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Musters of New South Wales and Norfolk Island 1805-1806 Edited by Carol J Baxter, Pub. by Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record, Sydney 1989.

The following has been copied from the published volume, and whilst some of it is not relevant in terms of viewing the Database, it does give the reader a complete view of the data collected, the original records from which it came and other useful and interesting information. Some Appendix tables have not been reproduced here but can be viewed in a copy of the volume in major libraries.

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Preface to the published volume

The year 1806 saw the end of an era in New South Wales, with the departure of the third governor, Philip Gidley King, who had governed the colony of New South Wales from 1800 to 1806. Perhaps one of his last important actions was ordering the collection of the General Muster for the year 1806, which was taken between 12 and 20 August. King's successor, Captain William Bligh, assumed the governorship on 13 August 1806, just one day after the commencement of the General Muster.

The General Muster of New South Wales for the year 1806 is a document of almost unparalleled importance in the history of the early colony. For the first two decades of the colony, very little information about ordinary individuals has survived. Although annual general musters were collected from around 1795 onwards, no complete muster has survived prior to 1806. In fact, not only has the 1806 General Muster survived, but the associated Land and Stock Muster and a female muster have survived as well. The close relationship between these three Musters means that a wealth of information is available about the ordinary individuals living in the colony.

The information contained in the Muster entries includes details of ships of arrival, occupations, employers, relationships, land acquisition, stock and crops, children and so on. The first generation of colonial-born children are listed. Industries are mentioned, providing references to the economic growth of the colony. These entries serve to create a picture of life at this period of settlement, providing colourful examples of a life-style only otherwise seen in the black-and-white of official despatches.

The Norfolk Island Muster of 1805 provides a picture of life in that distant settlement as well. It was the first Muster to have survived for Norfolk Island, and records all inhabitants including officials, military and children. By adding details of nearly 1000 additional people living there, it serves to complement the NSW Musters.

The publication of these four Musters in the one volume, provides an unequalled reference to individuals, employers and industries, existing in the early settlements of New South Wales and Norfolk Island.

Historical Background

General Musters

General Musters were first taken in the earliest years of the settlement as a means of counting the population, controlling the convicts, and determining the colony's ability to support itself without recourse to the public stores. From 1795 onwards, annual general musters appear to have been held. These were supervised by the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor and recorded all the inhabitants of the colony, except the military.

For most of the annual general musters, only the extracted statistical information is currently available. The first general muster for which the individual entries have survived is the 1806 General Muster. Only one copy, a loosely alphabetised version, exists and this document is held by the Public Record Office, London (Ref. HO 10/37). A microfilm copy is available at the Archives Office of New South Wales (Ref. PRO Reel 72) and a photocopy at the Society of Australian Genealogists. This document is the first Muster to be transcribed in the main text.

Land and Stock Musters

Details of land and stock were also recorded at the annual general musters. An officer of the commissariat was responsible for the collection of this information, and attended each muster. For most of the land and stock musters, only the statistical abstractions have survived. The earliest land and stock musters for which the original information has survived were those for the years 1800, 1801 and 1802. Transcriptions of these Musters are found in the Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record publication *Musters and Lists New South Wales and Norfolk Island 1800-1802.*

The Land and Stock Muster 1806 is the first of these musters to have survived along with the corresponding General Muster. The two Musters are bound together as a single manuscript and have the same reference details. It is the second Muster to be transcribed in the main text.

Marsden's Female Muster 1806

At various times, musters were taken of particular groups of individuals in the colony. In 1806 the Rev. Samuel Marsden collected details of the females in the colony. In a manuscript currently known as Marsden's Female Muster 1806, he recorded details of the marital status of the women in New South Wales, and the numbers, sex and legitimacy of their children. This manuscript is held at the Mitchell Library, NSW (Ref. MSS 18), and is the third Muster to be transcribed in the main text.

Norfolk Island Muster 1805

In 1805, a Muster was taken of all the inhabitants of Norfolk Island, including children and the military. This manuscript is found at the Archives Office of New South Wales (Ref. 4/1 167A), and is the fourth Muster transcribed in the main text.

Method of Collection

General Muster and Land and Stock Muster 1806
The *Sydney Gazette* for 27 July, 3 August and 10 August 1806, contained the following General Orders regarding the General Muster to be held for that year:

> A General Muster of all the Male Prisoners off or on the Store, Also Freemen of all descriptions (except those holding Ground by Grant, Lease, or Rent), on or off the Stores, will be taken at Hawkesbury, Parramatta, and Sydney on Tuesday the 12th of August next, at Nine o'clock in the morning, viz.
>
> > - Those at Sydney and its Districts to assemble in the Yard at Government House.
> >
> > - Those at Parramatta, George's River, Cabramatta and surrounding Districts, at the Court House at Parramatta.
> >
> > - Those at Hawkesbury, Nepean River, in Evan and surrounding Districts, at the Green Hills.

The Women Prisoners, and those Females who are free of all descriptions with their Children, whether on or off the Stores, are to attend at the above Time and Places on Wednesday the 13th of August next.

All persons not appearing at these Musters will be taken up as Vagrants (by means which cannot fail of briging (sic) them forward) and punished to the utmost extent of the Law if free, and if prisoners they will be sentenced twelve months confinement, and hard labour in the Gaol gangs.

All Individuals imposing false Accounts of any person, bond or free, absent or presedt (sic), will be punished according to their respective situations for the breach of a General and Public Order.

A General Muster of the Settlers and others holding Lands by Grant, Lease, Rent, or otherwise will take place as follows:

> - At Sydney and its Districts on Thursday the 14th of August next, at Government House, at Nine o'clock in the morning.
>
> - At Parramatta and its Districts, including George's River, Cabramatta, Prospect, South Creek, Baulkham Hills, &c. on Saturday the 16th of August, at the Court House at Parramatta.
>
> - At Hawkesbury, below the Green Hills, on Monday the 18th of August; above the Green Hills on Tuesday the 19th of August; The Nepean and Richmond Hill Settlers on Wednesday the 20th of August.

Officers Civil and Military holding Lands as above, are required to send me separate sealed Returns of their Farms, Stock &c. on or before the 12th of August; Also a List of the Prisoners they are respectively allowed, who are victualled from the Store, according to the Form in the Secretary's Office, Sydney; the Court House, Parramatta; the Magistrate's at the Green Hills; and at the Adjutant's of the New South Wales Corps.

All Settlers or other Persons holding Lands by any Authority under the Government of this Territory having claims or requisitions to make, are to present the same in writing on the days of Muster respectively.

By Command of His Excellency,
G. Blaxcell, Sec.
Government House, Sydney, July 27, 1806

These Orders indicate that some of the muster stations were active on the same day, suggesting that the Muster entries were recorded in a number of different Muster books. However the extant single volume of the General Muster groups entries by the first letter of the surname, and by sex, such that males with surnames starting with the letter "A" are recorded first, then females with the letter "A", then males with the letter "B" and so on. In order to produce this alphabetised listing in a single volume, the entries must have been copied from the original Muster Books into the alphabetised volume. This indicates that the extant General Muster is a second generation copy.

It appears likely that only part of the information recorded at the General Muster was copied into the extant Muster volume. The General Statement reproduced in the Statistics section records details of the residence and victualling status of those mustered, and provides details of children in the colony. Residence was recorded in the extant volume in some entries; neither victualling status nor details of children were recorded at all. This suggests that the extant Muster volume does not fully document all the information collected at the General Muster in 1806.

The above General Orders also indicate that land and stock holders were only mustered once. This suggests that the entries for these people in the General Muster volume were extracted from the more detailed entries recorded in the Land and Stock Muster Books. This suggestion is supported by the arrangement of entries in each of the extant Muster volumes. When comparing the sequence of entries in the Land and Stock Muster with those for the corresponding entries in the General Muster, the main difference noted is that the latter entries have been grouped according to the first letter of the surname. The order in which the entries were recorded, if the alphabetical structure of the General Muster is taken into consideration, is almost identical. The differences that do arise are generally a function of the size of the land.

In the Land and Stock Muster the entries were divided into sections based on the acreage of the land, as follows: "Up to and including 30 Acres", "From 30 to 50 Acres", "From 50 to 100 Acres", "From 100 to 200 Acres", "From 200 to 300 Acres", and "From 300 Acres and Upwards". Differences between the arrangement of

corresponding entries in the two Musters generally occur because entries recording larger acreages appear to have been extracted from the original Land and Stock Muster books and copied into the appropriate sections in the extant volume. When this is taken into consideration, the sequence continues to match.

When the land and stock holders were mustered, the various muster stations were active on different days. This indicates that there may have been only the one Land and Stock Muster book, which was carried from muster station to muster station. However, some intermingling of areas in the extant volume has occurred, which should not have occurred if only the one Muster book had been used. This suggests that a few Muster books were probably in use, and supports the theory that the extant volume is a second generation copy of the original muster entries.

Marsden's Female Muster 1806
The information contained in Marsden's Female Muster appears to have been extracted from the entries recorded at the General Muster in 1806. Marsden clearly did not collect the information independently of this Muster, as the sequence of entries in Marsden's manuscript is almost identical to that recorded in the female sections of the extant General Muster volume. Nor does it seem likely that Marsden attended each muster station himself to collect the information, as a number of the muster stations were active concurrently. This suggests that the 1806 General Muster was the main source of the information contained in Marsden's Female Muster.

However, the information contained in Marsden's Female Muster was not copied from the extant volume of the General Muster, as shown by discrepancies between entries in the two documents. The following five entries are numbered A2189 to A2193 in the General Muster and C0609 to C0613 in Marsden's Female Muster. Three of these entries record different ships of arrival, as follows:

	General Muster	Marsden's Muster
Margaret Holmes	*Mary Ann*	*Mary Ann*
Priscilla Hudder	*Glatton*	*Mary Ann*
Elizabeth Hodge	*Mary Ann*	*Glatton*
Mary Hipwell	*Pitt*	*Mary Ann*
Elizabeth Howard	*Pitt*	*Pitt*

Upon closer examination, it is clear that for the middle three entries, the ship of arrival recorded in Marsden's Female Muster is the same as the ship recorded in the previous entry in the General Muster. Systematic differences such as these are generally a sign of transcription errors caused by the uneven alignment of information in the original entries. To determine which document contained the transcription errors, the Convict Indents were checked for the correct ship of arrival. The ships recorded in Marsden's Female Muster proved to be the correct ones. As Marsden's Female Muster did not duplicate the transcription errors found in the extant volume of the General Muster, this indicates that the basis for Marsden's Female Muster was the information contained in the original General Muster books.

Support for this argument is provided by the fact that Marsden's Female Muster contains additional information to that found in the extant volume of the General

Muster, namely, details of children. Information about children was probably collected at the General Muster, as women were ordered to attend the muster stations with their children. However, the extant Muster volume records no such details. It therefore appears likely that these details were recorded in the original Muster books, but not transcribed into the alphabetised copy. In preparing his Muster, Marsden probably extracted the information about children from the original Muster books. However, it is also possible that he gathered these details himself from other sources.

Norfolk Island Muster 1805
The document known as the Norfolk Island Muster 1805" contains the title "A List of the Names of every Man, Woman and Child on and off the stores residing in His Majesty's Settlement at Norfolk Island - February, 1805". As it states, it records details of all the inhabitants, and includes the military.

No information has been located describing the way in which this information was collected. It is possible that the government ordered a general muster, as occurred in New South Wales. It is also possible that some or all of the information was extracted from the official yearly Victualling Books.

Statistics

Norfolk Island Muster - 1805
The following General Statement was issued in 1805, and recorded the numbers of inhabitants of New South Wales, including Norfolk Island, as at 30 June.

see Table on page xiv of volume.

The General Statement was dated only four months after the Norfolk Island Muster was recorded. This allows a comparison between the numbers of people recorded in each category in the General Statement (June 1805) and the numbers of people listed in the Muster (Feb 1805), as follows:

	Feb 1805	June 1805	Difference
Civil Department	7	7	0
Military Department	50	51	+ 1
Victualled - Men	184	172	-12
Victualled - Women	52	56	+4
Victualled Children Above 10		6	6 0
Victualled - Children Above 2		100	97 -3
Victualled - Children Under 2		12	14 +2
Not Victualled - Men	187	195	+8
Not Victualled - Women	118	114	-4
Not Victualled - Children	201	-	-201
Total	**917**	**712**	**-205**

This table records similar numbers in all categories, except for the category covering children who were not victualled. Whilst the transcribed list records 201 such children in February 1805, the General Statement records no such children in June 1805. As

it is highly improbable that all of these children either died, left the colony, or moved onto the victualled list in these few months, this indicates that the General Statement probably omitted these details by mistake. Therefore the population of Norfolk Island in June 1805 was probably over 900.

The entries in the Norfolk Island Muster can be divided into groups of free people, ex-convicts and convicts. After subtracting the 319 children from the statistics, the adult population in 1805 consisted of the following:

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Civil/Military Dept			57	100%	57	100%
%	13%				9%	
Free People	35	59%	24	41%	59	100%
%	8%		14%		10%	
Ex-Convicts	210	65%	112	35%	322	100%
%	49%		66%		54%	
Convicts	126	79%	34	21%	160	100%
%	30%		20%		27%	
Total	428	72%	170	28%	598	100%
%	100%		100%		100%	

These figures show that the Norfolk Island population consisted of nearly three times as many males as females, and over four times as many convicts and ex-convicts as free people. Interestingly enough, serving convicts comprised only 27% of the total population, as compared with over 45% of the New South Wales population, shown below. This indicates that Norfolk Island was more of a place of residence for settlers than a penal colony.

New South Wales General Muster - 1806

The following General Statement records details of the population of New South Wales at the time of the General Muster held in August 1806. However, it is worth noting that the Statement total of 7148 people in New South Wales appears to be incorrect. The sum of each of the categories in the Statement gives a total of 7126 people in New South Wales.

The population statistics recorded in the General Statement can be compared with the entries recorded in the General Muster. The General Muster manuscript records 4880 entries. These entries do not include children, men employed in the military, or the top echelon of the civil department. As the General Statement includes 1799 children and 481 military men in the corrected population total of 7126, this indicates that the adult non-military population of New South Wales, as recorded in the General Statement, was 4846. This figure is comparable with the number of entries recorded in the General Muster.

The entries in the General Muster can be divided into groups of free people, ex-convicts and convicts, by combining the various categories listed in the "Condition" column. The information was not broken-down into male and female categories, as the male sections included female entries, and the female sections had some entries that used male given name abbreviations. The following table records the population distribution:

Free People	472	10%
Ex-Convicts	1938	40%
Convicts	2223	45%
No Condition listed	247	5%
Total	4880	100%

This table shows that almost all of the people living in New South Wales were serving convicts or ex-convicts. These groups comprised more than 85% of the population in 1806.

Of those without a "condition" most would have been convicts or ex-convicts. A large proportion of these people were employed at sea in the sealing industry.

New South Wales Land and Stock Muster - 1806

The following table records details of land and stock, as collected at the Land and Stock Muster in August 1806.

see Table on page xvii of volume.

Marsden's Female Muster 1806

The facsimile table reproduced at the top of p.xviii was recorded at the end of Marsden's Female Muster.

Similar information has been included in the *Historical Records of New South Wales,* and entitled: "A Statement of the Married and Unmarried Women, with the number of their Children, in New South Wales, August, 1806". This information has also been reproduced on p.xviii. The first nine categories record totals for the various categories of women and children. Against these entries, the totals abstracted from the actual entries in the Muster have been recorded.

Numerical errors were frequently recorded in early statistical abstractions, probably as these rarely appear to have been checked. Marsden was probably guilty of the same omission. Differences in the statistics for female natural children are obviously the result of the 41 female orphans listed in the table above, but not included in the entries contained in the Muster volume.

	HRA	**Muster**
Wives	395	396
Unmarried [see Note below] and concubines	1035	1033
Total number of women	1430	1429
Male children (legitimate)	429	429

Female children (legitimate)	378	378
Total number of legitimate children	807	807
Male national *(sic)* children	513	514
Female national *(sic)* children	512	474
Total number of national *(sic)* children	1025	988
Number of free women married in NSW or England	177	
Number of children belonging to them	468	
Number of convict women married in NSW or England	125	
Number of children belonging to them	339	
Number of convict women married and unmarried who have children	587	
Number of children belonging to them	1364	
Number of convict women who have no children	642	

Note by Governor King - "Very few of the unmarried but who cohabit openly with one man."

Inconsistencies and Difficulties

In the collection of musters, factual errors inevitably occur. Some would be the result of hazy recollection, some the result of a deliberate attempt to mislead and some mistakes on behalf of the clerk. To preserve the integrity of the original documents, these mistakes have not been corrected in the main text. The corrections for a few major errors have been recorded in Appendix 1.

As this volume consists of four separate Musters, inconsistencies and difficulties tend to be specific to each one. As such, problem areas have been discussed in the pages introducing each Muster in the main text.

Research Value

The publication of the three Musters for the year 1806 in the one volume, and in the order in which the entries were originally recorded, probably constitutes the most valuable role of this publication. By recognising that the entries recorded in the Land and Stock Muster were listed in the same order as the entries for land and stock holders in the General Muster, and that the entries recorded in Marsden's Female Muster were listed in the same order as the entries for females recorded in the General Muster, the information recorded in each individual Muster is supplemented by the information contained in the other Musters. In this way, a more complete picture is available of the individuals living in New South Wales in the year 1806.

In addition, by publishing the Norfolk Island Muster for 1805 in the same volume, the details of nearly 1000 additional people are included. As most of these people originally arrived in New South Wales or were born in the colony, yet would not be recorded in the New South Wales Musters, the inclusion of these entries complements the entries recorded in the New South Wales Musters for 1806. Inevitably, due to the 18 months difference between the recording of the Musters, some people would have travelled from Norfolk Island to the mainland during this period, and therefore would have been recorded twice, while others would have travelled from the mainland to Norfolk Island, and therefore would have been omitted from both Musters. However, the majority of people living in both settlements would be included in this volume.

It is a disappointment that no muster is available for the settlers in Van Diemen's Land at this time. The existence and publication of such a muster would have made this publication a complete listing of all those living in the various European settlements.

Each of the individual Musters record valuable information. The General Muster records details of occupations, employers, relationships, residences, land acquisitions and acreages, and so on. The information regarding relationships is particularly important. As the first complete Muster to have survived for the colony, this Muster often provides the only surviving reference to a relationship. The failure of so many of the early colonists to marry their partners, often leads to great difficulties in determining the identity of the partners. The reference to partners in many of the female entries, and the inclusion of these names in the Index, means that information concerning relationships is readily accessible.

The Land and Stock Muster provides details of land, stock and crops, and of the people living or working on the land. Perhaps the most valuable information contained in this Muster is the information concerning land acquisition. In the early days of settlement land was bought and sold, rented and relinquished, without any official documentation. This often makes it difficult to discover details of land transactions. In the Land and Stock Muster, details of land acquisitions were often recorded. Entries variously record that the land was obtained by grant, lease, purchase, rent and so on. In fact, for 246 entries or 38% of the entries in the Muster, details are recorded of the person from whom the land was acquired. This is of tremendous value in tracing the acquisition and disposal of land in the early years of the colony.

Marsden's Female Muster records details of the relationships and children of the females living in New South Wales. Although containing many inconsistencies and errors, this Muster provides a valuable reference to marriages, and to the countries in which the marriages were performed. As some of the early colonial parish registers were poorly maintained or have not survived, this Muster may provide the only reference to a marriage performed in the colony. Similarly, this Muster may provide the only reference to a woman's children, as many children in the colony were not baptised, or if baptised, no record of the ceremony has survived.

The Norfolk Island Muster 1805 lists all those resident in the settlement in February 1805. Unlike the annual general musters recorded in New South Wales, this Muster includes entries for officials, members of the military, and children, making it a complete listing of inhabitants. However, it does not record the original ship of arrival in the colony, a very useful piece of information recorded in the general musters of New South Wales.

The Musters for the year 1806 are also valuable in that they record information about some of the children born in the first five years of settlement. At this time, teenagers attained the status of 'adult" at about 14 years of age. As such, they were recorded individually in musters, rather than being numbered within a parent's entry. As the colony was settled only eighteen years prior to the collection of the 1806 Musters,

these are the first extant Musters to record colonial-born children. More details about the colonial-born are found in Appendix 4.

Unusual and Interesting Entries

A number of industries active at this period are reflected in occupations listed in the General Muster. Two of the most important were the boat building and sealing operations. Occupations in the Muster record boat builders, shipwrights, caulkers, sailmakers and men employed in the dockyard, as well as those employed on boats, such as boatmen, boat crews, coxswains, mates, pilots, sailors and seamen. The sealing industry also employed a lot of men; the General Muster records that over 140 men were sealing at the time of the Muster.

The clothing industry was another important area of employment. In New South Wales there were nineteen tailors, two sempstresses, and one mantua maker, needle woman, stockingmaker, stockingweaver, and milliner. In addition, 36 shoemakers were working in the colony. Apparently shoes wore out more quickly than clothing.

The occupations necessary for the control of a convict-based community are also recorded in the Musters; these included floggers and flagellators, executioners and hangmen.

The Land and Stock Muster records 18 female land and stock holders, comprising less than 3% of the total number recorded in this Muster. The largest of these female landholders was Ann Trotter (B0616) who possessed 260 acres through purchase and lease. She employed one assigned convict and three free men on the land, most of which was in pasture, and had one horse and 20 hogs. Her family consisted of herself and five children, all victualled by the government.

The largest landholder listed in the Muster was Gregory Blaxland who had been in the colony for only a few months (B0650). He possessed 2000 acres, all in pasture. He owned 2 horses, 67 horned cattle, 12 sheep and 7 hogs, and employed 15 convicts and 2 free men.

Simeon Lord employed the largest number of free men - 300 (B0640). The Muster records that they were "for the whole concern". Andrew Thompson (B0645) employed 30 convicts and 94 free men.

The landholder listed with the largest number of children living on his land was Henry Kable (B0617). According to the Muster, he had nine children living in his family in 1806.

The woman with the largest number of children listed in Marsden's Female Muster was Olive Lucas (C0784). Marsden records that she had six male and four female legitimate children, and that she was married in England and had arrived free. In fact, Olive had arrived as a convict on the First Fleet (Olivia Gascoigne) and was definitely not married in England. She may have been married on Norfolk Island,

however no trace of a marriage has survived. The numbers and sex of her children in 1806 were correct.

Two women were listed in Marsden's Female Muster as caring for other people's children. Bridget Tyrrell (C1294) of the *Rolla* was looking after the two legitimate children of Pat Farrell. The Muster records that their mother had died. Mrs Atkins (C0030), who had arrived on the *Atlas,* was caring for four natural children; no details of their parentage were recorded.

The Norfolk Island Muster records the status of each individual in the Muster, information that helps determine the status of the individual upon arrival in the colony. Those recorded as "Convict" or "Sentence Expired" generally arrived in the colony as convicts. Of great value is the information regarding those who did not arrive as convicts. Some entries record "Settler from Marine" or "Free Woman" and so on. The former indicates that he arrived as a marine and the latter either that she arrived as a free passenger or was born in the colony. As few records have survived recording free passengers, ship's crew and military, this information may provide the only surviving reference to the nature of a person's arrival in the colony.

Explanatory Notes

Editing parameters

The aim of the ABGR Project in entering these Musters onto computer is to use the information in each entry to generate biographies, and to retain the original structure of the Musters for reproduction in a publication.

In publishing these Musters, the main aims are:

a) To reproduce an accurate copy of the General Muster of NSW 1806, as recorded in the Public Record Office, London volume (Ref. HO 10/37);

b) To reproduce an accurate copy of the Land and Stock Muster of NSW 1806, as recorded in the Public Record Office, London volume (Ref. HO 10/37):

c) To reproduce an accurate copy of Marsden's Female Muster 1806, as recorded in the Mitchell Library manuscript (Ref. MSS 18);

d) To reproduce an accurate copy of the Norfolk Island Muster 1805, as recorded in the Archives Office of New South Wales manuscript (Ref. 4/1167A);

e) To print the information in a single line entry format in a single volume:

f) To produce a cross-reference index including every person named in the Muster; and

g) To reproduce the same information on magnetic tape for phototypesetting, academic research and other purposes.

It is clear that the Musters contain a number of errors, however in order to retain the integrity of the original document these have not been corrected.

Each entry has been allocated an exclusive reference number to aid in identification. Reference numbers starting with an "A" refer to entries contained in the General Muster of New South Wales 1806, with a "B" to the Land and Stock Muster of New South Wales 1806, with a "C" to Marsden's Female Muster 1806, and with a "D" to the Norfolk Island Muster 1805.

Method of checking

Staff and volunteers input the Musters onto computer, and undertook the initial checking and correction procedures. The Editor then checked all of the Musters and made the final corrections onto computer.

The female entries in the General Muster were also checked against their corresponding entries in Marsden's Female Muster, and the landholder entries in the General Muster were checked against their corresponding entries in the Land and Stock Muster.

Editing changes have been recorded in the introduction to each Muster in the main text.

Notes on the General Muster of New South Wales 1806
Notes on each field in the Muster have been described at the start of the Muster on page 3.

Notes on the Land and Stock Muster of New South Wales 1806 Notes on each field have been described at the start of the Muster on page 119.

Notes on Marsden's Female Muster 1806
Notes on each field have been described at the start of the Muster on page 146.

Notes on the Norfolk Island Muster 1805
Notes on each field have been described at the start of the Muster on page 183.

Notes on the Index
The Index includes a reference to every person recorded in the Musters. Notes on its contents can be found at the start of the Index on page 205.

Notes on Appendix 1: Corrected Information
This Appendix records corrections to some errors located in the Musters.

Notes on Appendix 2: Occupation/Organisation Listing

This Appendix lists the occupations and organisations mentioned in the Musters by reference number to aid in locating the entries. A tabulation of the total numbers engaged in each category is included.

Notes on Appendix 3: 1 of 5 Women
This Appendix reproduces an article written by Bob Pauling and published in the Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record *Newsletter.* The article discusses the significance of the phrase "1 of 5' that was recorded against the entries for a number of women in the General Muster.

Notes on Appendix 4: Colonial-Born
Appendix 4 deals with those recorded as colonial-born in the General Muster and in Marsden's Female Muster.

Abbreviations

General Muster of NSW 1806

Condition
AP   - Absolute Pardon
CE   - Conditional Emancipation?
CF   - Came Free
EC   - Emancipated Convict?
F   - Free
FBS   - Free by Servitude
FP   - Full Pardon
FS   - Free by Servitude?
P   - Prisoner
SP   - Special Pardon?
TL   - Ticket of Leave
          - See page 5

Land and Stock Muster of New South Wales 1806

Crops
R   - Rods

Marsden's Female Muster 1806

Marital Status
C   - Concubine
M   - Married
W   - Wife

Where Married
E   - England
GB   - Great Britain
NI   - Norfolk Island
NSW   - New South Wales

Index
Type
A   - Alias

O   - Other (possibly corrected) name
S   - Subject
X   - Other person named

General
See Appendix 1

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General Muster of New South Wales 1806

The extant Muster volume includes the following fields: Name, Ship, When & Where
Convicted, Sentence, On or Off [Stores), How Employed, Condition, and Remarks.
Information was recorded in all fields except for those headed "When & Where
Convicted", "Sentence" and "On or Off". It seems likely that information was recorded
in these fields in the original Muster books, but not copied into the extant
alphabetised volume.

The field "Condition" has been reproduced in the main text before the field "How
Employed because of the difficulties involved in reproducing the "How Employed

and "Remarks" fields. In entering the General Muster onto computer, the aim was to use the information for database as well as reproduction purposes. The columns "How Employed" and "Remarks" were inconsistent in the type of information they included, as both recorded occupations, employers, partners, land, residence and so on. For database purposes consistency was essential, so these headings were ignored and the information was entered onto computer using a number of different fields each designed to record a specific type of information. In reproducing the Muster in the main text, the information contained in all of these fields was joined together and recorded in the one column, headed "How Employed/With Whom Lives (Females)". Problems inherent in using this one field to reproduce the information originally recorded in two fields have been described in the field description below.

The extant Muster volume is divided into alphabetical sections. Entries were recorded in a loosely alphabetical order based on the first letter of the surname, with male entries preceding female entries. Occasionally errors occurred, and male entries were recorded in the female section, and female entries in the male section. For example, Jane Black of the *William Pitt* was recorded in the male section (A0196) as a labourer and indented to Daniel McCullam. She was a convict who was living with or housekeeper to Daniel McCullam (the two conditions were generally synonymous).

Land and stock holders were mustered as a group irrespective of sex, with the result that some of the female landholders were recorded in the male section. For example, Mary Pitt of the *Canada* was recorded in the male section (A3461) immediately after her husband, Thomas Pitt.

Occasionally entries listed in the female section appear to refer to males, as male given name abbreviations were used. For example, the female section contains an entry for Matthew Jones alias Eaton (A2384). In the extant volume the given name was recorded as "Mattw", the customary abbreviation for "Matthew". This abbreviation was extended to "Matthew", even though it is known that the entry referred to Martha Jones alias Eaton. In these instances, an asterisk is noted in the "Remarks" column, and the given name recorded in Marsden's Female Muster is listed in Appendix 1.

In editing the female entries, those recorded in the General Muster were checked against those found in Marsden's Female Muster as the sequence of entries match. The comparison between these entries highlights the fact that some of the ships of arrival and given names were recorded incorrectly in the extant volume of the General Muster. This is discussed in greater detail in the "Method of Collection". To ensure that users are aware of this fact, and to aid in the location of entries, an asterisk has been noted in the Remarks column for these entries, and the ship name or given name from the corresponding entry in Marsden's Female Muster noted in Appendix 1.

A list of each field contained in the main text is recorded below, along with a description of its contents.

1. Reference Number. The reference number was allocated by the computer to enable the retention of the original sequence of entries after sorting, and to link entries in the Index with those in the main text.

2. Names. Titles and other descriptive details have been standardized. Abbreviated given names have been extended to their full form. Surnames have been transcribed as recorded in the original manuscript. Aliases have been included in this field where possible, however

space limitations have occasionally prevented this, in which case they are recorded in the Remarks column.

3. Ship. This field generally records the ship of arrival in the colony. Spellings of ship names have been standardized where possible. Voyage numbers were generally recorded before the ship name in the original document (eg. 2nd *Royal Admiral),* however these have been placed after the ship name in the main text for standardization and sorting purposes (eg. *Royal Admiral* 2). Instead of a voyage number, the surname of the ship's master was occasionally included where multiple voyages were involved; these names have been recorded in brackets after the ship name, (eg. *Britannia* (Dennett)). The spelling of the masters' surnames have also been standardized. Occasionally an initial was used for the master's surname instead of the full surname; for ease of comprehension the complete surname has been recorded.

For the 26 people included in the Muster who were listed as having been born in the colony, the place of birth was recorded instead of the ship of arrival. Some of the entries were recorded as "Born Here", "Born NSW", or "Born Norfolk Island", while others merely recorded "NSW" or "Norfolk Island". For the latter, "Born" was added to ensure that the place name was not mistaken for a ship name.

4. Condition. This field records the status of the person mustered. The following abbreviations have been used.

    AP   - Absolute Pardon
    CE   - Conditional Emancipation?
    CF   - Came Free
    EC   - Emancipated Convict?
    F   - Free
    FBS   - Free by Servitude
    FP   - Full Pardon
    FS   - Free by Servitude?
    P   - Prisoner
    SP   - Special Pardon?
    TL   - Ticket of Leave

The information "Ticket" or "Ticket of Leave" was occasionally recorded in the "How Employed" field. This information was transcribed as "TL" and included in this field for standardization purposes.

5. How Employed/With Whom Lives (Females). This field includes the information recorded in two fields in the extant Muster volume, namely the fields "How Employed" and "Remarks".

As described earlier, the method of recording information in these fields was inconsistent, producing considerable inputting and editing difficulties. The two entries below exemplify the lack of consistency of information recorded in each field:

	How Employed	Remarks
A0426	Lumber Yard	Sydney Carpenter
A0427	Carpenter	Lumber Yard Sydney

As a result of the method used to input this information, both entries in the main text now read: "Carpenter Lumber Yard Sydney".

In the original manuscript, the headings "How Employed" and "Remarks" were consistent for male entries, however for female entries the headings were inconsistent. For the letter "A", the female entries occurred immediately after the male entries without new headings. in the "How Employed" field, the clerks wrote "Wife of", "Lives with" or "Housekeeper of", and so on, and in the "Remarks" field recorded the name of the partner or employer. For the letter "B", the female entries started at the top of a new page. The "How Employed" column remained with that heading and recorded occupations and ticket of leave information. However, the "Remarks" column was renamed "With whom lives" and contained partner/ employer information, and so on. The latter method was the one generally used to record this information in the female sections of the Muster.

Within each alphabetical group of female entries, the method of recording the "employment" information was also inconsistent. For the women living in Parramatta and Castle Hill, the occupation, partner or employer was recorded in the "How Employed" field, and "Parramatta" or "Castle Hill" was listed in the field headed "With whom lives".

These inconsistencies created reproduction difficulties. In addition, it was not always clear as to whether the person listed in these columns was a partner or employer, or even a landlord. (In fact, with the concubinage system active at the time, most were probably both employer and partner.) To produce a more consistent layout, this information was reproduced in one field in the main text. Generally the person named in this field was recorded in the field headed "With Whom Lives" in the manuscript, so the heading "/With Whom Lives (Females)" in the main text is appropriate.

Occasionally a person named in this field was recorded in the "How Employed" field in the manuscript. To indicate that this person was an employer, a hatch symbol has been noted next to the employer's name in the main text. However, for Parramatta and Castle Hill entries all information other than the place name was recorded in the "How Employed" field. As such, the positioning of this information did not necessarily denote that the person named therein was an employer. In fact, these people generally would have been partners, so it would be misleading to suggest that they

were employers. As such, these entries have not been appended with a hatch, although inevitably for some of these entries the person named would have been an employer.

The phrase "1 of 5" is listed against a number of women. This signified that the woman was one of the five with permission to be attached to a company of soldiers. For a more thorough description, see Appendix 3.

In the extant muster volume, a number of entries list "Wife" in the field "How Employed" and a name in the field "Remarks". This name generally refers to the husband, however occasionally it refers to a landlord. For example, the entry for Elizabeth Rose (A3833) records "Wife", then "Elizabeth Selwyn". The latter would appear to be her landlord, and in fact appears in that capacity in a number of entries.

Occasionally entries contained two names in this field. In these instances the first named is generally the employer, and the second named, the partner or landlord. For example, the entry for Johanna Hick (A2180) lists "Captain Rowley" in the field "How Employed", and "Elizabeth Selwyn" in the field "With Whom Lives". The entry for Elizabeth Riley (A3832) lists "Captain Rowley in the field "How Employed" and "Thomas Rose, Baker" in the field "With Whom Lives". When these two fields are combined, the "How Employed" and "With Whom Lives" distinction is lost, so it is important to note that when two names are recorded in this field, the first is the employer and the second the partner or landlord.

Where a place name is recorded, confusion sometimes arises. For the landholders entries, many entries record the following type of information:
    A0022   Rents 30ac Mintz Nepean
    A0030   Purchase 130ac Benn Hawkesbury
"Mintz" and "Benn" are the people from whom the land was rented or purchased.

In some instances place names such as "Creek" has been used. Occasionally these occur on their own; on other occasions they are preceded by a name. In most instances the entries are treated in a similar manner to those above, with the preceding name considered to be a person's name, and included in the Index. However, it is possible that in some of these instances the word considered to be a surname was in fact part of the place name.

The term "Ux" is found in some of the entries. This is from the Latin *uxor* meaning "wife". The word "Self" indicates that the person was self employed; in female entries, it probably indicated that the woman was living by herself.

6. Remarks. This field generally contains information that could not be included in the appropriate field due to space limitations. The main examples are aliases and additional comments from field 5.

Land and Stock Muster of New South Wales 1806

The Land and Stock Muster of New South Wales 1806 was recorded to provide details of the amount of land alienated, the number of acres sown with particular

crops, the bushels in hand of previous crops, the number and type of livestock owned by individuals, details of the people living on the land, and whether they were supported by the land or victualled by the government, the number of convicts assigned to each landholder, the number of free men employed, and so on. This information was vital to the commissary to assist in determining the colony's ability to support itself.

In the extant Land and Stock Muster volume, the entries were organised into divisions based on the acreage of the land, as follows: "Up to and including 30 Acres", "From 30 to 50 Acres", "From 50 to 100 Acres", "From 100 to 200 Acres", "From 200 to 300 Acres", and "From 300 Acres and Upwards". Within each section, the entries were recorded randomly, without any alphabetical arrangement or sequence based on the size of the land.

It is clear that the extant Land and Stock Muster volume is not the original volume, as the original entries appear to have been recorded without these divisions. This is suggested by a comparison between the arrangement of land and stock holder entries in the General Muster and the arrangement of the corresponding entries in the Land and Stock Muster, as shown below.

The following table names a group of land and stock holders consecutively listed in the General Muster. The reference number of the corresponding entries in the Land and Stock Muster, shows the location of these entries. Those entries without a reference to the size of the land were recorded in the acreage division entitled "Under 30 acres".

General Muster	Land & Stock Muster			
A0197	David Bevan	B0001		
A0198	Samuel Breakwell	B0534	150ac	
A0199	James Bradley	B0016		
A0200	Stephen Burne	B0389	55ac	(Burr)
A0201	Charles Burwick	B0026		(Berwick)
A0202	Michael Broadherring	B0030		
A0203	David Browne	B0537	126ac	(Brown)
A0204	William Blake	B0401	100ac	
A0205	William Blower	B0065		
A0206	Edward Burnet	B0073		(Bennet)
A0207	John Bishop	B0077		
A0208	John Bagley	B0080		
A0209	Paul Bushel	B0082		
A0210	James Bradley	B0083		
A021 1	William Baxter	B0090		

Taking into consideration the fact that the entries in the General Muster were recorded in a loose alphabetical order based on the first letter of the surname, while the entries in the Land and Stock Muster had no alphabetical arrangement, the order in which the entries were listed is almost identical. The only entries out of sequence are those marked with an asterisk, and it is obvious that these all recorded larger acreages. In fact, within their own acreage divisions, the sequence is again identical.

This shows that the entries contained in the extant volume of the Land and Stock Muster were copied from the original Land and Stock Muster Books and, in the process, grouped into acreage divisions.

The relationship between the arrangement of the entries in these two Musters makes the Land and Stock Muster all the more useful. When a common name is being researched, the corresponding entry in the General Muster can be located to help establish the person's identity.

In editing the Muster, the entries were compared with those listed in the General Muster, to ensure accuracy. One error that was noticed was the inversion of some of the information contained in the entries for Joseph Marshall (B0307) and James Seakins (B0308). For these two entries, the information contained in the fields from livestock onwards was recorded against the other landholder in the original document. An asterisk has been noted in the Remarks column, and the corrected information noted in Appendix 1.

Where the symbol "R" was recorded in the various crop columns, this denotes 'Rods". A list of each field contained in the main text is recorded below, along with a description of its contents.

1. Reference Number. The reference number was allocated by the computer to enable the retention of the original sequence of entries after sorting, and to link entries in the Index with those in the main text.

2. Names. Titles and other descriptive details have been standardized. Abbreviated given names have been extended to their full form. Surnames have been transcribed as recorded in the original manuscript.

3. Wheat. Acreage of crops.
4. Maize. Acreage of crops.
5. Barley. Acreage of crops.
6. Oats. Acreage of crops.
7. Peas or Beans. Acreage of crops.
8. Potatoes. Acreage of crops.
9. Orchard and Garden. Recorded in acres.
10. Pasture. Recorded in acres.
11. Fallow. Recorded in acres.
12. Total Acres. Total amount of land possessed by landholder.
13. Horses - Male.
14. Horses - Female.
15. Horned Cattle - Bulls.
16. Horned Cattle - Cows.
17. Horned Cattle - Oxen.
18. Sheep - Male.
19. Sheep - Female.
20. Goats - Male.
21. Goats - Female.
22. Hogs - Male.

23. Hogs - Female.
24. Bushels in hand of Wheat.
25. Bushels in hand of Malze.
26. Bushels in hand of Barley.

27. Proprietor - **Victualled by Government.** This field records the number of proprietors on the land who were supplied with rations from the government. Multiple numbers indicate joint ownership or tenancy, and these entries are usually bracketed to the appropriate entries following.

28. Proprietor - **Not Victualled by Government.** This field records the number of proprietors of the land who were self-supporting. Multiple numbers indicate joint ownership or tenancy, and these entries are usually bracketed to the appropriate entries following.

29. Wife - **Victualled by Government.** This field records the number of women living on the land, who had the role of a wife, It covers legal wives, housekeepers and mistresses. These women were supplied with rations from the government.

30. Wife - **Not Victualled by Government.** This field records the number of women living on the land, who were supported by the land, rather than by the government, It includes legal wives, housekeepers and mistresses.

31. Children - **Victualled by Government.** This field records the number of children living on the land. These children were not necessarily the children of the proprietor, or even of his "wife"; the field covers any children living on the land, who were supplied with rations from the government.

32. Children - **Not Victualled by Government.** This field records any children living on the land, who were supported by the land, rather than by the government. These children were not necessarily the children of the proprietor, or even of his "wife".

33. Convicts - **Victualled by Government.** This field records the number of convicts assigned to the proprietor who were supplied with rations from the government.

34. Convicts - **Not Victualled by Government.** This field records the number of convicts assigned to the proprietor who were supported by the proprietor, rather than by the government.

35. **Free Men Employed**. This field records the number of free men employed on the land by the proprietor.

36. **Remarks**. This field primarily records details of the land, such as how it was acquired, who from, and where it was situated. Occupations such as "Soldier" are occasionally listed.

In editing this field, difficulties sometimes arose in the interpretation of "ditto" symbols. in a number of entries it was difficult to determine the amount of information in the previous entry that was being "dittoed". In order to clarify this, the entries were

cross-checked with the corresponding entries in the General Muster where possible and interpreted accordingly.

In the majority of instances, no punctuation was recorded in this field. Punctuations was sometimes included in the main text for easier comprehension.
When an asterisk is noted, it means that comments are contained in Appendix 1.

Marsden's Female Muster 1806

The information contained in the Rev. Samuel Marsden's Female Muster was recorded to document the immorality of the population, through the numbers of concubines and illegitimate children in the colony.

The Muster lists the names of the women in the colony, and adds details of their marital status and the numbers of legitimate and illegitimate children living with them. The entries are arranged in the same sequence as those found in the General Muster of New South Wales 1806, indicating that the information was extracted from the General Muster entries. A few additional entries were added by Marsden for women omitted from the General Muster.

To indicate marital status, Marsden noted one of the following: "M" for Married (383 entries), "W" for Wife (8 entries), or "C" for Concubine (1016 entries). For 22 entries this space was left blank. The distinction between "M" and "W" is not known. At first it appeared that "W" may have signified "Widow", however as the group of women with "W" as their marital status included Mrs Hassall and Barbara Hillas, whose husbands definitely were alive in 1806, this interpretation is obviously incorrect. As the column in which this information was recorded was headed 'W or C" (Wife or Concubine) in the original document, yet 'W" was noted in only eight instances, it seems likely that "W" and 'M" were interchangeable. In the following description of the Muster, references to "M" and "Married" include the entries in which "W" was recorded.

The 22 "blank" entries suggest that the woman was neither wife nor concubine. Four of these entries can be discounted, as the "Remarks" column notes that three were married, and that one was at the Orphan School. For the other eighteen entries, the following table groups these women into arrival status categories, and compares these figures with those for the total population of women recorded in the Muster.

	No Partner		Total Population	
"Born Here/NSW/NI"	7	38.89%	18	100%
%	38.89%		1.26%	
"Came Free"	8	3.65%	219	100%
%	44.44%		15.33%	
Convict Arrival	3	.25%	1192	100%
%	16.67%		83.41%	
Total	**18**	**1429**	**100%**	
%	**100.00%**	**100.00%**		

This table shows that a large proportion of the unattached women were born in the colony. That these women were unattached is understandable, as they would have been no older than 18 years of age.

The table also shows that a disproportionately large number of unattached women had arrived as free people, when compared with those who had arrived as convicts. Nearly three times as many "free" women were unattached as were "convict" women, when compared with a population distribution of more than five times as many "convict" women as "free" women. When it is seen that only .25% of the "convict" women were unattached, it appears likely that this reflects a bias against these women, rather than an accurate assessment of the marital status of the "convict" population.

In order to examine Marsden's interpretation of "Married" and "Concubine", an analysis was made of all the entries for women recorded as arriving on the *Indispensable* transport. Of the 82 *Indispensable* women listed in Marsden's Female Muster, 62 were classified as concubines, and 20 as married. A comparison between Marsden's classifications and information contained in the General muster of New South Wales 1806 and the parish registers, produces the following tables:

For Married Women:

Partner listed in General Muster - Marriage record located	18
Partner listed in General Muster - No marriage record located	1
No partner listed in General Muster - No marriage record located	1
Total	20

Although for most of the 'married' women, marriage records have been located, for two such entries this was not the case. No trace of a marriage has been found for one entry, indicating either that the marriage record has been lost or that the couple were cohabiting, rather than married. For the other entry, the General Muster simply records "Wife", and no trace of a marriage or partner's name has been located.

For Concubines:

Partner listed in General Muster - No marriage record located	53
Partner listed in General Muster - Marriage record located	4
Occupation listed in General Muster	4
Employer listed in General Muster	1
Total	62

This information indicates that of Marsden's 62 "concubines", four were married to their partners, and should have been classified as wives. Of the remaining 58 "concubines", only 53 had partners listed in the General Muster. As the General Muster does not clearly define the nature of the relationships with these "partners", it is possible that some of the partners were employers or landlords, and that the relationships were platonic. However, when a "partner" was listed in the General Muster, Marsden recorded the woman as either a wife or a concubine.

Of the other five women who were recorded as "concubines", one was listed with an employer (Mr Wentworth), two were listed with occupations (mantua maker and

sempstress), and two had the word "self" noted in this column (meaning either self-employed, or living by self). It is possible that some of these women were wives or concubines, however as this information was not supplied in the extant volume of the General Muster, it seems likely that they did not have partners. As such, the earlier suggestion of a bias against "convict" arrivals appears accurate. Marsden appears to have considered that if a woman who had arrived as a convict was not married, then she must have been a concubine.

Interestingly enough, the extant volume of the General Muster does not generally distinguish between relationships of marriage or co-habitation. Occasionally, 'Wife" or "Ux" is recorded in the entries for married women, and sometimes these women were listed under their married surnames. However for the majority of entries for both wives and concubines, the women were recorded under the surname used at the time of arrival in the colony, and no information regarding marital status was recorded in the extant Muster volume. This raises the question as to how the marital status was determined. Two possibilities can be queried:

a. That the original Muster Books contained details of marital status which were not copied into the extant Muster volume; or
b. That Marsden checked the parish registers to determine marital status.

As the latter would have been a long and arduous process, it seems more likely that the former occurred. Therefore, this suggests that Marsden's interpretation of marital status must have been largely dependent upon the way in which the information was recorded in the original General Muster Books, with the probable addition of some personal discrimination.

In the Female Muster, Marsden also provides information concerning the number, sex and legitimacy of children. A number of inconsistencies and errors occur in this information, and are discussed below.

For the majority of entries in the Muster, the legitimacy of the children generally relates to the legality of the mother's marital relationship. As such, the children of "Concubines" were generally numbered in the columns headed "Natural", while the children of "Married" women were generally numbered in the columns headed "Legitimate".

When an error was made in the classification of the mother's marital status, in general errors were also made in the classification of the children's legitimacy. For example, Mary Boucher from the *Indispensable* was recorded as a concubine with three natural children in Marsden's

Female Muster (CO114). Her partner is listed in the General Muster as Thomas Sanders (A0568). In fact, Mary had married Thomas Saunders in 1796 and these "natural' children were their legitimate children.

Occasionally, entries are found in the Muster recording "concubines" with "legitimate" children and 'married" women with "natural" children. Sometimes these entries correctly reported the status of both the mother and the children. The entry for

"concubine" Elizabeth Raynor, discussed below, correctly records her child as "legitimate". Elizabeth Allen was a wife in 1806 with two natural children, as Marsden correctly recorded (C0003). Prior to her marriage to John Bolger, she was the mistress of surveyor Charles Grimes, and the mother of his two children.

Sometimes the mother's marital status was recorded incorrectly while the children were classified correctly. For example, Elizabeth Powell was recorded as a concubine in Marsden's Female Muster, with six legitimate children (C0985). Elizabeth Powell was not a concubine; she was the wife of Edward Powell, as the General Muster correctly recorded (A3456), and together they had a large family of legitimate children.

Conversely, Elizabeth Burleigh was recorded in Marsden's Female Muster as a wife who was married in New South Wales, with five natural children (C0143). The General Muster records her as the wife of Mr Arndell (A0596). In fact, this couple were not married at this time and therefore the children were correctly reported as "natural". Apparently Elizabeth Burleigh and Thomas Arndell were married by Rev. Marsden in Windsor in 1807. As such Elizabeth's marital status was recorded incorrectly. However, this "error" may have been deliberate; Mr Arndell was an important man!

Sometimes the mother's marital status was recorded correctly and the children were recorded incorrectly. For example, Sarah Syms of the *Indispensable* was listed in Marsden's Female Muster as married in New South Wales, with two natural daughters (C1118). The General Muster records her partner as John Glade (A4162). In fact, Sarah Syms had arrived in April 1796 and married John Glade in March 1797. They had a daughter Elizabeth born in May 1797 and a daughter Sarah born between 1797 and 1806. Clearly, these two children were legitimate, not "natural".

For some entries, the Muster distinguishes between children born in wedlock and out of wedlock for the same woman. For example, Marsden recorded Elizabeth Raynor of the *Nile* as a concubine, with one female legitimate child and two male natural children (C1073). This information was correct. Elizabeth Raynor had arrived free on the *Nile* in 1801, with her husband Israel and, at least, two children, daughters Mina and Jemima. By 1806, she was living with Henry Baldwin and they had two sons. Elizabeth's daughter, Mina Rayner, was recorded separately in both the General Muster and Marsden's Female Muster, indicating that the legitimate child was Elizabeth's daughter, Jemima Raynor.

Sometimes the Muster does not distinguish between children born in wedlock and out of wedlock for the same woman. For example, Ann Archer was listed in the Muster as a concubine with three natural sons (C0020). In fact, Ann had married William Bailey in 1797 and they had two sons. By 1806, she was living with George Cox and they had one son. Her entry should have recorded that she was a concubine with two legitimate sons and one natural son.

Occasionally the numbers of children were interchanged. For example, Mrs Thompson, who was married in England and arrived on the *William Pitt,* was noted as having three sons and two daughters (C1295). In reality, her family consisted of

two sons and three daughters: Walter (c1796), Jane (c1798), Martha (c1800), Caroline (c1802) and William (c1805).

Regarding the "children", two points need to be made. Firstly, in the early years of the colony those denoted as "children" were generally considered to be under the age of 14 or 15 years. Those that were older were recorded as individual entries in the Muster.

Secondly, where a woman's entry records details of children, it is important to note that this information does not only refer to children born to the woman. It also includes children who were living as a part of the woman's family. For example, the entry for Alice Burrows of the *Indispensable* records that she was married in New South Wales and had two legitimate children, one male and one female (C0149). The General Muster records that she was the wife of M Lock (A0602). Research into the backgrounds of Alice Burrows and Matthew Lock, shows that the couple were married in 1797, and appear to have been childless. However, Matthew Lock was involved with one Elizabeth Graham, prior to his marriage, and the couple had three children, namely twins Elizabeth and Thomas (1794), and Mary (1795). As Elizabeth Graham

disappears from the records after this time, probably having died, and as Matthew Lock is recorded as having two children in 1800, this suggests that the children listed in Alice Burrows' entry were, in fact, her husband's children.

Clearly, Marsden's Female Muster includes a large number of inconsistencies and errors. If these are taken into consideration when using the Muster, it can provide a valuable source of information for the women of the early colony.

A list of each field contained in the main text is recorded below, along with a description of its contents.

1. Reference Number. The reference number was allocated by the computer to enable the retention of the original sequence of entries after sorting, and to link entries in the Index with those in the main text.

2. Ship. This field generally records the ship of arrival in the colony. Spellings of ship names have been standardized where possible. For ships arriving more than once, the voyage number was generally recorded. Occasionally, instead of a voyage number, the surname of the ship's master was recorded; these names have been recorded in brackets after the ship name, eg. *Britannia* (Dennett). The spelling of the masters' surnames have also been standardized. Sometimes an initial was used for the master's surname instead of the full surname; for ease of comprehension the complete surname has been recorded.

For those in the Muster who were recorded as having been born in the colony, the place of birth was listed instead of the ship of arrival. Some of the entries were recorded as "Born Here", "Born NSW", or "Born Norfolk Island", while others merely recorded "NSW" or "Norfolk Island". For the latter, "Born" was added to ensure that the place name was not mistaken for a ship name.

3. Names. Surnames have been transcribed as recorded in the original manuscript. Abbreviated given names have been extended to their full form. Titles and other descriptive details have been standardized and included in brackets after the name. Due to space limitations, aliases have been included in the Remarks field.

4. Wife or Concubine. This field records the marital status of the woman being mustered. Often it is subject to Marsden's interpretation. The abbreviations used by Marsden indicate the following:

        C   - Concubine
        M   - Married
        W   - Wife

5. Where Married. Places of marriage have been abbreviated by Marsden as follows:

        E   - England
        GB   - Great Britain
        NI   - Norfolk Island
        NSW - New South Wales

6. Legitimate Males. This field lists the number of legitimate male children who were living with the woman mustered.

7. Legitimate Females. This field lists the number of legitimate female children who were living with the woman mustered.

8. Natural Males. This field lists the number of illegitimate male children who were living with the woman mustered.

9. Natural Females. This field lists the number of illegitimate female children who were living with the woman mustered.

10. Remarks. This field contains additional information appearing in entries, (e.g. Came
Free), additional comments (eg. Daughter of Elizabeth Raynor), and aliases. "CF' for "Came Free" has been extended to its full form.
When an asterisk is noted, see Appendix 1.

Norfolk Island Muster 1805

For purposes of brevity, this document has been labelled the "Norfolk Island Muster 1805" in this publication. However, the original manuscript commences with the following heading:

   "A List of the Names of every Man, Woman and Child on and off the stores residing in His Majesty's Settlement at Norfolk Island - February, 1805".

The manuscript was divided into sections with a heading at the start of each section. Within each section were three fields, covering the sequence number, name and occupation of the person listed, as shown below:

Free Men on the Stores

1.	Thomas Cole	Government Apprentice
2.	Thomas Gibson	Government Apprentice

This format differed from those of the other Musters which contained all pertinent information in the one line. For computer typesetting purposes, and ease of use, one-line entries were required for this Muster as well. To achieve this, six fields have been used in the main text, namely Reference Number, Category, Stores, Name, Occupation and Remarks. The Reference Number is a sequence number for all entries and does not record the sectional sequence number used in the Muster. In addition, the heading has been transcribed into two fields: Category and Stores. As such, the above entries appear in the main text as follows:

Ref	Category	Stores	Name	Occupation
D0071	Free Man	On	Thomas Cole	Government Apprentice
D0071	Free Man	On	Thomas Gibson	Government Apprentice

A list of each field contained in the main text is recorded below, along with a description of its contents:

1. Reference Number. The reference number was allocated by the computer to enable the retention of the original sequence of entries after sorting, and to link entries in the Index with those in the main text.

2. Category. This field describes the status of those listed in the Muster, eg. NSW Corps, Settler from Marine, Woman from Sentence Expired, Child above 2 years, and so on.

3. Stores. References to "Stores" deal with victualling or the provision of food. Those marked as "On" were being victualled by the commissary, the government department dealing with the supply of rations. Those marked as 'Off' were self-supporting. As members of the civil and military departments (entries D0001-D0057) were always "On Stores", this information was not recorded in the original Muster volume.

4. Names. Abbreviated given names have been extended to their full form. Surnames have been transcribed as recorded in the original manuscript.

5. Occupation. This field deals primarily with the occupation of the person mustered. However, it also includes military ranks, nationalities (eg. An Otaheitian), and remarks on health (eg. Sick in Hospital). Abbreviations were extended; for example, "J.A. Clerk" was extended to "Judge Advocate's Clerk".

6. Remarks. This field records additional information found in the Muster (eg. Returns to Port Jackson), and comments made by the Editor (eg. Entry crossed out).

Occupations

The number of people working at specific occupations is shown in the following lists, which only include those occupations where a specific occupational term was used. It does not include entries where an employer was recorded (eg. Dockyard), nor other general descriptions (eg. Government Man). As such, it is not a comprehensive listing of the workforce; it is merely a listing of the specific occupational categories listed.

Where "Assistant" or other similar descriptions were recorded, the entries have been included in the numbers for the main occupational category. For example, Assistant Surgeon has been included with the Surgeon.

The first list records occupations noted in the General Muster of New South Wales 1806, while the second list records occupations noted in the Norfolk Island Muster 1805.

NSW Occupations 1806

Apprentice	10
Assistant	3
Baker	26
Barber/Hairdresser	3
Basket Maker	1
Bellman	1
Blacksmith	30
Boat Builder	4
Boatman/Boats Crew	35
Bookbinder	2
Botanist	2
Brass Founder	3
Brazier	1
Bricklayer	20
Brickmaker	9
Butcher	10
Carpenter	76
Caulker	1
Chairwoman	1
Charcoal Burner	4
Chimney Sweeper	1
Chymist & Distiller	1
Clerk	27
Clock Maker	1
Coach Maker	1
Coachman	1
Constable	30
Cook	3
Cooper	4
Coxswain	2
Cutler	1
Dealer	26

Draughtsman	2
Engineer	1
Engraver Jeweller &c	1
Executioner	2
Faller	2
Farmer	1
Fifer	1
Fisherman	14
Fishmonger	1
Flogger	1
Game Keeper	3
Gaoler	1
Gardener	10
Gimblet Maker	1
Grass Cutter	4
Grave Digger	1
Harness Maker	2
Housekeeper	157
Hut Keeper	1
Inn Keeper	1
Jeweller	1
Labourer	250
Landholder	87
Lawyer	1
Leaseholder	7
Lime Burner	6
Mantua Maker	1
Marine	1
Midwife	3
Miller	5
Milliner	1
Millwright	3
Miner	1
Nailor	7
Needle Woman	1
Nurse	12
Oakum Picker	9
Office Keeper	1
Overseer	10
Painter	5
Pilot	1
Pipe Maker	1
Plaisterer	5
Potter	3
Priest/Missionary	2
Printer	1
Pyeman	3
Ropemaker	5
Sailmaker	5

Sailor/Mate/Seaman	8
Salt Boiler	7
Sawyer	41
School Master	8
Sempstress	2
Servant - /Govt/Indented	52
Settler	229
Sexton	1
Shepherd	1
Shingle Splitter	6
Shipwright	6
Shoemaker	36
Sieve Maker	1
Smith	1
Soap Boiler	1
Soldier - Discharged/Cape/ Late/Reduced	11
Stableman	2
Stock/Stock Keeper/Stockman	55
Stocking Maker	1
Stocking Weaver	1
Stone Cutter	1
Stonemason	22
Surgeon - /Missionary/Indented	3
Tailor	19
Tanner	4
Thresher	2
Tinker	1
Town Clerk	1
Trader	2
Turner	2
Upholsterer	1
Vestry Clerk	1
Washerwoman	4
Watchmaker	1
Watchman	2
Wharfinger	1
Wheelwright	2
Whitesmith	1
Wood Cutter	3

Labourers constitute the largest occupational group in 1806, with 250 men employed in that capacity. Settlers and Landholders together reach a higher figure with 316 people involved in these activities.

Norfolk Island Occupations - 1805

Apprentice	2
Assistant	1

Baker	3
Barber	1
Beach Master	1
Bell Ringer	1
Blacksmith	7
Boat Builder	1
Boats Crew	7
Butcher	2
Carpenter	8
Chaplain	1
Charcoal/Charcoal Burner	6
Collector of Dutys	1
Constable	20
Cook	1
Cooper	1
Coxswain	1
Deputy Judge Advocate	1
Flagellater	1
Gardener	2
Glazier & Painter	1
Groom	1
Hangman	1
Harness Maker	1
Hut Keeper	1
Judge Advocate's Clerk	1
Labourer	78
Landholder	49
Mason	1
Milk Man	1
Miller	2
Overseer	11
Pilot	1
Priest	1
Provost Marshal	1
Public Clerk	1
Salt Boiler	5
Sawyer	8
School Master	2
Servant	29
Shepherd	2
Shingler	2
Shoemaker	2
Stock Keeper/Stockman	8
Store Keeper	1
Superintendant	1
Surgeon	2
Tailor	5
Tool Helver	1
Wheelwright	1

Labourers (78) and landholders (49) constitute the largest occupational groups in Norfolk Island in 1805.

Appendix 3

One of Five Women by Bob Pauling

An unusual description given to a total of 33 women in the New South Wales General Muster of 1806 was "1 of 5". This was entered in the column otherwise used for description of employment. A closer look at the entries for these particular women shows that almost all are married to, or at least living with, men of military title or otherwise identified as soldiers.

The probable source of the description "1 of 5" can be found in a General Order issued by the Governor. On 16 December 1801 Gov. Philip Gidley King wrote:

> Not more than 5 women are to be allowed to each company of the NSW Corps: the supporting of that number of women and their children at the public expense to be considered a great indulgence."

The cost of victualling the military must have been very high, particularly in the early years of the colony when a lot of the supplies needed were brought out from England. The Governor's order was probably an attempt to limit this cost in the Military Department. Figures compiled for 1800 show that up to 130 women and 230 children were being victualled by the military in that year.

On 13 November 1802 the original Order was followed up with an edict in respect of soldiers' children.

> "In addition to the five families to each company of the NSW Corps victualled from His Majesty's Stores at the public expense, as a further indulgence the Governor has directed the Commissary to give a ration (according to the age) to the eldest children of each family not victualled from the stores, where the number of children exceeds 2."

Further compassion was also shown in times of great need such as following the floods of 1806. The Report on the State of H.M. Settlement of NSW on 12 August 1806 noted:

> "Five women with their families are allowed to be victualled to each company of 74 soldiers and since the late scarcity a number of children belonging to the soldiers (who must otherwise have suffered greatly from actual want) have been necessarily victualled."

At the time of that report there were eight companies of soldiers in NSW and it might be expected that 40 women would be victualled although only 33 had the "1 of 5" description in the 1806 muster. In fact there were other women living with soldiers as shown by the muster and perhaps being victualled but these were convicts. It was

only the women who came free or were free by servitude who bore the "1 of 5" designation. In addition to the five women allowed to each company there were extra women attached to the senior officers as servants. The number of women and children actually victualled probably varied according to decisions made by the senior officers together with extra numbers taken on in times of great need. At 15 March 1806 a report shows that those victualled by the Military Department included 57 women and 181 children. By 12 August 1806, about the time of the 1806 muster, the numbers reported were 45 women and 194 children."

The system of victualling soldiers' families followed the procedure of the British Army at home. The general rule in England was six women to a hundred men and unlike today it was not unusual for them to accompany the army into active service. This happened up to the time of the Crimean War (1854-56) and back at least to the Restoration (1660) although during all of that time marriage was generally discouraged and little thought was given to the women. Prior to the 19th century all soldiers not on active service were lodged in local inns or other private dwellings and no allowance was made for the wives. Even when barracks became established there were few married quarters and as late as 1857 of the 251 military stations covered by the Commissioner's Report on Sanitary Conditions, only 20 provided separate quarters. In the remainder the women shared the quarters with the other married and single men.

When regiments were shipped overseas the six percent rule was meant to apply but in peacetime this was not always rigidly adhered to and if those regiments became involved in warfare they might find many of their women being shipped home. If the rule was strictly enforced before departure there were always more wives willing to share their husbands' lot in a campaign than the army regulations allowed. The general procedure then was for the women to draw lots as to which of them should be the favoured ones. Those who could not go were destined to a life of poverty and living on charity until the return of their men.

The practical effect of the six percent rule was to discourage marriage and, in addition, the authorities made specific orders in this sphere. Commanding officers were able to approve or otherwise the marriage of those under them and they generally followed the basis of six in 100. To enforce this in the Horse Guards their Commander-in-Chief, Viscount Hill, in 1829 was obliged to issue a General Order to the effect:

> 'It must be explained to the men that their comforts as soldiers are in a very small degree increased by their marriage, while the inconvenience and distress naturally accruing to them from such connexion are serious and unavoidable, particularly when regiments are ordered to embark for foreign service, when only six women to 100 men are allowed to proceed with their husbands."

In 1801 the regulations of the 95th Rifle Corps had spelt it out in even more detail and specified the expected behaviour and employment of the women as well as indicating some benefits:

"The marriage of soldiers being of benefit to a regiment, of comfort to themselves, or of misery to both exactly in proportion as it is under good or bad regulations, this article has been considered. The number of women allowed by Government to embark are six for every hundred men, inclusive of all Non-Commissioned Officers' wives.

This number is ample and indeed more than sufficient for a light corps, as every officer and soldier who have ever been in service must admit. It should never be exceeded on any pretext whatever, because the doing so is humanity of the falsest kind. Women who have more than two children can also never be of the number to embark except in extraordinary cases, because this is a still greater act of inhumanity. The Rifle Corps shall be a home of comfort to those who are entitled to feel its benefits, but shall not be a source, as is too often the case, of multiplying misery and prostitution among those who would be under every good soldier's peculiar care and protection. Before the mode is pointed out of employment and comfortable livelihood to those women who do remain, all women of immoral or drunken character, or who refuse to work for the men, are warned that they will not be permitted to remain ever to disgrace the Corps; but their friends will be written to or they must be received into some poor house or situation where they can earn their bread. To help the married women all regimental needlework and washing was to be done by them. The Colonel requests that the officers will never give their linen to wash out of the regiment, and also that they will distribute it nearly equally among the sergeant's wives.

The Quartermaster will never give any needlework out of the regiment which can be done in it, and officers are requested to do the same; they are also recommended to look for needlework in the neighbourhood of wherever the regiment may be, and the officers to give them any aid in their power to procure the same. Whenever a soldier's wife requires some pecuniary aid for illness, her husband will apply to the surgeon who will represent it to the Commanding Officer, when such assistance as the Charity Fund can afford will be given her. The children of the regiment will be paid every attention to; the Commanding Officers of Companies will consider them, as well as the women, under their care, will attend to their being well and cleanly clothed, and to the regular attendance at the school of all those who can go there."

From 1810 the New South Wales Corps was replaced by tours of duty by the regular British regiments and the Governor's orders would have been replaced by the regulations of those regiments. Despite the harsh conditions in the colony at the start of the 19th century it is possible that the lot of any of those "1 of 5" women allowed to each company of the NSW Corps or indeed of the women whose exclusion was forced by that rule, was no worse than that of the wives covered by the regulations of other regiments.

Sources
- Janet Robinson (for the first clue)
- *The British Soldier* by J.M. Brereton
- 1806 Muster (PRO England Ref. HO 10/37)
- *The British Soldier* by Herman G. DeWatteville

- *HRA,* Series 1, Volume IV and Volume V
- *HRNSW,* Volume IV and Volume VI
- *Women of the Regiment* by Myna Trustram
- *Red Coats* by Eric W. Sheppard
- *Sir John Moore's System of Training* by Major-General J.F.C. Fuller
- *The Army & Society* by Edward M. Spiers

Appendix 4

Colonial-Born

A number of entries recorded in the General Muster and in Marsden's Female Muster noted that the person mustered had been born in the colony.

In the early colony, children attained the status of "adult" at about 14 years of age. As such, they were recorded individually in musters, rather than being numbered within a parent's entry. Those listed in 1806 as having been born in the colony would have been under 19 years of age as the colony had only been settled for 18 years.

Twenty-seven children were listed in the General Muster as having been born in the colony, 16 females and 11 males. For 21 entries, the Muster stated "Born Here", for four entries "Born NSW" or "NSW" and for two entries 'Born Norfolk Island" or "Norfolk Island". The following tables list the situations of these people.

Females		Males	
Married	8	Apprentice Dockyard	7
Servant	3	Employed by person	2
"Wife" or Servant?	2	Settler	1
With family	1	Labourer	1
Orphan	1		
No details	1		
Total	16		11

These tables indicate that most of the males were apprentices, and that most of the females were involved in relationships, even at that young age.

Marsden's Female Muster recorded eighteen colonial-born females. This included the sixteen recorded in the General Muster, plus two more. Of these women, Marsden recorded that seven were married, four were concubines and seven had no partner. Three women were recorded with children.

1805-1806 Muster volume is still in print and available from the BDA Shop
http://www.bda-online.org.au/shop/

For other Musters included in the BDA see
http://www.bda-online.org.au/sources/musters-census/