1869, C-H 84.
45. Craik to Merewether, 30 Nov. 1870, C-I 139.
man for bad shearing. Anxiety was an inevitable
concomitant of this portion of station routine. As Craik
explained to Merewether, "the sheep are washing beautifully,
shearing gets on fairly and I am worried considerably." He
had no hesitation in admitting that he was "almost always" in
a bad temper throughout shearing. And he abruptly pointed
out to Merewether that he should not expect long letters
from a station manager worn out after a long day supervising
washers and shearers. Craik was never one to refrain from
stressing the difficulties of his situation, especially
when orders from Merewether necessitated his making a complicated
departure from accepted routine. This happened on a few
occasions during shearing. Once, when the rate of washing
was hopelessly slow Merewether directed Craik to shear alternate
flocks in the grease. Craik exploited to the full his role
as the man on the spot intent on bringing home to the less
involved superior an awareness of the inconvenience which
the carrying out of this order would necessarily entail. At
the end of 1871 Merewether purchased a flock of almost eight
thousand wethers. These sheep, still unshorn, arrived on
Warrah in January 1872. Understandably, Craik was not at all
happy at the prospect of having to make all the arrangements
for, and then superintend the operation of, a second shearing,
and that in the heat of January and February. Craik performed
his duty, but Merewether allowed him the satisfaction of
complaining at length about this further example of his hard
lot. Lest one take Craik's words too much at face value

47. Craik to Merewether, 28 Oct. 1865, C-D 69,
27 Oct. 1866, C-E 87.
48. Craik to Merewether, 2 Nov. 1871, C-J 131.
49. Craik to Merewether, 31 Oct. 1866, C-E 89.
50. Craik to Merewether, 17 Oct. 1866, C-E 81,
11 Oct. 1869, C-H 84.
51. Craik to Merewether, 7 Dec. 1868, C-G 120,
17 Nov. 1869, C-H 102.
52. Merewether to Court, 2 March 1872, I, 209.
it might be as well to mention that his sense of being indispensable did not prevent him spending a day or two away from Warrah while shearing was in progress. But such peregrinations were indulged in more luxuriously in his later years on Warrah; and Craik was quite ready to admit that his last few shearings passed off pleasantly.

Shearing began at any time from the middle of August to the first week of October, although the ideal commencement date was the first week of September. The disadvantage of an early shearing — required on one occasion because of the large number to be shorn — was the "bitter cold" weather which accompanied it; the disadvantages of a protracted shearing were many: station maintenance work suffered, and a severe strain was imposed upon men and staff. As the summer progressed the grass seeds and burrs which impregnated the fleeces became much more troublesome, for the sun ripened and dried the plants. In each of his last five years upon Warrah Craik managed to have the shearing safely out of the way before the end of November. This was a satisfactory improvement on the situation obtaining in 1869 and 1870 when shearing extended well into the "awful" heat of January. Craik wondered how men could shears at all in such weather, and assured Merewether that after four months of arduous toil "the shearers begin to feel that they have had enough, of it as they get on very slowly, and several are knocked up."

Shearers were perhaps even more prone to sickness than were washers.

53. For example, Craik to Merewether, 29 Oct. 1874, C-M 129.
54. Craik to Merewether, 27 Nov. 1873, C-L 166,
Gregson to Court, 25 Nov. 1874, C-MR 10,
18 Feb. 1876, L, 40.
55. Craik to Merewether, 7 Aug. 1874, C-M 96.
56. Craik to Merewether, 29 July 1870, C-I 82.
57. Craik to Merewether, 11 Jan. 1870, C-I 5.
58. Craik to Merewether, 3 Jan. 1871, C-J 2.
59. See, for example, Craik to Merewether, 20 Oct. 1866, C-E 83,
17 Nov. 1866, C-E 90; 26 Oct. 1867, C-F 103; 31 Dec. 1869,
The shearing tallies for four years—1864, 1868, 1869 and 1870—have been retained. For the first year daily tallies were recorded; thereafter, weekly tallies only. In 1864 twelve shearers were employed, two of them for two or three days, the remainder for the whole of the season. The ringer exceeded the hundred on five separate occasions, his highest tally being one hundred and thirty-four. Two others managed to shear over the hundred sheep on one occasion each.

Thirty-five different men were employed in 1868, twenty shearing for the complete season, compared with seven out of a total of fifty-one in 1869-70. At the bottom of the shearing tallies for 1869 and 1870 there is the sinister heading "black marks". A "black mark" was debited against a shearer in respect of each sheep judged to be badly shorn. At the end of the season the total number of "black marks" was subtracted from the shearer's tally and payment was made in respect of the remainder. In this way the Company in 1869 paid for one hundred and eighty-five sheep less than the number actually shorn. At this time the Warrah Shed had thirty stands, but the occasions on which every stand was occupied were few and far between. Sometimes Craik experienced difficulty in obtaining all the shearers he wanted; at other times, when shearers were plentiful, the number of washed sheep coming forward was not enough to keep the shed fully occupied. Indeed, Craik was confronted with a perennial problem in his endeavours to keep the washing and shearing rates approximately equal to each other. Rarely did a season pass but that same time was lost either because the shearers could not keep pace with the washers or because the washers could not keep pace with the shearers. It was by no means uncommon for the situation to reverse itself two
or three times during the season. Craik and Merewether eventually learnt to resign themselves to the fact that this problem was just one more to be added to the list of insuperable difficulties which confronted the Australian sheep manager. Merewether thought it "somewhat hard that whilst last year we could not get sheep washed fast enough for the shearing this year we cannot shear fast enough for the washers. It almost looks as if there was some fatality attending the operation... as soon as your floor is full something will go wrong with the washpol".

Such limited evidence as is available affords some indication of the extent to which Warrah could rely on "regulars" to appear at shearing time. Craik in 1872 and again in 1873 referred to numbers of his "old hands" turning up again, which fact, he claimed, showed that conditions on Warrah were not distasteful. Seven men returned to the floor of Warrah's shed in each of the seasons 1868, 1869 and 1870, and a further nine were signed on for two of these three seasons.

Craik's attitude towards the shearers was an odd mixture. It was compounded of a rather strict authoritarianism, in part dictated by the Company's interests, but also in keeping with his idea of what was fitting, and a rather benevolent paternalism, a product of the kindly streak in his character. The terms in which he expressed the principles guiding his attitude towards unruly shearers provides as good an indication as any of the rough, homespun philosophy followed by Craik in his dealings with the problem of living: "I have always gone in for a good blow up and done with it". He spoke of having

63. Craik to Merewether, 4 Sept. 1872, C-K 114, 5 Sept. 1873, C-L 131.
64. Craik to Merewether, 10 Oct. 1872, C-K 127.
"to growl and worry the brutes of shearers to get the work done up to the mark", but was ready with his word of praise when it was due. He hated "nagging", and criticised Martin on this score, but then insisted that "no one can get shearing done properly without it nor without a great deal of it". He had a greater appreciation of the persuasive powers of "plum pudding and a little grog" than he did of "this law business". Merewether had reservations about Craik's "extra-judicial mode of dealing with men", especially when Craik claimed to have discovered some system of issuing incentive grog "in a way that no one can get drunk".

The hiring of labour, both washers and shearers, was done on the basis of a separate contract between the Company and each individual workman. Craik drew up an agreement defining the terms and conditions of employment and those desiring work signed this agreement. The Company had the right to dismiss shearers for faulty work, disorderly behaviour or for other reasons, but the workman did not have the right to break his contract, although the employer did not invariably exercise his right to enforce the contract. In 1875 some shearers "bolted". A warrant was issued for their arrest, and they were taken into custody and fined. Merewether thought that the men might as well be punished as a warning to others, but Craik had not wanted to prosecute. For one thing, a law case was a nuisance at shearing time.

Shearers were paid at so much a score. In the early

65. Craik to Merewether, 8 Nov. 1872, C-K 144.
68. Craik to Merewether, 23 Dec. 1870, C-I 150.
69. Craik to Merewether, 10 Oct. 1872, C-K 127.
70. Merewether to Craik, 10 Oct. 1870, p. 537.
71. Craik to Merewether, 7 Dec. 1870, C-I 141.
72. See Craik to Merewether, 4 Sept. 1872, C-K 114, 3 Sept. 1875, C-N 81.
73. For similar cases in 1872 see Craik to Merewether, 26 Sept. 1872, C-K 120; 1 Oct. 1872, C-K 121; and 10 Oct. 1872, C-K 127.
'sixties the rate was 2/9, with rations, and a premium of up to £2 for satisfactory work; by 1874 the rate was 3/6, with the shearers finding themselves in rations. Washers were paid at a daily rate, being 4/- in the early 'seventies. Proposed rates of payment generally were discussed with neighbouring pastoralists before the agreement was drawn up.

The Company's terms were not always accepted without demur by the workmen. The most serious dispute occurred in 1866, when the Company reduced the shearing rate from 3/- to 2/9. All of the thirtytwo shearers ready to commence work struck for the former rate. Craik was adamant, and persuaded seventeen of these men to remain at work under the new scale of payment. He later managed to make up the complement of shearers to a steady twentyfive or more. Trouble of a similar, although less serious nature, confronted Craik in the following year. As he explained to Merewether: "I had rather an inferior and disagreeable lot of shearers this year, arising probably from our terms being somewhat lower than most of the adjoining sheds". But the sheep were well shorn all the same.

Objections to the terms of employment on the part of both washers and shearers were over-ruled in the following years. However, in 1872 the tide turned and Craik was forced to give way and increase the shearing rate by threepence per score. Surprisingly enough, the shearers carried the day in a season

74. Merewether to Craik, 15 June 1874, p. 447, Craik's annual report for 1874, C-YR13, pp. 10-1.
75. Craik to Merewether, 17 Aug. 1872, C-K 107.
76. Craik to Merewether, 1 Sept. 1873, C-I 104; Merewether to Loder, 28 Aug. 1872, p. 985.
77. The story of this dispute is told in the following documents: Merewether to Court, 23 Oct. 1866, F, 323; Craik to Merewether, 4 Oct. 1866, C-E 75; 5 Oct. 1866, C-E 76; 18 Oct. 1866, C-E 82; 27 Oct. 1866, C-E 87, and Craik's annual report for 1866, C-YR5, pp. 14-5.
78. Craik to Merewether, 18 Nov. 1867, C-F 107.
79. Craik to Merewether, 31 Dec. 1869, C-II 121;
13 Dec. 1870, C-I 143.
when labour seemed to be getting more plentiful.

The classing of the clip, except in 1864 when the wool was packed as it came off the sheep's back, was entrusted to a Yorkshireman who was brought up in the wool trade and who arrived in New South Wales about 1860. Richard Stead's services were acquired by Merewether following a conversation in Sydney late in the winter of 1865, and despite Craik's rather derogatory remarks, and some weaknesses obvious to Merewether — "He is greedy, and has always tried a point or two" — he continued to class the Company's clip for as long as Craik was on the station. For this he received remuneration at a rate which eventually was stabilised at 3d. a fleece. As well, he received rations, and was paid his travelling expenses to and from the station. He supplied an assistant to roll the fleeces, at a salary of thirty shillings a week, and the Company agreed to supply a further assistant when the number of sheep shorn per day exceeded 1,800. Merewether thought that when Stead cleared £160 for three month's work in 1870 that this was "not bad pay".

The carriage of the wool from Warrah was a task for dray, steam train, coastal vessel and the famous wool clipper. Craik, leaving the shed at the end of the day's work, seeing the familiar shape of a dray at the woolshed door, could rest content that in the morrow another load would begin its journey down the Hunter Valley to the coast. These drays usually carried from twelve to fifteen bales. The normal

81. Merewether to Court, 20 Dec. 1864, E, 379.
82. Merewether to Court, 21 Sept. 1865, F, 80-1.
83. Craik to Merewether, 1 Nov. 1871, C-I 130.
84. Merewether to Craik, 21 Dec. 1870, p. 726.
85. Merewether to Stead, 28 July 1868, p. 815.
86. Merewether to Stead, 15 July 1870, p. 349.
89. Craik to Merewether, 29 Dec. 1870, C-I 153.
90. Craik to Merewether, 5 Oct. 1870, C-I 113, 9 Nov. 1870, C-I 132.
rate of progress of a loaded dray seems to have been about ten miles a day, so that the journey to the initial port of shipment would have taken approximately twelve or thirteen days. For the first year or two the wool was loaded into the coastal vessel at Morpeth; then, as the railway line extended towards the Liverpool Plains, the drays were employed to remove the wool to the railhead, and Newcastle became the initial port of shipment. The wool was transhipped at Sydney. Henry Moore, who was more intimately connected with the Australian Agricultural Company as an agent for its coal trade, was entrusted with the necessary arrangements.

The carriage of the wool from Warrah tended to be less of a problem with the passage of time. In 1864 the Company paid 3/- a cwt. for the transportation of its wool to the port at Morpeth. Carriage was so scarce in 1865 that in December the Company was compelled to raise the rate it offered to 3/6 a cwt. to Morpeth, or alternatively, 3/- to the railhead at Singleton. At one stage two hundred and twentyone bales were stored at Warrah awaiting transport. Craik did not relish the extra responsibility this entailed, and asked Merewether to insure immediately. As a precautionary measure a man was deputed to sleep at a gunyah near the woolshed every night, opening the doors first thing each morning in order to enable the air to circulate. Not until 24 March 1866 did the last bales of the 1865 clip leave the station. With the exception of 1870 – when Craik was obliged to have constructed three temporary bark skillions in order to shelter

91. Craik to Merewether, 3 Dec. 1870, C-I 140.
92. Craik to Merewether, 20 Oct. 1864, C-C 70.
93. Craik to Merewether, 21 Nov. 1865, C-D 76, 26 Dec. 1865, C-D 88.
94. On 14 December 1865: see Craik to Merewether, 15 Sept. 1870, C-I 110.
95. Craik to Merewether, 11 Dec. 1865, C-D 80.
the wool\footnote{97} the Company was not troubled for transport again, and the clip was despatched with satisfying rapidity, generally being on its way "down the country" shortly after the end of shearing.\footnote{98} In 1867 Craik and Merewether differed over the question of sending the wool to Morpeth or Singleton. The former spoke of the advantages of sending wool direct to Morpeth in preference to the double handling involved in sending it by dray to Singleton and thence by rail to Newcastle, but Merewether decreed otherwise.\footnote{99} The clip of 1869 was taken by dray to the railhead at Muswellbrook, at the rate of 2/6 a cwt.\footnote{100} Hitherto, the acquiring of the necessary carriage had been a rather uncertain affair, depending as it did upon Craik's negotiations with a large number of individual dray owners, any one of whom might or might not appear on Warrah when wanted.\footnote{97} In 1871 Merewether entered into a contract with one of the forwarding agents at Muswellbrook. The agent was to arrange to bring down all the clip and deliver it at the railhead at Scone for 1/9 a cwt. This arrangement simply shifted Craik's responsibility to other shoulders, for it seems that the agent did not possess his own drays. Nevertheless, the contract was well carried out on terms advantageous to the Company, since Merewether was able to offer a considerable quantity of fencing wire and other goods as back loading.\footnote{101} This method of the bulk contract was adopted in subsequent years. The clip of 1872 was taken to the railhead at Murrurindi for eightpence a cwt., the contractor agreeing to see that no more than sixty bales

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{97} Craik to Merewether, 30 Nov. 1870, C-I 139.
  \item \footnote{98} Merewether to Court, 17 Feb. 1868, G, 131; Craik to Merewether, 16 Oct. 1866, C-E 80, 22 Jan. 1869, E-H 6.
  \item \footnote{99} Merewether to Craik, 23 Sept. 1867, p. 18; Craik to Merewether, 25 Sept. 1867, C-F 86.
  \item \footnote{100} Craik to Merewether, 23 Aug. 1869, C-H 72.
  \item \footnote{101} Merewether to Court, 2 March 1872, I, 209.
\end{itemize}
should be in the shed at any one time.\textsuperscript{102} In 1873 and 1874 the rate was ninepence a cwt.,\textsuperscript{103} but in 1875, owing to a scarcity of drays, the Company was obliged to pay 1/3 a cwt.\textsuperscript{104} Over the period 1866-1875 as a whole, however, the cost of transporting a fleece from the station fell markedly.\textsuperscript{105} In 1866 the Company paid £486 for the carriage of 55,568 fleeces to the initial port of shipment at Morpeth; in 1874 the Company paid £413 for the carriage of 97,675 fleeces to the initial port of shipment at Newcastle, a few miles on from Morpeth. The average cost per fleece of transporting the wool from Warrah to the wharf at Sydney fell from 3.16d. in 1866 to 2.01d. in 1869 to 1.45d. in 1874.

The last bale having left Australia's shores Craik had to bide his time for some months while waiting for news of the London sales. As soon as it reached London each shipment was reported upon by the Company's wool brokers, J.T. Simes and Co. An estimate was made of the sale value of each lot. These reports, coupled with the Directors' comments on the state of the wool market, gave Craik and Merewether some idea of what they might expect the sales to produce.\textsuperscript{106} But prior intimations in no way lessened the keen interest with which the results of the sales were awaited. It was not a matter which affected merely the state of the Company's coffers. Craik's reputation was at stake, and so was his peace of mind. Craik, as has been seen, became very despondent at the results of the sales of some of the first clips; later, as the Company effected certain technological improvements in its method of getting up the clip, and as the terms of the world wool market

\textsuperscript{102} Craik to Merewether, 3 Aug. 1872, C-K 101.
\textsuperscript{103} Craik to Merewether, 15 Aug. 1873, C-L 122, 7 Aug. 1874, C-M 96.
\textsuperscript{104} Merewether to Craik, 4 Sept. 1875, p. 585.
\textsuperscript{105} See Appendix \textsuperscript{1}.
\textsuperscript{106} See enclosure dated 25 January 1869, in EMD183.
moved in seller's favour, reactions to the sale results were of scarcely restrained jubilation. The reserved Merewether was hardly less susceptible to tidings of joy than the ebullient Craik. We find the former so caught up in the excitement of wool selling as to bet Craik a new hat that some of the clip just shorn would fetch thirtysix pence a pound, if not more. This though Merewether was "not given to betting". Merewether warned Craik not to "blow too much", and there were occasions when there was need for such a salutary admonition. Such was the case with one of the sales of the 1873 season. Craik was wildly delighted at the prices obtained, and at the fact that "the Peel people" were beaten. "I confess", he told Merewether, "I do feel rather proud of this matter". Such moments of exhilaration repaid Craik in full for the earlier months of nerve-wracking supervision in the shearing shed.

While the rigours of supervisory work at shearing time had their compensations, the same could not be said for another continually recurring task which fell to the lot of the station manager to perform. The preparation of the reports and returns, so necessary for the efficient operation of a Company owned pastoral property, was the bane of Craik's life. Paper work of any sort seems inconsistent with the boisterous, open-air loving Craik. It is easy to imagine him sitting uncomfortably at his desk, sweating over recalcitrant digits, repeatedly succumbing to the temptation to lift his eyes from the sheets before him to gaze over the black-soil flats of Warrah Creek and the Liverpool Ranges in the background.

108. Merewether to Craik, 26 Nov. 1872, p. 190.
110. Craik to Merewether, 3 July 1873, C-L 89.
111. Craik to Merewether, 3 July 1873, C-L 90.
cursing the labour which prevented him from being part of this scene. One may be sure that Craik was less likely to be chafing so when writing letters than when compiling stock returns, and the sincerity of his complaints concerning letter writing might well be doubted. Not only were his letters frequent and lengthly; they were also couched in a style so vigorous as to leave the impression that Craik immensely enjoyed this opportunity to pour out his soul to a man he respected. For pour out his soul he did. It went against the grain for Craik to describe some incident without expressing his opinion thereon, and it was not unusual for him to present such an incident as if it supported some generalisation he was prepared to make concerning an attitude towards life. Occasionally Merewether commented unfavourably on the unbusinesslike nature of Craik's letters, but generally he responded sympathetically to his Stock Superintendent's moralisings. But even Craik found himself unable to turn a stock return into the expression of an "inner man". The monthly duty involved mental anguish closely akin to torture. "I hate figures and the scrapes they get me into", Craik would cry. At times he was quite prepared to adopt a defeatist attitude: "I must confess I have an intolerable and inborn aversion to everything connected with figures which I cannot overcome". At other times he spoke ferociously of attacking the returns "tooth and nail". Craik, trying to find a few missing sheep needed to balance his returns might complain of the inaccuracies of the overseers; but Merewether was always

112. Craik apologises for "these long letters" in Craik to Merewether, 6 Dec. 1861, C-AA 18.
113. Merewether to Craik, 26 Sept. 1873, p. 827.
114. Craik to Merewether, 28 Feb. 1874, C-M 40.
115. Craik to Merewether, 10 Aug. 1865, C-D 51.
117. Craik to Merewether, 8 Feb. 1872, C-K 23.
above him ready to point out that the responsibility must be sheeted home to the Stock Superintendent and he alone. Such being Craik's attitude towards this portion of his work, it is not surprising that Merewether frequently found mistakes in the Warrah returns. Craik, however, salved his conscience by taking refuge in the observation: "it is much better to do things worthy to be written, than to write things worthy to be read".

Fortunately for the happiness of the man concerned, Craik's working life was not all statistics and letter writing. Craik thus described one day in his life: "I went out this morning to inspect sundry matters such as troughs at Harrisons, stuff laid on line for new wire fence, places for gates in new paddock, etc. I only got home at half past four instead of 2 o'clock as I intended and when I got home I found Mr. Geo. King here and sundry others on business." Or else Craik would be "out all day" arranging about a cattle paddock. The arrival of a drover might herald a ride to some out-station in order to supervise the handing over of a flock of sheep to the agent of a purchaser; or, alternatively, Craik would be desirous of having a careful look at the latest mob of store sheep to arrive on the run. "A long hot ride over the run" was a common experience, for there was no need to tell Craik that a Stock Superintendent's primary task was to be amongst the stock as much as possible.

118. Merewether to Craik, 8 Aug. 1865, p. 289, 12 Dec. 1867, p. 248, 17 Feb. 1872, p. 674; and note the delicious brutality of "Your weaning statement is all wrong", Merewether to Craik, 22 April 1869, p. 497.
119. Craik to Merewether, 14 April 1866, C-E 32.
120. Craik to Merewether, 26 Jan. 1870, C-I 11.
121. Craik to Merewether, 6 Feb. 1871, C-J 20.
122. Craik to Merewether, 4 March 1870, C-I 31.
123. Craik to Merewether, 1 March 1871, C-J 32.
124. Court to Merewether, 26 Oct. 1864, EMD95, p. 5.
Craik explained to Merewether:

"There is a good deal more to do among the cattle than the mere riding round and repairing fences, though you may not think so. For my own part I know nearly half the herd individually, and a good stockman ought to know nearly every beast and miss any when taken away". 125

If it was often Craik's lot to work in the heat, and if he had now and then to ride through "a burning searing drought",126 it was nonetheless the case that Warrah was blessed by abundant rainfall during Craik's managernship of the estate. Indeed, there were times when rainfall was so copious as to be an embarrassment. There were some instances of flood damage on Warrah during these years.127 Or bogs could prove a hindrance so severe as in extreme cases temporarily to put an end to most station operations. "It is fearful work now going across these plains", Craik explained to Merewether, "as a horse goes up to his hocks at every step and sometimes bogs altogether".128 More normally, however, when Craik was out riding on the run, Warrah's pastures were not parched or water-laden, but were in a condition such as to inspire Craik into lyrical descriptions of a property which appeared like "one luxuriant lucerne paddock" from side to side.129

Craik needed to have his eyes on stock as well as on the pastures. Shepherds had to be kept up to the mark, any signs of ill health among lambs or sheep must be detected quickly, boxed sheep needed to be separated, and straying

125. Craik to Merewether, 29 March 1871, C-J 36.
126. Craik to Merewether, 25 March 1866, C-E 27.
127. Craik to Merewether, 19 Oct. 1872, C-K 134,
26 Jan. 1874, C-M 18;
Fairbairn to Merewether, 17 July 1874, C-M 92.
128. Craik to Merewether, 24 June 1867, C-F 55.
129. Craik to Merewether, 17 June 1867, C-F 51; see also
Craik to Merewether, 6 Feb. 1862, C-A 14, and
21 June 1866, C-E 45.
Sheep were no respecters of man's small pleasures: "I had rather a slow Xmas yesterday", Craik explained to Merewether, "looking all day for lost sheep. Most of my people being absent I had to go out myself. I never before experienced such intense heat".

Negotiations with contractors and with stock dealers required the possession of a variety of attributes ranging from the ability to use one's fists to advantage to the ability to gauge the size of a purchaser's bank account. In fact, Craik felt that contractors occasionally needed as much close attention as did lost sheep. Craik was liable to be interrupted at breakfast by a neighbour with an offer to buy a mob of cattle or sheep. He might be forced to cut short a letter to Merewether because he had "so many men waiting for (him) about fencing, well-sinking, carriage of wool, purchase of bulls, etc.". The writing of an annual report could be delayed by frequent interruptions by men applying for work.

The task of managing Warrah involved a considerable amount of travelling away from the station. Craik might be required to ride over to Mudgee to select stud rams; he might wish to inspect a neighbour's washpool plant; or a sale of stock by a respected breeder might call for closer investigation. Or, in the middle of shearing, he might have to visit Sydney in order to superintend arrangements for taking delivery of three imported bulls due to be

130. Craik to Merewether, 21 Feb. 1871, C-J 28; Martin to Merewether, 17 Jan. 1863, C-B 5.
131. Craik to Merewether, 26 Dec. 1867, C-F 122.
132. Merewether to Craik, 4 Aug. 1870, p. 395; Craik to Merewether, 7 Dec. 1871, C-J 142.
133. Craik to Merewether, 14 May 1868, C-G 46.
134. Craik to Merewether, 11 July 1872, C-K 92.
released from quarantine. But most of the peregrinations of Craik and his immediate subordinates conducted in the course of duty arose from the necessity to inspect and accept delivery of store stock. In his first years on Warrah Craik found the time to satisfy his inclinations personally to inspect most flocks offered for sale to the Company. As the burden of his duties on the station increased, and as he grew older and relished less the prospect of a long journey on horseback the responsibility of inspection devolved more often upon one or other of the overseers. Nevertheless, Craik aggregated an impressive mileage as he rode over the ranges and plains of the north-eastern corner of New South Wales in the search for those flocks of sheep which he felt could best transmute Warrah's grass into Company profits. In November 1865 Craik wrote to Merewether from Armidale:

"I left Warrah on Wednesday morning and got to Goonoo Goonoo that night. On Thursday I got to Bendemeer, and on Friday morning before breakfast I looked at a very good flock of four year old wethers belonging to Mr. Perry for which he asks 10/- . I told him when he was prepared to accept 7/- he might write and let me know. On Friday at noon I called on Mrs. Stitt. Her wethers were not at the head station, and as she asked 8/- and will not take less, and as I was pressed for time, I told her I would look at them as I passed down. I then pressed on to Uralla, looking at a flock of Mr. Fletcher's wethers at Kentucky as I came along. He also wants 8/- and will take no less but they are wretches and will not do. This (Saturday) morning I started early from Uralla for Armidale and saw W. Thomas of Saumarez. He has one flock of wethers five years old which he offers at 8/- but I did not see them though I believe they are good from what I have heard. He has sold part of his run some time ago to a

Mr. Bellfield who has 3,000 four and five year old wethers for sale. I saw one flock and liked them much. Mr. Bellfield will not take less than 8/- but is willing to take a Bill at three months without interest as payment. I promised him to write you if you would accept these terms, the Bill to date from 1st. January 1866, and I will thank you to telegraph to me here at 'Coopers Hotel' whether I am to take Mr. Bellfield's sheep if I approve of the other flocks when I see them. I will get your telegram on my return from Wellington Vale some eight or ten days hence.... I do not think I can make better terms for you than the above, as it has been raining heavily here to-day, prices are likely to be more firm..." 137

Camping out was sometimes necessary on these trips, although Craik rarely mentions being forced to "rough it" in this fashion. A fifteen mile ride before breakfast could be taken in his stride, but the "long hot weary ride" so commonly his lot was a different proposition. 139 Though Craik would sometimes leave the impression that each of his journeys was more disagreeable than the last one, one could scarcely expect him to refrain from placing some emphasis upon the drain upon his resources entailed in a day which began with a seventy mile ride and ended at midnight with letter writing. 140

There is no means of knowing whether the ordinary bush-worker on Warrah managed to derive as much enjoyment from his work and surroundings as did Craik from his. The workmen appear as shadowy entities, men who existed that Craik's property might be well ordered, rather than as beings sentient and unique. This is not to say that Craik's attitude towards the men under his charge was an unsympathetic one. Craik did not suffer "beat up drunkards" gladly, but the occasional

137. Craik to Merewether, 25 Nov. 1865, C-D 77.
139. Craik to Merewether, 13 Dec. 1870, C-I 143.
140. Craik to Merewether, 15 June 1869, C-H 52.
kindly phrase, and the description of an incident such as the installation of the new washpool engine seem to indicate some feeling of bluff camaraderie between manager and workmen. It is not without interest to note that a man who began work on Warrah in the 1870's as the postboy talks of other managers as "Mr. Hudson", "Mr. Fairbairn", and "Mr. Gregson", but still remembers Craik as "Sammy Craik".

Life as experienced by men in such positions as shepherd or hut keeper tended to be rough, and pleasures were often taken in directions disapproved of by employers and station managers. In the eyes of the latter the "grog" problem was a serious menace. Craik could accept with equanimity disturbed only by a slight sense of disgust the fact that it was no uncommon thing for Warrah to be the burial ground of a "done-up drunkard"; more vigorous was the reaction to a proposal that a licensed public house should be erected at Black Creek. This would cause the Company "no end of trouble". As Merewether explained to Craik: "the Company has a lot of sheep in the immediate neighbourhood and will be liable to suffer great injury from the shepherds getting drunk". There are some instances on record of the Company suffering actual financial loss as a result of workmen being intoxicated. There were other times when Craik's role as manager was complicated by the "grog" factor. Once he was "sorely annoyed. by a drunken woman". Certain goods might be delayed because the carriers were "doing a little drinking". Or else Craik would "have trouble with . drovers getting drunk". Craik described

141. Interview with George Lewis in May 1959.
142. Craik to Merewether, 30 May 1874, C-M 79.
143. Merewether to Craik, 24 Nov. 1866, p. 516; Craik to Merewether, 29 Sept. 1866, C-E 73.
145. Craik to Merewether, 19 Aug. 1868, C-G 78.
146. Craik to Merewether, 26 Aug. 1870, C-I 100.
one incident thus: "I am just going down to washpool. Brock was drinking I am informed for two or three days last week and beginning of this and has been fighting with Britton". Brock spoke of leaving his employment on Warrah "as he says a town suits him best", but he does not seem to have put this intention into effect. Grog was capable of misuse but it was also a commodity which could be made to serve a useful end from the viewpoint of the management for, as Craik pointed out, "constituted as station hands are, a glass of grog put in at the proper time will have more effect than a pound sterling".

The diet of the station hand was uninspiring. When Craik arrived on Warrah the men were issued with rations consisting of ten pounds of meat and ten pounds of flour a week, along with tea and sugar. He shortly had this altered to fifteen pounds of meat and eight pounds of flour. Beef or mutton was provided depending upon Craik’s interpretation of what was in the best interests of the Company. Merewether would not listen to the complaints concerning the quality of the tea and sugar supplied. Apart from their rations workmen were at liberty to buy food at the station store. Extra tea was purchased freely. The Warrah store also stocked currants, raisins and pickles. A concession was made to shearers, for salad oil was ordered prior to their invasion. There were certain extra-Company ventures of a commercial character designed to cater for some of the gastronomical needs of the workmen on Warrah. A hut keeper on Warrah Creek might grow vegetables which were sold to all hands. Once, as a private

149. Craik to Merewether, 8 Feb. 1872, C-K 23.
150. Craik to Merewether, 31 Aug. 1864, C-C 60,
26 Nov. 1870, C-I 136, and
1 April 1874, C-M 52.
151. Craik to Merewether, 14 Oct. 1870, C-I 118.
152. Merewether to Court, 21 Dec. 1867, G, 94.
154. Craik to Merewether, 31 Aug. 1864, C-C 60.
speculation, Craik ordered a few tons of potatoes to be resold to the Company's workmen. Later, he sold potatoes and other vegetables from his own garden. Or, Merewether might send up a ton of potatoes as a gift to all hands, or a cheese to Hudson and his associates at West Warrah. Such were the luxuries which enlivened the diet of the men on Warrah. Small wonder that castor oil, painkiller, and Holloway's Pills were always stocked at the station store.

Craik and Merewether had experience of "the various kinds of roguery" which were "peculiar to stock establishments" in Australia. The former, during the period when the dreaded disease scab was ravaging the countryside, seemed to expect an outbreak on Warrah at any moment as a result of some unscrupulous person placing a handful of infected wool amongst the flocks. Merewether advanced as the greatest objection to the plan for the establishment of a wool scouring plant at some point removed from the station the fact that "a large amount of valuable and easily removable property would have to be left for days at a time at the mercy of the overseer and those employed under him in a neighbourhood of indifferent reports teeming with public houses and traversed by the Great Northern Road". Merewether was also concerned at the amount of petty pilfering suffered by the Company's store on Warrah. Craik did not dare let goods for Warrah lie unattended at Murrurundi railway station, for fear that they might be stolen. Sheep stealing and cattle rustling were problems perenially

157. Merewether to Court, 20 Aug. 1862, D, 268.
158. Merewether to Craik, 21 Nov. 1864, p. 244.
159. Craik to Merewether, 12 Aug. 1872, C-K 106.
confronting the management. Unsophisticated social exchanges were not an exclusive preserve of the "lower orders" of society. Craik thought it "rather disreputable work" when two representatives of the landed gentry engaged in a bout of fisticuffs.

160. Examples of depredations of this sort are legion. The following documents indicate a representative sample of such activities.

Merewether to Court, 21 July 1863, E, 63,
   19 Jan. 1866, F, 142-4; 17 Feb. 1866, F, 178,
   22 May 1866, F, 226; 22 June 1866, F, 245;
Craik’s annual reports:
   for 1863, C-YR2, p. 3; for 1865, C-YR4, p. 9;
   for 1866, C-YR5, pp. 5-9; for 1868, C-YR7, p. 6;
   for 1870, C-YR9, p. 6; for 1871, C-YR10, p. 9;
   for 1872, C-YR11, p. 10; for 1874, C-YR13, p. 10 and p. 22.
See also Craik’s letters, for example:
Craik to Merewether, 27 June 1862, C-A 57;
Craik to Merewether, 1 Nov. 1862, C-A 86, 7 Nov.
   1862, C-A 89, and 15 July 1863, C-B 72, for the Bennett case. This case "fell to the ground" because the principal witness for the prosecution "bolted".
Craik to Merewether, 18 June 1866, C-E 44,
   28 July 1866, C-E 55, 18 Sept. 1866, C-E 68.
Craik to Merewether, 13 May 1868, C-G 45, 16 May 1868,
   C-G 47, 18 May 1868, C-G 48, 20 May 1868, C-G 50,
   27 May 1868, C-G 54, and 9 July 1868, C-G 60, for the Cooper case.
Craik to Merewether, 5 Oct. 1870, C-I 113
   12 Oct. 1870, C-I 117.
Craik to Merewether, 19 May 1871, C-J 58, 29 May
   1871, C-J 59, 8 June 1871, C-J 65, 12 June 1871,
   C-J 67, 6 July 1871, C-J 74, and 15 Dec. 1871, C-J 146,
   for the Leard case.
Craik to Merewether, 10 Oct. 1872, C-K 127,
   19 March 1874, C-M 44; 9 April 1874, C-M 55;
   27 Sept. 1874, C-M 118; 27 Dec. 1874, C-MR11.
See the notice inserted in the press by Merewether warning the public against purchasing from any other than Merewether or Craik cattle bearing the Company’s brand, particularly in cases where an attempt had been made to deface that brand. Notice dated 25 Nov. 1866, at p. 698 of Merewether’s letter book.
The inhabitants of Warrah had little contact with those agents normally accepted as being representative of the forces of moral and social improvement. There was no provision on the property for the schooling of the children. Religious instruction was better catered for. In the 'sixties a service was held at Warrah every six weeks or so. In the 'seventies a new clergyman spoke of visiting Warrah once a month but there is no record as to whether he lived up to his promise. One service he held in the woolshed was attended by a congregation of some thirty-five or forty people. Craik declared it was a good sermon. He thought the clergyman "a pretty decent fellow", but remarked that he was "too fond of talking about money and his stipend".

Boredom was as much an ingredient of bush life as roughness. Certain temperaments must have found station routine oppressively monotonous. An overseer began one letter to Merewether: "In the absence of Mr. Craik I now write to let you know how things are going on here. Everything is about the same as usual..." Five years later the overseer on West Warrah failed to write to either Craik or Merewether during the latter's absence at Port Stephens despite the fact that he had instructions to do so. When Craik rebuked Hudson for this dereliction of duty the latter had a good defence: he really "had nothing to write about". Craik looked forward to the occasional trip to Sydney for he felt that he would "soon become almost like an Aboriginal" living as he did on Warrah. Perhaps no scene is so touchingly evocative of the way of life on Warrah as that indicated by the remark of Craik on going through the personal

162. Merewether to Court, 13 Feb. 1864, E, 190.
163. Craik to Merewether, 23 March 1873, C-L 45.
164. Martin to Merewether, 15 April 1865, C-D 26.
165. Craik to Merewether, 4 March 1870, C-I 31.
166. Craik to Merewether, 29 Dec. 1870, C-I 153.
effects of a young "colonial experiencer" killed in a horse riding accident: "The dress suit is not wanted much in these parts." Craik interestingly describes another incident: "Hakewill and Gamack only meant to go with Miss Blaxland as far as Harrisons but missed Blaxland and his wife there so had to escort her home... There is some excuse for young fellows when pretty little parties like the above are about seeing they come so seldom".

There was some opportunity for social intercourse with the outside world. The station was "surrounded" by free selectors, the settlement of Page's River - or Murrurundi - was not far distant, and drovers and other travellers were continually crossing the property. These neighbours and visitors afforded scope for personal and social relationships in a manner not possible in the back country. On an outback station a sheep overseer would have had a brawl with the manager or with a fellow overseer; on Warrah the overseer was able to select a bordering free selector as an opponent. This distinction is the more impressive when one adds that the dispute arose over the wife of one of the combatants.

In many respects there was more scope for satisfying man's gregarious instinct in the 1860's and 1870's on Warrah than there is to-day on stations situated over a wide area of the sparsely settled portions of Australia. Apart from his work, which gave him many opportunities for neighbourly contacts with a wide variety of people, Craik's social life was not barren of incident. Every now and then he received an invitation to dinner from a nearby flockmaster. There could be a special reason for a

168. Craik to Merewether, 23 March 1868, C-G 28.
visit: "We are all going to Loder's tomorrow to meet the Bishop and he expects the Governor and no end of swells towards the end of the month". Braik attended various of the functions held to commemorate the completion of successive stages in the construction of the Great Northern Railway. Or he himself would give a picnic followed by a kangaroo hunt, or a Ball. The improved washpool was a great attraction, and on more than one occasion Craik entertained a host of local residents who had expressed a desire to inspect this example of the application to practical purposes of the inventions of modern science. And Warrah seemed to be a property of considerable interest to visiting notabilities, for Craik received his quota of Governors, French Admirals and peers; their visits providing a somewhat frightening variation from the less demanding drovers, contractors and stock dealers. Enjoyment of this type, however, was confined to Craik, to a lesser extent to his overseers, and to the "colonial experience" men. The shepherd could do little else than accept the fact that life largely was to be lived on Warrah.

Life on Warrah was very much what one was capable of or inclined towards making of it. The "colonial experience gentlemen", or the "swell element" as Craik once referred to them, took their pleasure by racing wildly around the countryside, the "immense amount of horse-flesh" they accounted for in such activities being a cause for much annoyance on the part of Craik. Or else they made frequent

172. Craik to Merewether, 4 Sept. 1869, C-H 75.
173. Craik to Merewether, 13 May 1869, C-H 40,
    29 March 1872, C-K 46,
    5 May 1875, C-N 39.
174. Craik to Merewether, 19 Sept. 1863, C-B 99,
    4 Feb. 1871, C-J 19,
    22 Nov. 1875, C-N 99.
175. Craik to Merewether, 10 Jan. 1870, C-I 4,
    15 Dec. 1870, C-I 144.
excursions to enjoy "the delights of Newcastle". Craik found his enjoyment elsewhere. Perhaps the difference was nothing but the wisdom derived from the experience of fifty years; but one imagines that it was a matter of temperament as much as of training. Craik found that attending as many stock shows as possible was a most enjoyable method of combining business with pleasure. He relished making arrangements for the reception of the six stud rams purchased from a Victorian property in 1869, saving "a nice piece of lucerne" for them. With a care born of pride in the achievement of himself and the property, he made up the package of wool samples, on occasions enclosing them "in a Warrah-pine box as the Directors might like to see that product of their property which is not the least important one". Craik's leisure time tended to be occupied with "the simple pleasures of life". Much though he thought an occasional trip to Sydney benefited him, he was always glad to return to the bush. He was happy arranging for the grassing of the land surrounding the homestead, seeking Merewether's advice on the laying out of flower beds and ordering seeds and shrubs from Newcastle, Maitland or Murrurundi. Or else he would be arranging for a photographer to come to Warrah, later proudly despatching a few copies of the result to the

176. Craik to Merewether, 4 Oct. 1869, C-H 80,
      3 Oct. 1872, C-K 122,
      15 Aug. 1873, C-L 122,
      22 Aug. 1873, C-L 126, and
      2 Oct. 1873, C-L 144.
177. Craik to Merewether, 25 Nov. 1867, C-F 111.
178. Craik to Merewether, 26 Feb. 1867, C-F 22.
180. Craik to Merewether, 8 March 1869, C-H 20.
181. Craik to Merewether, 89 Feb. 1871, C-J 22.
182. Craik to Merewether, 5 Jan. 1871, C-J 4,
      29 April 1873, C-L 61,
      21 April 1874, C-M 63.
183. Craik to Merewether, 18 June 1872, C-K 79,
      11 July 1872, C-K 93.
Directors, or taking with him on his periodical visits to Newcastle a joint of mutton or some other product of Warrah's pastures, to present to Merewether, or to the accountant, or to the colliery manager.

Craik began his farewells to his work on Warrah when he paid off the men at the end of his last shearing on Warrah:

"I gave the washers and shearers their respective treats provided by you - when their work was done. And in your name drank their health and thanked them for their good conduct throughout this shearing. Of course they drank your health in return with great gusto and all passed on their way rejoicing".

The last month was given over to tidying up his affairs on Warrah. Merewether arranged for the insertion in the Maitland Mercury of advertisements warning people with cheques drawn by Craik on account of the Australian Agricultural Company to present them immediately, and advising that all accounts should be tendered before 31 December. When Hudson, his successor-elect, bought his furniture, Craik felt his connections with Warrah were loosening: "On 1st. January 1876 I shall take my stick in my hand and walk out and Hudson will walk in". But Craik went on mustering and counting cattle, and made a special effort to prepare a last report that would please Merewether. In this he was successful, responding gratefully to Merewether's approving remarks. The handing over to Hudson passed off "most pleasantly". "In the name of the people" on Warrah, Fairbairn presented Craik with a claret

185. Craik to Merewether, 15 July 1873, C-L 100.
186. Craik to Merewether, 27 Nov. 1875, C-N 103.
188. Craik to Merewether, 9 Dec. 1875, C-N 108.
190. Craik to Merewether, 29 Dec. 1875, C-N 119.
jug and silver salver. Enclosed in Craik's last letter from Warrah was Hudson's announcement:

"Mr. S.A. Craik has this day handed over to me the Warrah station with the stock depasturing thereon consisting of 104,654 sheep and 9,630 lambs, 2,718 cattle and 131 horses. He has also handed over all tools, drays and station supplies as per accompanying lists together with all buildings and improvements of every kind". 192

His mission accomplished, Craik left the Liverpool Plains and rode down the Great Northern Road.

191. Craik to Merewether, 31 Dec. 1875, C-N 120.
192. Encl. a in Craik to Merewether, 31 Dec. 1875, C-N 120.
In 1861 the trading activities of the Australian Agricultural Company's stock department resulted in a surplus of income over expenditure of £3,400. Throughout the 'sixties there was a general upward trend in the size of the annual surpluses.\(^1\) From 1870 there dates a spectacular improvement in Warrah's performance, profits rising from £15,000 in the aforementioned year to £42,000 in 1874, with a falling off in 1875 to £33,000.

Certain difficulties, both conceptual and practical, attend any attempt to determine with any great degree of accuracy the profit derived by the Company from its operations on Warrah. By many it would be argued that the book-keeping conventions of the Company were framed in such a way that the figure which the Company accepted as its profit was not the true figure at all. Nevertheless, the Company's returns do furnish some indication of the financial success which

\(^1\) See Appendix 3.
resulted from the utilisation of Warrah from 1861 to 1875.

The problem of isolating Warrah from the stock department immediately arises. The available Company accounts are not complete enough to enable an accurate distinction to be made between expenditure on Warrah on the one hand and on the Port Stephens estate on the other. On the receipts side a difficulty arises from the fact, referred to above, that most of the Company's cattle spent part of their time at Port Stephens and part at Warrah before being sold. For present purposes, all cattle sold off Warrah as fats are credited to Warrah's income, and no corresponding debit item is made to allow for their value when they arrived on Warrah as stores from Port Stephens. On the other hand, none of the proceeds of the bull sales are credited to Warrah. Certainly, the sales were held at the property, the bulls spent some time there before being sold, some expense was incurred at Warrah on their behalf, and they entered into the consideration of the management when planning operations on the station. But, for all that, the bulls were a product of the Bowman pure-bred herd and had little to do with the Liverpool Plains property. It is felt that these adjustments do not do too great an injustice to the facts. Other difficulties arise because there are certain inconsistencies and omissions in those accounts of the Company which are still in existence. The following paragraph must be read in the light of the foregoing explanations.

During the years 1861-1875 inclusive the Australian Agricultural Company spent £43,063 of shareholders' funds on the equipment of and the purchase of livestock for Warrah. The accounts appended to the printed annual reports of the

2. Of course, the expenditure on the store cattle purchased in 1864 is included as a debit item.
Company furnish the following figures for expenditure in respect of the stock department on revenue account within the colony: on fences and buildings, £10,848; on wages and rations, £62,855; on the getting up of the wool clip, £34,315. These items, together with miscellaneous expenses make a total of £127,000. To this must be added the London charges on the wool clip which approximated £17,000, and the £82,0003 spent on the purchase of sheep and the £3,000 on the purchase of cattle. The grand total of expenditure on current account was £229,000. Arising out of this expenditure the Company engaged in commercial transactions which resulted in a gross cash income of £155,096 from the sale of sheep, £72,684 from the sale of fat cattle off Warrah, and £10,468 from miscellaneous sales such as tallow and the hides of stock slaughtered for rations. To this must be added the gross returns for the wool clips, of approximately £216,000. Gross receipts make a grand total of £455,000, leaving a surplus of £226,000 over the total expenditure on current account. This, on a capital expenditure of £43,000 over a period of fifteen years represents a handsome return — one of slightly over 33% per annum. But this is not the complete picture, for it must be remembered that the Company now had assets in the form of livestock, buildings and equipment which were worth a considerable sum of money. Any valuation of these assets must be treated with a due measure of caution, but an indication of the order of the sum thus represented may be obtained if we take the hundred thousand sheep on Warrah as at 31 December 1875 at 8/- per head and add the amount invested in the equipping of Warrah and to some extent still represented in tangible assets. Together, these sums make a grand total slightly in excess of £70,000.

The profits from the pastoral property combined with the

3. An estimate, the figures for two years being unavailable.
profits derived from the operation of the Company's other enterprises to ensure a substantial annual return to the Australian Agricultural Company shareholder. An investor who possessed one share of the face value of £25 in 1860 would have been obliged to pay five calls totalling £2.10.0 by 1875. In return, he would have received dividend payments, from 1861 to 1875 inclusive, totalling £19.12.6.

This happy result was achieved through the ability of men to take advantage of history. Certainly, history was on the side of men during the 1860's and 1870's. The Australian Agricultural Company's successful pastoral operations of these years was due to a blending of fortunate circumstances in a variety of fields.

Seasonal conditions were exceedingly propitious. Not only was this so because of Warrah's copious rainfall. Warrah benefited as a result of recurrent droughts which afflicted other parts of the colony, especially the western plains. The misfortune of others was to Warrah's advantage, for it was generally recognised that Warrah's position in pastoral commerce was at its strongest in seasons of comparative scarcity.4

The market for Warrah's products was never ruinously depressed. Even during the less exhilarating late 'sixties, when fat stock prices were low, and the Company was finding difficulty in getting up the wool clip in a satisfactory condition, stock grazing still remained a worthwhile venture. With the high stock and wool prices of the early 1870's Warrah's value as an earner of dividends increased greatly. Its owners recognised the situation and were ready to give credit where it

4. There are many expressions of this opinion. See, for example; Report, July 1866, p. 5; Court to Merewether, 22 April 1870, p. 9; Merewether to Court, 21 July 1863, E, 58; 23 Nov. 1866, F, 331; Craik to Merewether, 8 Nov. 1862, C-A 90.
was due. Because it was marked by a London wool market very strongly in seller's favour, the year 1872, the Directors of the Australian Agricultural Company felt sure, would "be held in grateful remembrance by Australian wool-growers".

The fact that the station was owned by a Company in a position to command impressive capital resources undoubtedly contributed to the comparative ease with which advantage was taken of favourable conditions. This may seem a surprising development in the light of the difficulties, described in Chapter 2, which dogged the Company in the first three decades of its history. It was an all too acute awareness of this early experience which led Hodgson to write in 1861: "I regret to say that no Company in the colony is so well managed as a private property. This is sometimes owing to careless and expensive superintendence, the necessary restrictions from the Directors as to embarking in speculations, and the anxiety of the head manager to make the expected remittances to enable him to stand well with his Directors and the proprietors".

On the face of it, the writer here is drawing a distinction between company owned pastoral properties and privately owned pastoral properties. However, the assumptions are such as to indicate that the writer had in mind the distinction between properties owned by proprietors residing in England on the one hand, and by proprietors residing in Australia on the other. That subsequent events belied Hodgson's gloomy prognostication was due partly to the elimination of the managerial weaknesses of the first thirty years, partly to the Company's taking advantage of its considerable financial reserves, and partly to factors such as its greater prestige and its more ready access to the ears of people in private and official place.

5. Report, July 1875, p. 5.
7. Hodgson to Court, 20 June 1861, Supplementary Despatch Book B/C, p. 27.
Even the strings which attached the Australian pastoral property to England were an advantage in one respect, for the Company was thereby in a position to enjoy first hand association with the world's greatest wool market. As has been seen, the Company's London office consulted the opinion of wool brokers in that city before Warrah's wool breeding policy was decided.

If Hodgson's pronouncement were taken for what it purported to be: a statement explaining a general phenomenon - the writer would have us believe it was universal - of the pastoral industry of New South Wales, the history of Warrah from 1861 to 1875 would emerge as the story of a pioneering effort in the direction of Company management of a pastoral property. This might be so. Our immediate concern, however, has simply been to indicate the manner in which Warrah's successful operation was due partly to it having the resources of a company behind it.

It is possible that another consideration which applied in the 1850's has become of less validity with the passage of time. When searching for a competent station manager in 1861 the Directors realised that the men most competent to run a sheep station would not be interested in a manager's position but would be intent on striking out for themselves. As sheep grazing became a more highly capitalised industry there might well have been a parallel emergence of a type of skilled pastoral manager, more interested in taking advantage of the resources of a company which would enable him to give free rein to his managerial prowess, and less interested in subjecting himself to the vicissitudes and limitations associated with developing his own property.

Warrah's fortunes were aided by managerial efficiency of a high order during the years 1861 to 1875. Proprietors and Directors paid graceful tribute to the competent and faithful service rendered by their colonial officials. Craik's
willingness to take unto himself a large measure of the credit for the stock department's success has been indicated. While it would be foolish to subscribe to Craik's attractively simple explanation of Warrah's development, the earlier record of failure emphasises that the Company could not always take for granted that it would be able to command the services of men capable of taking advantage of good conditions.

Successful pastoral operations depended upon a combination of favourable conditions over the whole range of factors influencing activities in that industry. Even a station as well equipped as Warrah suffered severely in the drought of 1877-8, and even more so in its more famous sequel. Efficient management could do little to stay the falling wool prices of the late 1880's and the 1890's. The backing of impressive financial resources could not prevent the overcrowding of the stock market, and the appearance of parasitical worms amongst the Warrah flocks. It was for management and resources to alleviate bad fortune and capitalise on good fortune, not to determine the throw of the dice.

Warrah in 1875 was nearing the end of a transformation which probably had placed it among the ranks of the best equipped pastoral properties in the colony. Sheep were washed at an expensive and up-to-date washpool plant. Water supply points abounded. A commodious and comfortable, if rather inelegant, superintendent's house had replaced the old ramshackle building. The overseers now lived in substantial cottages. In place of the crawling shepherd living in his gunyah, there now appeared the boundary rider living in his hut. If he was lucky, instead of finding himself in a slab hut with a bark roof and an earthen floor he might be provided with a weatherboard hut with a shingled roof and
wooden floors. Outside, men might no longer ride on horseback at will after nightfall for fear of coming to grief on the wire fencing which now criss-crossed the estate. Everywhere, a "very different state of things" was coming into existence on Warrah.

8. Craik to Merewether, 8 March 1869, C-II 20.
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1. Dividends paid to shareholders of the Australian Agricultural Company.
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3. Revenue and expenditure of the colliery, the stock department and of the land department.
4. Expenditure (from all sources) on the physical assets of Warrah.
5. Expenditure of shareholders' funds on the equipment of Warrah.
6. Expenses of the stock department.
7. Abstract of statements showing the cost of managing the Company's cattle and sheep departments.
8. Cost of getting up the wool clip.
10. Receipts of stock department.
11. Warrah's income from the three sources of sheep sales, cattle sales and wool sales.
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13. Cattle sales.
15. Abstract of sheep returns.
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22. Average fleece weights of selected flocks.
## APPENDIX 1

### DIVIDENDS DECLARED

#### BY

**THE AUSTRALIAN AGRICULTURAL COMPANY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Amount (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>January</td>
<td>£1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>July</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>July</td>
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Source: Printed Annual Reports of the Company.
APPENDIX 2

CALLS ON SHAREHOLDERS.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5s.</td>
<td>1 July 1870</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5s.</td>
<td>2 January 1871</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10s.</td>
<td>1 September 1871</td>
<td>£10,000</td>
</tr>
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Source: Printed Annual Reports of the Company.
## APPENDIX 3

### REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE ON CURRENT ACCOUNT OF THE THREE DEPARTMENTS

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Colliery Department</th>
<th>Stock Department</th>
<th>Land Department</th>
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<th>Balance</th>
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<td>50,671</td>
<td>9,962</td>
<td>16,092</td>
<td>29,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>46,383</td>
<td>57,154</td>
<td>11,971</td>
<td>14,734</td>
<td>19,607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>51,688</td>
<td>65,029</td>
<td>13,341</td>
<td>12,059</td>
<td>27,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>52,118</td>
<td>66,375</td>
<td>14,257</td>
<td>14,496</td>
<td>34,727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>52,940</td>
<td>66,158</td>
<td>13,218</td>
<td>14,517</td>
<td>40,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>65,504</td>
<td>103,552</td>
<td>38,048</td>
<td>16,058</td>
<td>50,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>76,121</td>
<td>122,475</td>
<td>46,044</td>
<td>20,569</td>
<td>62,726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>92,777</td>
<td>142,027</td>
<td>48,250</td>
<td>19,168</td>
<td>51,897</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This column includes adjustments for various general administrative expenses, and receipts from interest, discount and exchange not included in the previous columns.

Source: Printed Annual Reports of the Company.
APPENDIX 4

EXPENDITURE (FROM ALL SOURCES)
ON THE
PHYSICAL ASSETS OF WARRAH.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Buildings and yards</th>
<th>Water Supply</th>
<th>Wire fencing</th>
<th>Washpool</th>
<th>General miscellaneous</th>
<th>Wages and rations not otherwise included</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>649</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1,936</td>
<td>1,273</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5,737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>259</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>203 165</td>
<td>1,371 1,604</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>189 1,592</td>
<td>185 2,746</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>648</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>202 192</td>
<td>671 365</td>
<td>1,163</td>
<td>180 4,780</td>
<td>264 3,120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>203 165</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>295 46</td>
<td>3,392 367</td>
<td></td>
<td>130 15</td>
<td>311 2,792</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>238 354</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>238 354</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>1,044</td>
<td>1,245 97</td>
<td></td>
<td>196 343</td>
<td>3,018</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>617 122</td>
<td>1,874 36</td>
<td></td>
<td>278 2,927</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The expenditure of £5,214 of shareholders' capital is not divisible into annual appropriations.

Source: Warrah papers for annual report.
## APPENDIX 5

### EXPENDITURE OF SHAREHOLDERS' FUNDS ON THE EQUIPMENT OF WARRAH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>5,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>3,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>2,198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>1,865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>1,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1,874</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Printed Annual Reports of the Company.
## APPENDIX 6

### STOCK DEPARTMENT EXPENSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Rations</th>
<th>Fences, Buildings, Assessment</th>
<th>License and Clip</th>
<th>Expenses on Wool</th>
<th>Livestock Purchased</th>
<th>Wire Fencing</th>
<th>Cattle Purchases</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1,769</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2,963</td>
<td>5,033</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>7,996</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1,377</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2,248</td>
<td>2,050</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>5,593</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1,909</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4,646</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>8,233</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>2,001</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>6,302</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1,460</td>
<td>10,594</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>2,873</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1,074</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1,117</td>
<td>1,845</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>8,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>3,458</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2,789</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>1,132</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>9,673</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>4,029</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3,584</td>
<td>1,712</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>11,359</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>4,052</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2,598</td>
<td>4,329</td>
<td>1,371</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>16,092 (a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>4,348</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>1,061</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3,270</td>
<td>2,718</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>1,037</td>
<td>14,734 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>4,407</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3,404</td>
<td>2,028</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>12,059</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>4,803</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3,211</td>
<td>4,099</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>14,496</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>4,280</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3,622</td>
<td>4,272</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>14,517</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>4,742</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>1,099</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3,274</td>
<td>3,086</td>
<td>1,852</td>
<td>1,329</td>
<td>16,058</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>5,059</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>2,196</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3,815</td>
<td>7,387</td>
<td>1,448</td>
<td>20,569</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>4,951</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>1,490</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3,695</td>
<td>6,719</td>
<td>1,712</td>
<td>19,168</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) This total includes £1,604 spent on the construction of the washpool, and not included in the sub-columns.
(b) This total includes £416 spent on the purchase of rams, and not included in the sub-columns.

**NOTE:** This table shows the breakdown of current expenditure employed by the Company in its printed annual reports.
## APPENDIX 7

**ABSTRACT OF STATEMENTS SHOWING THE COST OF MANAGING THE CATTLE AND SHEEP DEPARTMENTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Cattle</th>
<th>Average Cost per Cattle</th>
<th>Total Sheep</th>
<th>Average Cost per Sheep</th>
<th>Total Wool Clip</th>
<th>Average Cost per Wool Clip</th>
<th>Total of two previous Columns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>3,115</td>
<td>£2 s. 6 d.</td>
<td>54,447</td>
<td>1 s. 6 d.</td>
<td>5,149,47</td>
<td>1 s. 6 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>1,616</td>
<td>£1 s. 9 d.</td>
<td>6,523</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>5,324,00</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>1,802</td>
<td>£2 s. 3 d.</td>
<td>5,149</td>
<td>1 s. 9 d.</td>
<td>5,324,00</td>
<td>1 s. 9 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>2,025</td>
<td>£3 s. 3 d.</td>
<td>6,019</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>5,690,00</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,785</td>
<td>£2 s. 2 d.</td>
<td>5,149</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>5,324,00</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1,973</td>
<td>£3 s. 9 d.</td>
<td>5,893</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>5,690,00</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>2,154</td>
<td>£4 s. 1 d.</td>
<td>5,893</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>5,690,00</td>
<td>1 s. 7 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>2,465</td>
<td>£4 s. 6 d.</td>
<td>6,380</td>
<td>1 s. 3 d.</td>
<td>5,690,00</td>
<td>1 s. 3 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>3,225</td>
<td>£5 s. 13 d.</td>
<td>7,193</td>
<td>1 s. 4 d.</td>
<td>5,690,00</td>
<td>1 s. 4 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>3,380</td>
<td>£5 s. 9 d.</td>
<td>7,091</td>
<td>1 s. 4 d.</td>
<td>5,690,00</td>
<td>1 s. 4 d.</td>
<td>11 s. 16 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) This average includes an estimate for pasture of 1½d.
(b) This figure was taken from the separate returns on the cost of getting up the wool clip, the average being based on the number of sheep shorn, not on the average number of sheep pastured throughout the year.
(c) This average includes an estimate for pasture of 3d., not included in either of the two previous columns.
(d) These totals exclude the cost of erecting wire fencing and sheep washing works.

**NOTE:** This table was compiled from returns prepared for Merewether's annual report to the Court of Directors.
## APPENDIX 8

### STATEMENT SHOWING COST OF GETTING UP THE WARRAH WOOL CLIP, 1866-1875.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1867</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1875</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ave.</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave.</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot.</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave.</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1867</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1875</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wool sorters</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep shears</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twine, needles, spirits, brooms, ocre, ink, oil, etc.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage of shearing supplies and freight from Sydney</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolpacks, bagging and canvas</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolpressing and labour in woolshed</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repairing washpool dam after floods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**                                                           | 461  | 1.99 | 583  | 1.96 | 527  | 2.8  | 655  | 2.42 | 911  | 2.82 |

| Sheep shearing and provisions to shearers                          | 449  | 1.94 | 567  | 1.9  | 568  | 1.85 | 741  | 2.21 | 600  | 1.87 |

| Sheep washing, soap, soda, rations at washpool                     |       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | 573  | 1.89 |

**Total**                                                           | 731  | 3.16 | 669  | 2.92 | 637  | 2.01 | 690  | 1.95 | 553  | 1.72 |

| Carriage of wool: to Morpeth                                       | 486  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| to Newcastle                                                      | (605)| (488)| (428)| (485)| (388)| (388)| (240)| (200)| (301)| (326)|
| to railway station                                               | (248)| (264)| (200)| (214)| (200)| (164)| (189)| (213)| (174)| (156)|
| to Sydney                                                        |       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

**Total**                                                           | 789  | 3.41 | 1058 | 3.52 | 510  | 1.00 |      |      |      |      |

| Scouring                                                           | 3885 | 103  | 59   | 77   | 90   | 100  | 138  | 140  | 147  | 122  |

| Henry Moore, commission                                           | 62   | 85   | 95   | 139  | 139  | 98   | 105  | 114  | 127  | 190  |

**Total**                                                           | 147  | 63   | 193  | 64   | 153  | 216  | 67   | 229  | 65   | 312  |

| Insurance                                                         | 141  | 80   | 66   | 21   | 16   | 35   | 11   | 43   | 12   | 56   |

**Total expenses**                                                  | £ 2577 |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

| Average per head                                                  | 11.13d.| 11.42d.| 10.94d.| 9.96d.| 9.17d.| 9.62d.| 9.92d.| 8.77d.| 9.37d.| 9.59d.|

| Number of sheep shorn                                             | 55,568| 71,637| 66,846| 77,266| 84,711| 77,359| 82,297| 89,530| 97,675| 92,413|

Source: Papers prepared for Merewether's annual report.
# SH EEP PURCHASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Breeding Ewes</th>
<th>Rams (b)</th>
<th>Total Store Sheep</th>
<th>Wethers</th>
<th>Ewes for Pattening</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Cost</td>
<td>Number Ave.</td>
<td>Cost</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Number Ave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>£</td>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>90</td>
<td>2,248</td>
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<td>4,996</td>
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<td>250</td>
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<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>11,913</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>21,603</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>8,979</td>
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<tr>
<td>1865</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>5,200</td>
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<tr>
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<td>n.a.</td>
<td>20,379</td>
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<td>5,643</td>
<td>16,972</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5,643</td>
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<td>346</td>
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<td>2,140</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,214</td>
<td>12,288</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>2,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5,523</td>
<td>9,414</td>
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<td>4,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
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<td>198</td>
<td>18,004</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7,398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

a These were the Modgee stud ewes which cost a total of £721.
b In addition, the following stud rams were bought: 7 in 1865; 6 at an average cost of £23.16.0 in 1869; 3 at an average cost of £26.16.8 in 1872; and 5 for a total cost of £358 in 1875.

Source: Papers prepared for Merewether's annual report.
## Receipts of Stock Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sheep Sales £</th>
<th>Sheep Boiled Sales £</th>
<th>Cattle Sales £</th>
<th>Horse Sales £</th>
<th>Total £</th>
<th>Wool Clip(a) £</th>
<th>Misc. £</th>
<th>Total £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>4,088</td>
<td>7,268</td>
<td>11,357</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11,394</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>3,250</td>
<td>4,664</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>8,010</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>1,244</td>
<td>8,759</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5,960</td>
<td>9,381</td>
<td>15,342</td>
<td>12,794</td>
<td>16,586</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>9,836</td>
<td>3,376</td>
<td>13,212</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>13,486</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>8,368</td>
<td>7,213</td>
<td>15,623</td>
<td>2,722</td>
<td>18,575</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>8,052</td>
<td>8,744</td>
<td>16,827</td>
<td>9,389</td>
<td>25,423</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7,948</td>
<td>3,123</td>
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<td>10,969</td>
<td>22,376</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3,427</td>
<td>16,622</td>
<td>12,794</td>
<td>29,785</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1869</td>
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<td>3,764</td>
<td>9,603</td>
<td>9,389</td>
<td>19,607</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>4,484</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>2,891</td>
<td>10,609</td>
<td>27,415</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
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<td>775</td>
<td>4,313</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14,227</td>
<td>10,347</td>
<td>1,154</td>
<td>34,727</td>
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<td>13,113</td>
<td>6,120</td>
<td>19,232</td>
<td>20,680</td>
<td>40,634</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>10,092</td>
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<td>21,984</td>
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<td>62,726</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,815</td>
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<td>27,296</td>
<td>51,897</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The figures in this column refer to the gross receipts, less the charges on the London office, in respect of the clip shorn in the year previous to that for which the proceeds are shown.

Source: Printed Annual Reports of the Company.
WARRAH'S GROSS INCOME FROM THREE SOURCES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sheep Sales Value (£)</th>
<th>Cattle Sales Value (£)</th>
<th>Wool Sales(a) Value (£)</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>3,687</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>3,278</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td></td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>5,960</td>
<td>7,820b</td>
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</tr>
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<td>9,836</td>
<td>3,300b</td>
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<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>8,368</td>
<td>6,900</td>
<td>8,267</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>8,051</td>
<td>8,590b</td>
<td>10,969</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>7,422</td>
<td>3,000b</td>
<td>12,794</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>12,152</td>
<td>2,770b</td>
<td>9,389</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4,951</td>
<td>2,214b</td>
<td>16,073</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
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<td>2,780b</td>
<td>20,849</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>9,125</td>
<td>3,770b</td>
<td>22,190</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
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<td>1872</td>
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<td>23,667</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
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<td>1873</td>
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<td>8,230b</td>
<td>28,033</td>
<td>1873</td>
</tr>
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<td>6,980b</td>
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<td>1874</td>
</tr>
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<td>1875</td>
<td>19,634</td>
<td>1,670b</td>
<td>26,003</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The clip is that of the year named.
b Estimate.

NOTE: See p. for explanatory comment on this table.
## APPENDIX 12

### SHEEP SALES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wethers Sold</th>
<th>Ewes Sold</th>
<th>Total Ewes and Wethers</th>
<th>Cull Rams</th>
<th>Total Sold</th>
<th>Wethers Boiled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Ave.</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Ave.</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>£</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5,288</td>
<td>3,678</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3,278</td>
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<td>4,914</td>
<td>3,278</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9,836</td>
<td>14,473</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>9,836</td>
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<td>8,248</td>
<td>13,100</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>8,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6,769</td>
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<td>14,481</td>
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<td>10.4</td>
<td>11,932</td>
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<td>2,553</td>
<td>6,796</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>2,414</td>
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<td>6,101</td>
<td>8,924</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>2,939</td>
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<td>10,731</td>
<td>5,335</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>2,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>3,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>21,199</td>
<td>3,080</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1,481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>12,780</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>6,557</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes 2,903 ewes sold as breeders.

Source: Papers prepared for Merewether's annual report.
| Year | Bullocks | | | Cows | | | Bulls | | | Total | | |
|------|----------|---|---|------|---|---|------|---|---|------|---|
|      | Number   | Average Price £ | Amount Received £ | No. | Average Price £ | Amount Received £ | No. | Average Price £ | Amount Received £ | Number | Average Price £ | Amount Received £ |
| 1861 | 1,503    | 4.2.9 | 6,216\(a\) | 24  | 17.16.3 | 428               | 1,590 | 7.14.6 | 7,464 |
| 1862 | 885      | 4.10.9 | 4,018\(a\) | 19  | 15.4.2  | 289               | 992  | 4.16.4 | 4,664 |
| 1863 | 1,446    | 4.14.2\(\) | 6,818\(a\) | 32  | 15.5.0  | 448               | 1,934 | 4.14.6\(\) | 9,281 |
| 1864 | 614      | 4.2.2\(\) | 2,555     | 1    | 5.6.0   | 5                  | 861  | 3.17.9 | 3,276 |
| 1865 | 1,256    | 4.17.3\(\) | 6,110     | 1    | 15.0.0  | 15                 | 1,526 | 4.14.6\(\) | 7,213 |
| 1866 | 930      | 7.17.0 | 7,300     | 227  | 6.4.6   | 1,414              | 1,159 | 7.10.10 | 8,744 |
| 1867 | 507      | 5.6.11 | 2,711     | 83   | 4.14.0  | 392               | 377  | 5.5.0   | 3,123 |
| 1868 | 498      | 5.13.6 | 2,646     | 82   | 5.7.9   | 422               | 572  | 5.19.9  | 3,427 |
| 1869 | 406      | 5.10.11 | 2,252   | 50   | 6.16.1  | 340               | 540  | 6.19.5  | 3,764 |
| 1870 | 223      | 5.7.8  | 1,201     | 123  | 4.15.2  | 585               | 434  | 6.13.3  | 2,891 |
| 1871 | 477      | 5.8.6  | 2,588     | 74   | 4.16.1  | 355               | 88   | 5.10.8  | 1,370 |
| 1872 | 522      | 7.12.8 | 3,986     | 112  | 8.11.0  | 958               | 82   | 6.16.10 | 1,176 |
| 1873 | 652      | 7.12.1 | 4,957     | 588  | 5.16.11 | 3,438             | 355  | 7.16.8  | 10,092 |
| 1874 | 868      | 7.15.1 | 6,732     | 51   | 6.4.6   | 318               | 318  | 11.14.8 | 12,258 |
| 1875 | 201      | 8.5.3  | 1,660     | 4    | 6.2.6   | 25                | 61   | 14.6.10 | 3,816 |

\(a\) These figures are the totals for both cows and bullocks. No separate figures were kept during these years.

Source: Papers prepared for Merewether's annual report.
### APPENDIX 14

**SHEARING RETURNS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number Shorn</th>
<th>Net Station Weight (lbs.)</th>
<th>Ave. Weight of Washed Fleece</th>
<th>Ave. Price per lb.</th>
<th>Ave. Fleece Return</th>
<th>Gross Proceeds</th>
<th>Freight and other Charges</th>
<th>Net Proceeds</th>
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<td>7 Nov</td>
<td>6 Dec</td>
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<td>13,779</td>
<td>202,660</td>
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<td>2,722</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4 Dec</td>
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<td>38,753</td>
<td>550,727</td>
<td>3 s. 0 ½ d.</td>
<td>10,967</td>
<td>12,794</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8 Dec</td>
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<td>55,568</td>
<td>307,271</td>
<td>3 s. 0 ½ d.</td>
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<td>16,076</td>
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<tr>
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<td>14 Nov</td>
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<td>71,697</td>
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<td>374,122</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4 Dec</td>
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<td>30,023</td>
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<td>20,849</td>
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<td>2,722</td>
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<td>62,064</td>
<td>15,202</td>
<td>263,492</td>
<td>21,90</td>
<td>15,202</td>
<td>19,347</td>
<td>19,347</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>3 Oct</td>
<td>6 Jan</td>
<td>84,711</td>
<td>263,492</td>
<td>374,122</td>
<td>15,202</td>
<td>16,076</td>
<td>12,794</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>15 Sept</td>
<td>20 Nov</td>
<td>69,512</td>
<td>(77,359)</td>
<td>193,646</td>
<td>22,190</td>
<td>20,849</td>
<td>1,502</td>
<td>19,347</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>7,847</td>
<td>14,611</td>
<td>(77,359)</td>
<td>22,190</td>
<td>15,202</td>
<td>19,347</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>7 Sept</td>
<td>23 Nov</td>
<td>82,297</td>
<td>82,297</td>
<td>236,449</td>
<td>20,849</td>
<td>21,984</td>
<td>1,502</td>
<td>2,722</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>6 Sept</td>
<td>27 Nov</td>
<td>89,530</td>
<td>276,730</td>
<td>307,271</td>
<td>28,033</td>
<td>26,117</td>
<td>1,502</td>
<td>26,117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>14 Aug</td>
<td>25 Nov</td>
<td>82,117</td>
<td>15,558</td>
<td>296,595</td>
<td>3376</td>
<td>3,009</td>
<td>28,033</td>
<td>1,502</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>4 Sept</td>
<td>25 Nov</td>
<td>92,113</td>
<td>296,595</td>
<td>3,23</td>
<td>7,753</td>
<td>26,003</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>24,250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* The practice on the station from 1864 until 1868 was to allow 10 lbs. for the tare of the wool bale; from 1869 onwards it was taken to be 11 lbs. The Company's Sydney agent continued to estimate the tare of the bales at 10 lbs.

Source: Compiled from the Company's printed annual reports and the papers prepared for Merewether's annual reports.
### Abstract of Warrah Sheep Returns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number as at 31 Dec (previous year)</th>
<th>Purchase</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Changes During the Year</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Boiling</th>
<th>Number as at 31 Dec (current year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>5387</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5,283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>nil</td>
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<td>nil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>161</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>10,106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>5,506</td>
<td>32,958</td>
<td>17,936</td>
<td>8,908</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>14,415</td>
<td>54,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>23,430</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,845</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>14,481</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>565</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>23,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>54,265</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,921</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>1,214</td>
<td>54,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>62,199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,041</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>62,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>65,771</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,404</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11,996</td>
<td>65,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>67,431</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,752</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14,153</td>
<td>67,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>68,566</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,418</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>23,021</td>
<td>68,566</td>
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<tr>
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<td>65,578</td>
<td></td>
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<td>361</td>
<td>65,578</td>
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<td>1873</td>
<td>81,308</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1,486</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>23,129</td>
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<td>1874</td>
<td>106,681</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,630</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>24,102</td>
<td>106,681</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2,362</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>29,521</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Warrah Sheep Returns
### APPENDIX 16

**ABSTRACT OF WARRAH CATTLE RETURNS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number as at 31 Dec previous year</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Changes During the Year</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Number as at 31 Dec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Calves transferred</td>
<td>Sales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from Port Stephens</td>
<td>to Port Stephens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
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<td>325</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1,485</td>
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<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>3,337</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>1,206</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>3,733</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>1,261</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>3,267</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>1,099</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>1,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>5,029</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>3,580</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>1,041</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1,604</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>1,607</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>1,529</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>1,481</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,226</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,686</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>2,061</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1,314</td>
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<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>2,499</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1,402</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>573</td>
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<tr>
<td>1873</td>
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<td>86</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>2,530</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **a** Plus 1,628 head increase by purchase.
- **b** Plus 2 head increase by purchase.
- **c** Plus 1 head increase by purchase.
- **d** Plus 1 head increase by purchase.

Source: Warrah cattle returns.
APPENDIX 17

CATTLE TRANSFERS BETWEEN THE THREE ESTATES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Warrah From</th>
<th>Warrah To</th>
<th>Gloucester From</th>
<th>Gloucester To</th>
<th>Bowman From</th>
<th>Bowman To</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1,261</td>
<td>1,261</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1,099</td>
<td>1,057</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>527</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1,041</td>
<td>946</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>917</td>
<td></td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
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<td>450</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>291</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,636</td>
<td>1,580</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1,314</td>
<td>1,157</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>1,402</td>
<td>1,196</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,371</td>
<td>1,243</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>858</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Australian Agricultural Company cattle returns.
### APPENDIX 18

**WARRAH LAMMING RESULTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of ewes (a)</th>
<th>Lambs Cut Number</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Lambs Weaned Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1864 S</td>
<td>6,694</td>
<td>5,473</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5,329b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865 S</td>
<td>13,462</td>
<td>12,019</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>11,799</td>
<td>87.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866 A</td>
<td>1,163</td>
<td>648</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,274</td>
<td>94.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866 S</td>
<td>10,894</td>
<td>1,770</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>11,910</td>
<td>96.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867 A</td>
<td>2,802</td>
<td>12,724</td>
<td>98.26</td>
<td>11,910</td>
<td>96.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867 S</td>
<td>12,243</td>
<td>3,744</td>
<td>88.23</td>
<td>3,689</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868 A</td>
<td>12,243</td>
<td>11,574</td>
<td>93.57</td>
<td>11,285</td>
<td>92.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869 A</td>
<td>12,413</td>
<td>12,004</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>11,675</td>
<td>94.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870 A</td>
<td>12,413</td>
<td>2,963</td>
<td>79.77</td>
<td>2,828</td>
<td>76.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870 S</td>
<td>11,466</td>
<td>10,877</td>
<td>94.86</td>
<td>10,632</td>
<td>92.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8,141</td>
<td>8,049</td>
<td>98.87</td>
<td>7,915</td>
<td>97.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9,605</td>
<td>94.64</td>
<td>9,398</td>
<td>92.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872 W</td>
<td>6,329</td>
<td>5,281</td>
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<td>4,925</td>
<td>77.81</td>
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<td>14,182</td>
<td>11,884</td>
<td>83.79</td>
<td>11,475</td>
<td>80.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873 W</td>
<td>7,077</td>
<td>6,635</td>
<td>94.46</td>
<td>6,408</td>
<td>90.54</td>
</tr>
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<td>16,983</td>
<td>15,945</td>
<td>93.88</td>
<td>15,227</td>
<td>89.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874 W</td>
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<td>9,948</td>
<td>93.85</td>
<td>21,204</td>
<td>83.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874 S</td>
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<td>12,426</td>
<td>84.14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875 W</td>
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<td>13,620</td>
<td>91.94</td>
<td>13,281</td>
<td>89.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875 S</td>
<td>11,854</td>
<td>9,630</td>
<td>81.23</td>
<td>9,275</td>
<td>78.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**a** The percentages of lambs cut and weaned was sometimes struck on the number of ewes put on the lambing ground, and sometimes on the number of ewes at the end of cutting. The difference between these two numbers was always small, and the distinction can be neglected for present purposes.

**b** In addition, 3,579 lambs purchased with breeding sheep were weaned with the Warrah bred lambs.
### Warrah Ewe Classing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Classed</th>
<th>Into Stud</th>
<th>Into Ordinary Breeding Flocks</th>
<th>Number Culled</th>
<th>% Culled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>5,788&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>4,229</td>
<td>1,105</td>
<td>19.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1868</td>
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<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>21,379</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>14,898&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4,601</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>23,822</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>17,158&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4,986</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>25,094</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>20,127</td>
<td>4,471</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>29,773</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>22,477</td>
<td>6,489</td>
<td>21.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>31,234</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>25,269</td>
<td>4,991</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>36,588</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>26,655</td>
<td>9,112</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>37,535</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>29,062</td>
<td>7,521</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Only hoggets and stud ewes were classed.

<sup>b</sup> In addition, 1,356 ewes were set apart in a special clothing flock.

<sup>c</sup> In addition, 1,135 ewes were set apart in a special clothing flock.

Source: Warrah classing returns.
## Warrah Ram Classing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Classed</th>
<th>Number Retained as Ordinary Breeders</th>
<th>Number Culled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>712&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
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<td>1871</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>365&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>17&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>703</td>
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<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> This number included culls of 1869 which had not yet been sold.

<sup>b</sup> Of this number, 184 were culls of 1870.

<sup>c</sup> All bred by C.G. Cox of Mudgee.

Source: Warrah classing returns.
### Warrah Ram Flock

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number as at previous 31 Dec.</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Lambs Weaned</th>
<th>Changes During the Year</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Number as at 31 Dec.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1865</td>
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<td>1866</td>
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<td>1869</td>
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<td>126</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
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<td>110</td>
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<td>54</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871</td>
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<td>216</td>
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<td>1872</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>477</td>
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<td>1873</td>
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<td>525</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>345</td>
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<td>1874</td>
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<td>519</td>
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<td>1875</td>
<td>950</td>
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<td>381</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>950</td>
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</table>

Source: Warrah sheep returns.
## AVERAGE FLEECE WEIGHTS OF SELECTED FLOCKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1875</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rams</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>829</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warrah stud ewes</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>440</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mudgee stud ewes</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter wether weaners</td>
<td>3,741</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>4,411</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winter ewe weaners</td>
<td>2,961</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>3,759</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spring wether weaners</td>
<td>4,592</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>5,511</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spring ewe weaners</td>
<td>3,334</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>4,308</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cull ewe weaners</td>
<td>2,731</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>2,286</td>
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<tr>
<td>Purchased sheep</td>
<td>21,362</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Merewether's annual reports.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

SECONDARY WORKS.


PRINTED PRIMARY MATERIAL.

Historical Records of Australia.

R. M. Dawson, Statement of the Services of Mr. Dawson, as chief agent of the Australian Agricultural Company; with a narrative of the treatment he has experienced from the late committee at Sydney, and the Board of Directors in London, (London, 1829).

Printed Reports of the Australian Agricultural Company. Both the Commonwealth National Library and the Mitchell Library have bound copies of most of these reports. The Australian National University now has a microfilm copy.
I. a) Correspondence received by the General Superintendent from the Court.

Most of this correspondence is on loose leaves, and contained in box files. Despatches to Parry have been given the serial number DP. Those to Dumaresq had not been catalogued at the time of note-taking. There are three boxes of despatches to Hodgson, and five boxes of despatches to Merewether. The latter have been given the serial number EMD and have been numbered consecutively from start to finish. Included among these despatches from the Court are some letters from each of Ravenshaw and Hamilton, and Engstrom, the Company's Secretary in London. There is also a bound volume of abstracts of despatches from the Court, covering the period 1852 to 1856.

b) Correspondence despatched to the Court from the General Superintendent.

Virtually all the copies of despatches from the General Superintendent to England are contained in bound volumes. Copies of the despatches from Dumaresq and P.P. King, covering the period 1833-1840, are contained in one bound volume. A series of six thin volumes contains copies of King's despatches dating from 15 February 1841 to 7 October 1845. Many pages of these volumes have been affected by dampness, and certain sections have been obliterated. The despatches of Blane, for 1851 and 1852, are on loose leaf sheets in a box file. The period of Brownrigg, 1852-1856, is covered in eight bound volumes. A new series began when Hodgson became General Superintendent. Dating from 10 October 1856 and continuing until after 1875, copies of all despatches to England were kept in handsomely bound volumes which are still preserved in perfect condition. The period 1856-1875 is covered by volumes A to K of this series. The minute book of Hodgson's Board of Advice is adjacent to these volumes.
2. a) Correspondence received by the General Superintendent from the Stock Superintendent.

Craik's letters to Merewether, the C- series, are contained in box files, one file to a year. They are numbered consecutively in years, the years being lettered consecutively, from C-A (1861) to C-N (1885). Periodical reports from Craik are grouped separately. All the monthly reports from Craik are now in a new series, C-MR, and, with the half-yearly reports, C-SYR, and the annual reports, C-YR, are in box files. Among the letters from Craik there were also letters to Merewether from a few people who occupied positions of responsibility on Warrah under Craik. At the time of note-taking these letters were catalogued under the C- series.

The letters from Gipps, Hudson and Martin have been separated from the rest and put in a new series prefixed with the letters GHM.

b) Correspondence despatched by the General Superintendent to the Stock Superintendent.

Press copies of all Merewether's letters to Craik are contained in bound volumes. In these volumes there are also many letters concerning Warrah written by Merewether to people other than Craik. The same system of footnote referencing has been employed for these letters as for Merewether's letters to Craik.

3. Papers prepared for Merewether's annual report to the Court.

From 1868 the practice was adopted of retaining the returns and documents compiled by the Company's Secretary at Newcastle for Merewether's use when preparing his annual report to the Court. The number and range of documents so preserved was quite limited for the first few years, but by 1875 had become extensive. The returns include, for example, detailed accounts of stock purchases and sales, expenses, and so forth. They are located in box files.

These are routine returns prepared by Craik at regular intervals and sent to the Newcastle office.

i) Warrah Cattle Papers, WCP-, beginning in 1862.

ii) Warrah Sheep Returns, SR-, beginning in 1861. These quarterly sheep returns show the increase by purchase and births, and the decrease by deaths, losses, slaughter and sale, of the Warrah flock, broken down to the following categories: rams, ewes, wethers, ewe hoggets, wether hoggets, ewe weaners, and wether weaners.

5. Warrah Papers.

There are several series of documents which provide literary material concerning Warrah supplementing that available in Craik's letters and reports.

i) Miscellaneous Warrah Papers. Two boxes cover the period down to 1875 - WP-A for 1852-1872, and WP-B for 1873-1883.

ii) Warrah Wool Papers, WWP-A. The papers for each year vary in extent. The collection for 1875 includes a weekly shearing report, a report on the clip by C. Stead, an abstract of brands of bales and averages of wool weights per sheep, and a list of samples of wool.

iii) Wool Washing Papers, WWP-J. This box contains pamphlets on wool washing methods, documents relating to the negotiations with Mr. A.K. Smith for the erection of the washpool, and Martin's sheep washing reports.