

BDA Source Description Pages<http://www.bda-online.org.au>**Census of New South Wales - November 1828**

Edited by Malcolm R Sainty & Keith A Johnson. Pub. Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1980 and subsequently published, with additional information, on CD-ROM 2001 and Revised Edition 2008.

The following has been copied from the published volume, and the CD-ROM, 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. Illustrations have not been reproduced here but can be viewed in a copy of the volume in major libraries.

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CD-ROM Version

The CD version of the Census allows a user to view Report in a different format to the standard formats of Biographical Reports on BDA. Following is a description of what the CD presents. It is available from the BDA Shop

www.bda-online.org.au/shop

The CD allows the following:

1. Search by a single field. e.g. Surname or Street/Place or Ship etc.
2. Search by up to 12 fields together, e.g. Occupation, District and Age.

In some of the search fields, a drop-down list is presented to show the words or numbers which can be searched.

N.B. The more fields searched together, the less likely a match will be found.

The result of a search is presented on the Main Menu - it may not contain all details available.

LISTS:

These can be selected so that an abbreviated listing from the Main Menu list can be viewed and printed out.

To view Lists - choose either:

View an Abbreviated copy..... or

View a Household Listing

REPORTS:

A full REPORT can then be requested of:

(a) **every entry** in the Main Menu listing.

(b) a **single entry** highlighted on the Main Menu listing.

(c) a **Household Report** of the entry highlighted on the Main Menu listing.

These Reports show all details available and can then be printed.

HOUSEHOLD LISTS & REPORTS:

By highlighting an individual on the Main Menu listing and then selecting "View a Household List" or "View a Household Report" and then clicking on the "View Now" button, it will give a List or Report of the Householder, their family and also on all employees or other persons associated with that Household. This will occur even if the child of the Householder is selected. The Report gives more details than the List and can also be printed.

Important: It is recommended to always select a Household List before requesting a Report and read the "Important" note on the top of the Household List. Also read below under "Household Returns - Reconstructed".

SEARCHING A SURNAME:

There are 2 options

Search for Main Person

Search for Cross Reference Person

The drop-down Surname list for the Main Person contains only those names in the main Surname field of the Census i.e. the subject person of the Census entry.

The drop-down Surname list for the Cross Reference Person covers all instances of the names found in different fields other than the main surname field. The LIST generated will usually contain the principal entries for persons whose Surname is different from that requested by the user - this is because those persons are associated with the person whose Surname you requested e.g. employers or a person with whom a subject lodges etc. The spelling of the principal Surname may differ from that which you have requested - this is because the Editors have linked the entries.

In some cases there will be no principal entry for the person you are looking for, but they may still be mentioned in the Census as an employer. The Surname Search should list them. They have been added to the main census listing a X entries - there are 273 - see below - Household Returns - Reconstructed.

Acknowledgements - 2008

We wish to thank Mr. David Roberts, Principal Archivist and Christine Yeats, Manager, Public Access, of State Records of New South Wales, for permission to reproduce material held by State Records relating to the Census of NSW 1828 and to reading room staff at State Records for their courteous assistance.

We also thank Emrys R.D. Prosser of Dyfed, Wales, who in May 1990 forwarded an extensive list of persons appearing twice in the Census Lists and also sorting out which employees belonged to which employer when the Census did not make this clear. Since the publication in 1985 of a 24 page *Corrigenda and Addenda* we have received further correspondence. We thank all who have written to us with information. Where appropriate, comments have been added into the Editors' Remarks.

Thanks also to Mark Pountley of *cascentre.com* for programming this CD-ROM.

Acknowledgements - 1980

We wish to thank Mr. Ian Maclean, the Principal Archivist, and the staff of the Archives Office of New South Wales for making available the original records held in Sydney, relating to the 1828 Census. We also appreciated greatly the facilities afforded by the new Reading Room at Globe Street, The Rocks. The Archives Authority kindly agreed to the incorporation, in the Historical Background section of

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our Introduction, of some pages from their information leaflet on Musters and Censuses. Mr. John Cross and Mrs. Dawn Troy, Senior Archivists, also kindly assisted us with useful information and explanatory data.

The Archives of the Society of Australian Genealogists provided us with background material relating to the involvement, during the 1930's, of Messrs. Edward Dwelly and Herbert Rumsey, in making available for research in Australia a transcript of the Census volumes held in the Public Record Office, London. We thank Mrs. Nancy Gray, F.S.A.G., for her helpful comments on the Editors' Introductory Remarks and Explanatory Notes.

The task of cross-checking 36,500 entries necessitated the assistance of a number of persons skilled in research. To the following persons who assisted with the initial checking, we extend our sincere appreciation:- Gwen Baxter, Ralph Hawkins, Frances Heathfield, Jess Hill, Betty Lockwood, Monica Perrott, Michael Petras, Margaret Rush, Fred Rush and Annette Salt.

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To Gail and Robyn Ainsworth we extend our special thanks for their generosity in making available to us their country retreat where, for many weeks, the checking and preparation of this work went on undisturbed.

Preface - 1980

The significance of the volume lies in the fact that the 1828 Census was the first census to be taken in New South Wales and is the only detailed census for New South Wales to survive to the present day. It is therefore the only complete Census that can be published.

To students of Australian history in various branches - biographical, local and regional, family, medical and social history - the research value of the 1828 Census becomes more meaningful when considered in the overall as well as the particular context. It is one of the most important historical source documents that Australia can boast.

This Census is much more than a list of faceless people. Each person and fact recorded are an integral part of a giant jigsaw puzzle which, when assembled, indicates both the area actually populated and the structure of society in New South Wales at this particular time in our early history.

Panorama of Sydney, drawn by Augustus Earle in 1827, was published by Robert Burford, captures the physical appearance of Sydney at that time, while

contemporary maps show the extent of settlement in the colony as a whole. The Census of 1828 converts a population statistic into real men and women.

All too often it is the famous and infamous who are recorded in history books. The 1828 Census records approximately 35,900 men, women and children (after duplicates have been taken into account) in every walk of life who were living in New South Wales in October/November 1828 and who helped to lay the foundations of the nation.

Australian Government policy to destroy personal data in 20th century census material and other records, probably had its roots in the 1870's when politicians began to throw convict ancestry in one another's faces. This led directly to the destruction of a number of important records from the Superintendent of Convicts' Office. Thus, for political reasons, a wealth of historical source material was destroyed some 30 years after the cessation of convict transportation to New South Wales.

Concern about the so-called 'stigma' of convict ancestry has now passed, being replaced by concern for privacy. It seems quite acceptable to most Australians that practically every detail of their lives be recorded, by Government and private companies alike during their lifetime. They are assured that all this information is confidential and will later be destroyed.

Whilst the guarantee of privacy may be questioned, the destruction of recorded material after one's death is not doubted. In fact, personal details will be so completely wiped from the computer file or shredded from the written record, that within a few years of death, the fact that an individual Australian existed, unless famous or infamous, will be difficult to discover in official records other than the Registers of Births and Deaths in the State in which those events took place.

Important Editorial Note

It is essential to read the Introduction and Explanatory Notes before extracting information from this work.

Introduction

Historical Background

Exactly one month after the arrival of the First Fleet in Sydney Cove the Governor, Captain Arthur Phillip, caused to be prepared by the Commissary Andrew Miller *A List of Persons who have been Victualled from His Majesty's Stores, commencing the 26th day of February 1788, with the Births, Deaths and Discharges on the 17th November 1788*. It can therefore be claimed that this list is the first complete muster of the population. It covered Norfolk Island but did not include persons such as sailors who remained on the ships, as they were victualled from ships' stores.

The next systematic check of the population of the New South Wales settlement was made in 1795 when the Governor, Captain John Hunter, called a muster. Until 1828, when the first census was held, musters were used to count people and to note

whether they were victualled or not from the public stores. Musters were intended for the information of the Commissary and the Provost-Marshal, to enable them to discharge the functions of their respective departments and to assess the possibility of the colony being able to maintain itself without assistance from the public stores. Between 1788 and 1795 returns of the civil establishment were compiled and in November 1791 a return, signed by Commissary John Palmer, was sent to England giving a population count at Sydney and Norfolk Island. It gave the numbers of the militia, civil establishment, settlers, convicts and people on rations - either fully or in part dependent. {Ref: *HRA*, (I) I, p.298}. Similar returns were made in 1792, 1793 and 1794.

General Musters which included all the inhabitants of the colony appear to have been held annually and different classes of musters were taken at different times more frequently. The other classes of musters included settlers' musters, musters of livestock, musters of convicts or those specifically designed to include only males, females or children, or convicts by a certain ship. {Ref: *HRA*, (I) 1, p.694 and (I) II, p.69}. A forthcoming muster was announced by the means of a Government and General Order and the 1795 muster was announced thus:

A GENERAL MUSTER will be held on Saturday next, the 26th instant, at Sydney; on Thursday, the 1st of October, at Parramatta and Toongabbie; and on Saturday, the 3rd of October, at the settlement at the Hawkesbury, at which places the Commissary will attend for the purpose of obtaining a correct account of the numbers and distribution of all persons (the military excepted) in the different afore-mentioned settlements, whether victualled or not victualled from the publick [sic] stores.

Notice is hereby given to all persons concerned to attend, that every man may be accounted for; and such as neglect complying with this order will be sought after and be either confined in the cells, put to hard labor, or corporally punished.

The sick will be accounted for by the Principal Surgeon, and officers' servants by their masters. {Ref: *HRA*, (I) I, p.678}.

Between 1792 and 1796 a Victualling List was kept for Norfolk Island. It listed the Convicts, the Military, Settlers, Free persons, Civil officers and all children. {Ref: *Norfolk Island Victualling List*, SRNSW}.

In 1797 Hunter reported that the practice of holding musters at different stations on different days gave the opportunity to '*impostors and other villains to practise their tricks and ingenuity*' by appearing at more than one muster station and receiving double rations. It was decided that henceforth musters in the three districts (Sydney, Parramatta and the Hawkesbury) would be held on the same day. {Ref: *HRA*, (I) II, p.17}.

Captain David Collins reported that when Governor Hunter attended the 1798 muster, it provided the opportunity for discussion of settlers' problems:

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A general muster took place on the 14th [February, 1798] in every district of the colony at which every labouring man, whether free or convict was obliged to appear. On the following morning the settlers were called over, previous to which, the Governor, who was present informed them that he had heard of much discontent prevailing among them in consequence of certain heavy grievances which they said they laboured under. . . Before they were dismissed he gave them much good advice; and assured them, that he had already from his own ideas, offered a plan to the Secretary of State for their benefit, which he hoped would in due time be attended to. {Ref: Collins, D. *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*. (London, 1802) Vol. II, p.92}.

In May 1799 the district constables were asked to collect a list of names of all people who lived within their respective districts and to transmit them to the Magistrate from whom they received their provisions. {Ref: *HRA*, (I) 11, p.366}. This appears to be the only example of this kind of collection.

The power of the Governor in enforcing attendance at musters was considerable. Most of the General Orders had a penalty clause for failure to attend the muster or supplying inaccurate information. In 1802 it was announced that:

All persons not appearing at these musters will be taken up as Vagrants and punished to the utmost extent of the Law, if free; and if prisoners they will be sentenced to twelve months confinement in the Gaol-Gang. Attempts to impose false accounts of any person absent or present will be punished with the utmost severity. {Ref: *HRA*, (I) III, p.630}.

Despite the Governor's direction and the threat of punishment, most general orders issuing notice of a muster lamented the inaccuracy of the latest returns. Governor Hunter attended the 1799 Muster with a view to transmitting in his next despatch an account of the people in the colony, feeling that by his attendance such an account 'may be depended upon.'

In a despatch to London dated 10 March 1801, Acting Governor P. G. King reported:

Since the departure of Gov. Hunter, I have used every means to ascertain the numbers of every description of persons in the colony, which has not been done without much difficulty, owing to the scattered state they were in, the numbers who had obtained false certificates of their times being expired, and there being no general list whatever of the inhabitants; but I am happy to say that those necessary books are now being completed. [sic] {Ref: *HRA*, (I) III, p.8}.

On 1 March 1802, Governor King despatched the various lists to London. {Ref: *HRA*, (I) III, p.413}. In *HRA* it is reported that some of the lists had not been found. They were later discovered in the Criminal Jurisdiction records in the PRO.

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Important early musters that have survived were taken on 12 August 1806, the day Captain William Bligh assumed office as Governor of New South Wales, and in 1811 and 1814, during the early years of Governor Lachlan Macquarie's administration.

There were irregularities in the frequency of returns being sent to England. In 1810 Lord Liverpool, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Governor Macquarie that no returns of either convicts or settlers had been received since 1806; he directed that a General Muster of all the convicts be made immediately and subsequently twice a year, or as often as could be conveniently done.

The record extant for the 1811 Muster lists: name, by what ship arrived, when and where convicted, sentence and remarks. The volume is alphabetically arranged within four groups: Male convicts, Female convicts, Free men and Free women. The 1814 Muster is arranged by district (Windsor; Richmond and Castlereagh; Parramatta; Liverpool; and Sydney) and distinguishes between free and convict, men and women. It records name, ship, free or convict, on or off stores and children on or off stores, (i.e. rations supplied by the government) with remarks usually referring to employment.

A general muster was usually supervised by the Governor or the Lieutenant Governor and always an officer of the Commissary who was responsible for the collection of land and stock returns. In early musters it was often the local storekeepers' duty to collect other muster returns. Between 1814-19 the Governor personally supervised the taking of musters and returns which were then written up in his office. In 1820 the procedure was changed and, in the hope of greater accuracy in the returns, the Magistrates were instructed to supervise and receive the returns for their respective districts:

His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR, with a View to relieving those Settlers residing in the remote Districts from the Inconvenience and Expense to which they are exposed in attending the Annual GENERAL MUSTER of the Inhabitants at the Stations hitherto assigned for the taking them; and with the Hope that such MUSTERS may be more accurately made under the Superintendence of the MAGISTRATES residing in or near to the respective Districts, than can be expected from the previous Arrangements which were framed for, and adapted to a very circumscribed Population, when compared with that which the Colony now possesses; has deemed it expedient to devolve on the MAGISTRATES that important Duty, hitherto performed by Himself, personally, assisted by the DEPUTY COMMISSARY GENERAL:- It is therefore ordered and directed, that the ANNUAL MUSTERS of the Inhabitants shall henceforth be taken by the MAGISTRATES residing in the several Districts, so far forth as circumstances will admit; and as no Officer of the Commissariat will in future be required to attend the Musters, the respective Magistrates are directed to take the Account of Land and Stock in Possession of the several Settlers, according to the prescribed Form with which they will be furnished previous to the approaching MUSTER. {Ref: Report from the

Select Committee on Transportation. (House of Commons, London, 1812) Appendix 6, p.86}.

The 1820 Muster was found to be very inaccurate in respect of the population and Governor Macquarie in his despatch of 21 July 1821 stated that the returns were too inaccurate to send to England. The Muster books were returned to the Magistrates with instructions for the revisions of the books and the taking of a fresh Muster of inhabitants.

However, in 1821 the Governor again took the Muster and although no reason for it has been found, it seems likely that it was an attempt to instill some accuracy into the returns. In a proclamation of 15 August 1822 the Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, ordered that the Magistrates again supervise the Muster. Immediately before the Muster, each district constable had to go through his district, to every house and farm, and take a note of the inhabitants and their children and any other information which was required. These returns provided a check for the actual Muster taken in early September 1822 and titled *The General Muster and Land & Stock Muster of New South Wales*.

Musters were taken according to the civil condition of the population at the different stations, but in 1823 this was changed and people were mustered according to the initial letters of their family name. Persons whose names began with certain letters were instructed to muster on a particular day. {Ref: Sydney Gazette, 21 August 1823}.

The General Muster of 1825 lists all the Inhabitants (with the exception of the Military) of the Colony of New South Wales for the years 1823, 1824 and 1825.

The Colonial Secretary, Alexander McLeay, in 1826 reported to the Governor, Sir Ralph Darling, that no Muster rolls had been sent to England for several years.

All of these Musters have been published between 1987 and 1999 under the editorship of Carol J. Baxter, by the Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record in association with the Society of Australian Genealogists.

New South Wales, 1828

By 1828 it had become generally known that the issue of Proclamations and Government and General Orders by the Governor was illegal. Free inhabitants could not be compelled to attend General Musters.

On the 29 July 1828 the Governor, Sir Ralph Darling, transmitted to the Rt. Hon. William Huskisson, Secretary of State for the Colonies, for the King's approval, an Act (9 Geo. IV, No.4) which had been passed by the Legislative Council of New South Wales, viz.,

An Act for ascertaining the Number, names and conditions of the Inhabitants of the Colony of New South Wales, and also the Number of

Cattle and the quantity of located, cleared and cultivated land within the said Colony. {Ref: HRA, (I) XIV, p.258}.

This was the first Act for taking a Census of New South Wales. The Magistrates were instructed to have general notices affixed to conspicuous places, requiring every householder, employer of servants, owner or possessor of cattle, proprietor or occupier of land in the territory to be prepared within a period of not less than one calendar month from the time of the general notice, to answer the following questions:-

What are the respective names, ages and conditions of the persons residing with you in your dwelling-house?

What are the respective names, ages, conditions and residences of all such other persons, as may be in your service or employment?

Specify the respective years and ships in, and by which, all of such aforesaid persons as originally came to the Colony Prisoners of the Crown, arrived?

What are the respective numbers of horses, horned cattle, and sheep, of which you are the owner; and in whose possession, and in what district are the same respectively?

What is the number of acres of land of which you are the proprietor, in what district is the same, how much thereof is cleared, and how much cultivated, and in whose possession is the same?

A Government notice detailing the method in which the Census was to be taken, was issued on 1 September 1828 [see facsimile illustration 83]. {Ref: SRNSW, 4/ 1097}. A copy of this notice, together with a quantity of household returns, was sent to all the Magistrates by the Colonial Secretary on 18 September 1828 [see facsimile letter 84]. {Ref: SRNSW, 4/1097}. It was the responsibility of the Magistrates to ensure that one was completed for each household and returned to the Colonial Secretary's Office.

The individual form for the November 1828 Census carried a warning that neglect or false statements could bring a fine of Ten Pounds. Drafts of several versions of the Forms are found in this same box. {Ref: SRNSW, 4/1238}.

Method of Collecting the Census

A District Constable was sometimes accompanied to each household by a clerk. One of them completed all the details on the form from verbal statements submitted by the householder or individuals questioned. When completed, the householder signed the form or placed his or her mark on it, and it was witnessed by the District Constable. Where a householder was literate, some completed the form himself and it was witnessed by the Constable. The first Returns submitted were from Newcastle on 8 November 1828, these Returns have not survived. Whilst most returns reached the Colonial Secretary's Office during November, some must have arrived during the early months of 1829 as several people who did not arrive in the colony until 1829

are included. Errors on the Returns are discussed later under *What did the Clerks Do?*

Extant Documents

Household Returns – [see also an illustration of a Return](#)

Two sets of List Volumes

Manuscript & Transcript Copies

Statistical Documents by District

Grand Total Statistics

Slops List & Summary

Muster of Convicts in the Census

Convicts who died between the Census and 1833

Missing Returns – Parramatta [[see Table 2](#)]; Other Districts [[see Table 3](#)]

Household Returns

The surviving original Returns are housed at SRNSW, Kingswood, Ref: (4/ 1238-41). Most of these surviving Returns, are in good condition, some now with fretted edges which only in a few cases impact on the text. They are fragile. Microfilm copies are at State Records, Kingswood. **These Returns comprise those for the districts of Bathurst, Bathurst the Less (area surrounding Blacktown), Baulkham Hills, Botany, Cabramatta, Castle Hill, Concord, Cooke (Bringelly/Cowpastures to the Nepean River), Evan (Nepean/Mulgoa - South Creek to the Richmond Road/Grose River), Field of Mars, Holdsworthy, Kissing Point, Liverpool, Melville (Eastern Creek, South Creek), Parramatta (except for a block of 38 that are missing), Prospect, Seven Hills and Wellington Valley. The remainder, the majority regrettably, have been destroyed, except for a single Return for Sydney.** [[see Table 1](#) for a full listing].

Regrettably only 1196 Returns survive recording 9711 out of approximately 35,900 people (after duplicates have been taken into consideration), which is just over one quarter of those recorded in the Census. In most cases all the Returns for a whole District survive, sometimes only with the exception of the Government Establishments or Convict Gangs, although some of them survive also.

The number of extant Returns does vary from the above statement in the case of the district of Bathurst (miscellaneous) where there are multiple households recorded onto a single Return, with a line drawn across the page between them. These three numbered Returns, running to several pages, contain 47 households.

The Returns are bundled in District order and are numbered 1+ within each. It is difficult to ascertain whether these numbers were allocated by the census enumerators or the Colonial Secretary's Office clerks.

Most Returns record the Householder, and his or her abode, above the listing of occupants which normally repeated the householder's name and details followed by his wife / partner and then the children in age order in all but a few cases. Following

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them are other people in the household. Where one of these people had a spouse and/or children, they follow before the next servant. It is not always clear if the people in a household, other than the householder's family, were servants or just lodgers. In the List version previously published it often states "lodges with" but this hardly ever appears in the extant Returns and may have applied mainly to Sydney or was added by the clerks.

Each Return was signed, usually by the householder, sometimes by another person in the household, but in many cases with an X mark. The enumerator then witnessed the signature or mark on the Return. We have created a field showing who signed each Return and have also named the person who signed the Return if not the householder. The reverse side of the Return recorded the farm name, proprietor or tenant, and details of land and stock held.

The New South Wales Colonial Secretary, Alexander McLeay, published a government notice for general information on 25 September 1829. It was an abstract of the statistics compiled from the Census in November 1828. It accounted for 27,611 Males and 8,987 Females, total of 36,598 persons - this included duplicate entries. This varies from the original extant summary sheets which have a total of 36,287 [see Table 12]. It was estimated that runaway convicts in the bush, persons who had no fixed place of residence and any omissions in the taking of the Census did not exceed 2,000 persons. {Ref: *Sydney Gazette*, 25 September 1829}.

Some inhabitants of Sydney, as well as those in remote areas, were omitted; their names are found in either or both the 1823, 1824, 1825 General Muster Lists and 1837 General Return of Convicts in NSW, are recorded elsewhere as being in the colony in 1828.

The serving military personnel and their families are not recorded in the Census. The military, including their families, numbered 2,549 in New South Wales in November 1828. {Ref: SRNSW, 4/2007.2}. [see Table 7].

Our printed Census volume contained over 36,500 entries. Some 500 entries are duplicates. The non-aboriginal population of N.S.W. and its dependencies in November 1828 must have been approximately 40,000 individuals, including military personnel and their wives and children.

A few aboriginals including J1000 George Innes and W2602 Richard Wright are listed in the Census. However, in April 1827 they numbered at least 2,979 in the European settled areas [see Table 11]. These figures were compiled by the Colonial Secretary as a result of a Circular sent to the various Benches of Magistrates on 31 March 1827. {Ref: SRNSW, 4/2045}.

COPY

CIRCULAR

No 19 Colonial Secretary's Office,
31st March, 1827.

Gentlemen,

*I am directed to inform you that it is His Excellency's intention to issue Blankets and Slops to the Black Natives on the 23rd of next month in commemoration of His Majesty's Birthday, and in order that a suitable quantity of those articles may be immediately forwarded to you for distribution, I have to request that you will let me know as soon as possible for His Excellency's information the number of the aborigines in your District, distinguishing the several Tribes, and the number of Men, Women and Children belonging to each tribe respectively. I have, etc.
Alex. McLeay*

Another interesting abstract from the Census lists the convicts and others in the various Gangs as at 1 November 1828. {Ref: SRNSW, 4/6666B}. [see Table 4].

For Land and Stock statistics [see Table 10].

Two Sets of List Volumes

From the collected returns, two sets of Census volumes were compiled within two years of the Census, listing the population in alphabetical order. One set, consisting of seven volumes, was sent to London on 12 February 1830 {Ref: HRA, (I) XV, p.371} and is now held in The National Archives (UK) historically known as the Public Record Office (PRO), and it is this abbreviation which we will continue to refer too. {Ref: PRO, HO.10/21 to 10/27. Reels 67-69}.

The other set, comprising six volumes, was retained in Sydney. These volumes were handed to the Registrar-General, Mr Hayes-Williams in December, 1903 by Mr E.W. Fosbery, when the latter was retiring from the position of Inspector-General of Police. Tradition has it that the volumes were kept in a large locked trunk and that the key was passed from one Registrar-General to the next on appointment to the office over the next 70 years. The utmost care was exercised to see that the contents of the volumes were not divulged. The existence of these volumes was unknown to most historical researchers until the 1960's and became accessible for general inspection at the Archives Office of New South Wales (SRNSW) in the mid 1970's.

The first few pages of Volume 1 of the Census held in Sydney are missing, up to and including entry No. A0091 James Adams. Each volume is 31cm wide, 47.5cm high and 7cm thick. The paper is watermarked 1824. The volumes have been microfilmed. {Ref: SRNSW, Reels 2553-6}.

A microfilm copy of the PRO volumes can also be consulted at the SRNSW. {Ref: PRO, Reels 67-69}. **Care should be taken not to confuse the two sets of microfilm when quoting data that has been extracted.**

How the information was transferred from the Household Returns to the volumes is not known, nor is it known if the two sets were compiled by clerks simultaneously or one copied from the other. The information is not identical, in particular the order of the entries varies considerably. The SRNSW volumes do not contain the many duplications found in the PRO volumes, indicating

that the SRNSW volumes may be the updated set. However, the PRO set contains extra information for some of the entries.

However, because of the alpha order in which the names appear, the clerks must have written out all the details onto cards or slips of paper and sorted them. These two sets of volumes are therefore 3rd or 4th generation copies. Errors that occurred during this transcription process are discussed later under *What did the Clerks Do?*

Where different data appeared in the SRNSW copy, that data has been placed by the Editors in a field titled SRNSW.

Several persons listed were shown as *Housebreakers*; whilst that may have been a previous occupation, the correct occupation was a Horsebreaker. D0334 Joseph Davies was a Watchmaker, not a *Watchman*. Another entry H1459 George Henly records that he was a *blindman*; it is not clear if the man suffered from lack of sight or was a maker of blinds, probably the former.

Manuscript and Typescript Copies

During a visit to London in 1931, Herbert J. Rumsey, the principal Founder (1932) and first President of the Society of Australian Genealogists, uncovered in the PRO the seven volumes of the 1828 Census. On his return to Sydney he raised in correspondence with the Public Librarian of New South Wales the possibility of Edward Dwelly, a professional genealogist of Ashford, Middlesex, England, copying the Census. Mr Dwelly had offered to copy the Census, hoping to sell a copy to the Federal Government for publishing purposes. This did not eventuate, but Mr Dwelly sold a copy to the Mitchell Library, Sydney instead.

During 1932 and 1933, using a 2H pencil, Mr Dwelly copied the 1828 Census, volume by volume onto pre-printed columned sheets, with two carbon copies. He sent the original via the N.S.W. Agent-General in London to the Mitchell Library. He sent one carbon copy to H.J. Rumsey, one volume at a time, and retained the other carbon himself.

In a letter to Mr Rumsey dated 3 January 1939, Mr. Dwelly stated that he wished to sell his copy of the Census for £30 or near offer. He had offered it to the Melbourne Public Library but had not received a reply. He stated that it was held in the 'rooms of the Society' (presumably the Society of Genealogists, London) of which he was a Fellow, and further stated that the only other copies in existence were the two he had sent to Sydney.

Mr Dwelly died three weeks later on 25 January 1939 and it is assumed that his carbon copy remained with the Society of Genealogists, London. Mitchell Library still retain their original pencil copy in seven volumes.

Mr Rumsey's carbon copy of the pencil copy was on loan to the Society of Australian Genealogists, Sydney, until it was withdrawn by him in 1943. Later in that year, the

Society received on loan from Dr. R.W. Small a typed carbon copy of the Census, copied from one of Mr Dwelly's handwritten copies. {Ref: SAG Archives}. Dr. Small, who was a foundation member, donated the typed copy to the Society in 1952 and it is still held by that Society. It is not known who was responsible for the typed copies of the Census.

The carbon of the typed copy held by the Society of Australian Genealogists has been photocopied and it is this which was used by the Editors as a working copy for checking purposes as explained in Method of Checking.

Meanwhile, the other set of six volumes of the Census rested in the old trunk at the Registrar-General's Department, Sydney.

Statistical Returns by District – (see Tables)

Each District had Statistical Returns, one for the Population, one for the Land and Livestock and usually separate Total Population Statistics. These are generally found at the beginning or end of their District bundle.

In the Population Statistics, each Householder is named, followed by the numbers of persons in their household and their statistics. The Land and Stock Statistics record only the Householders who have either or both, followed by their holdings. In many districts the majority of householders had land and/or stock, e.g. Evan, 150 out of 155.

The Summary Statistics sheet, sometimes written on the bottom of the same sheet as the above, then records the totals for the District. In Districts where all or most Returns survive, so do their statistics.

Grand Total Statistics

Also surviving are four sheets of Grand Total Statistics. For no apparent reason they are to be found following Castle Hill District. One sheet is a part duplicate of the main sheet running from District 34-Wilberforce to District 52-Sydney. However, the three main sheets do not contain district numbers and the Districts are in a different order to this part page, although they are marked "Draft" so the part page may be in fact part of the final grand total sheets now missing.

These sheets are particularly interesting in that they break up the Colony into 52 areas, plus 20 government establishments in the greater Sydney district whereas the published statistics divide them into only 15 areas. Boundaries of Districts are not defined but give a better picture as to where the population resided. The Editors have compiled some statistics on Population [see Table 8] and on Religion [see Table 9]. A full transcript of the original statistics is given [see Table 12].

A search at State Records and the Mitchell Library, Sydney has not revealed any other original material relating to the 1828 Census with the exception of SRNSW

Ref: 4/1097, Colonial Secretary, Instructions and Sample Forms, and part of Ref: 4/1238 Working Papers, except for the following two items.

Slops List & Summary

The Slops List was discovered in Box 4/1238 at SRNSW (Kingswood) in 2007 with the extant Household Returns. This Slops List appears not to have been filmed when the Returns were filmed decades ago. A description of it cannot be located in any SRNSW catalogue or published *Convict Guide*.

It was originally thought by the Editors that the Slops List had been copied directly from the Census records. The discovery was then made that the reverse appears to have happened. One of the pages of the Slops List has a postage stamp sized corner missing, affecting text on both sides. On one side the name of the ship of arrival of *M1295 Nelson McPherson*, is missing except for its first letter 'A'. In the PRO List the ship name is blank. However, the proof comes from the two entries on its reverse where the first name of these men is missing whilst their surnames, *B3606 Butterfield* and *M0137 McCann*, are intact. The PRO List has blanks for the first names of these two men proving that most of the men on gangs and government establishments had their scant details recorded into the Census from the Slops List and not the reverse.

Further investigation revealed that where all the normal Household Returns are missing from a District, the details of the men are obviously entered from the Slops List and not from a missing Return. This is not the case for all missing Districts as two of those Districts' gangs have complete details, age, year etc. which must have been copied from Returns now missing. For the remaining Districts where all Returns are missing it is unknown if there ever was a Return for a convict gang, but in a few instances, a couple of men in a gang have additional information to the others.

The Slops List is therefore most important and details have been included in this work. What was recorded in the PRO List has also been retained, but it should be noted that the details from the Slops List is almost certainly more accurate.

The Summary is titled: *General Abstract of the Gangs, &c to whom Slops Clothing was issued on the 1st. November 1828, to 4033 different Convicts, and others*
*An extract from this Summary appears in **Table 6** where discrepancies in the total is also discussed. In this Summary, Hyde Park Barracks is listed about half way through, showing 539 men in residence. Near the end of the Summary it records that a further 183 are "Sleepers in Private lodgings attached to H.P. Barracks, Sydney". These men were not duplicated on the individual Returns of the households where they lodged.*

The two page Summary is followed by 66 pages of the actual List which is titled: List of Convicts in Government employ and to whom Slops Clothing was issued on the 1st November 1828

This List (in two columns) gives the name of the man and his ship of arrival. It is in Gang Order, the first being No. 1 Iron Gang, Bathurst Road. The whereabouts of the gang or establishment is sometimes given which is additional information to that on the Summary.

The Slops List names often varied from the Census data, but as much of the Census data in the PRO List is third generation, that in the Slops List is most probably more accurate, where no Household/Establishment Return is extant. Only three men on the Slops List cannot be identified in the Census. The Slops List also sorts out a few instances where the wrong Gang for a man was recorded in the PRO List.

Muster List of Convicts from the Census

The Superintendent of Convicts made an extract dated March 1834 titled *List of Male & Female Prisoners of the Crown in the Colony of New South Wales at the General Census in the Month of November 1828*. {Ref: HO 10/28 PRO reel 69}.

A check indicated that some of these convicts did not appear in the PRO List and have been added by the Editors. The Reference HO 10/28 has been added in the Editors' Remarks.

Convicts who died between the 1828 Census & 1833

In the PRO volumes there are notations giving the dates of death of 43 men and women. For reasons unknown to the Editors they are to be found only for persons with surnames starting with letters 'A' to 'E' inclusive. An original record was found in the PRO (Ref: HO.10/28) labelled:

1828 General Muster of New South Wales. - Extract of Convicts who died December 1828 to December 1833. Extracted from List of Male and Female Prisoners of the Crown in the Colony of New South Wales as taken at the General Census in the Month of November 1828.

List prepared 4th March, 1834

*Signed Principal Superintendent of Convicts Office,
Sydney, New South Wales*

The list contained - Name of Convict; Month and Year of Death; Ship and Year of Arrival; Sentence, and in some cases cause of death.

It could be assumed that someone began to transfer the death dates from this list into the PRO volumes and stopped at the letter 'E'. However, it is a completely different listing of people from those included in Ref: HO.10/28, and the original source of the information about those listed in the PRO volumes is unknown.

There are 379 male and 35 female deaths recorded in the HO.10/28 List. They have been checked against the Census and where any particulars differ, a note can be found in Editors' Remarks. Because of their connection to the 1828 Census, they, together with the 44 entries noted in the PRO volumes, have been reproduced in this

work. Of the total of 457 several do not have a date of death but were simply noted as died, which must have occurred between November 1828 and 4 March 1834.

1980 Publication

When we published the 1828 Census in 1980, and reprinted it in 1985, it was compiled from the two extant clerk's Lists not the individual Household Returns. The CD version produced in 2001 gave users the ability to call up Households, but this was not based on the original Household Returns and thus contained some errors whereby some people were allocated by us to the wrong household.

We will now refer to the previous publications as the List version and the 2008 publication as the Return version. They vary considerably.

It is important to remember that the original compilations in 1828 were the Household Returns.

In 1980, the task of incorporating the information from the surviving Household Returns was found then to be too time consuming to undertake in the time allocated to preparation of the publication. In 2008 the Editors have allocated the time needed and the information was published for the first time, on CD-ROM.

Return Format to List Format - What did the Clerks do?

The *Sydney Herald* of 28 August 1831 reported:

The Census taken in 1828, was extremely defective, and from its discrepancy with all former statements, threw a degree of doubt and discredit on the whole. The duty was entrusted to constables, who neither knew the value of the information collected, nor could see its application. {Ref: *Sydney Herald*, 28 August 1831, p.2, col.2}.

There are several main areas where errors have crept into the Census, some of which undoubtedly still persist: (a) Poor design of the Forms; (b) Householder Error; (c) Enumerators' errors - Verbal interpretation & illiteracy; (d) Handwriting; (e) Clerical transcription.

Edward Dwelly, in his pencil transcript, and the 1930's typists added their interpretations, with the result that the final typescript varies in numerous ways from the PRO volumes which, in turn, vary from the Household Returns.

Poor design of the Forms

One of the major problems with interpretation of the Census data has arisen from poor design of the original Household Return form and the format of the Lists into which the data was copied.

The Return makes provision for the name of the Householder and his or her Residence. Unfortunately it did not make provision on the front of the Form for the name of the owner of the premises and in many cases the name of the owner was inserted instead of the name of the Householder. On the reverse of the Return it

asks in a single column for the name of the Proprietor or Tenant, but in most cases the name filled in is not distinguished as to which they are.

When the clerks designed the List volumes, they did not make separate columns for the householder's name as distinct from that of the subject person's employer and so it is difficult to tell if a person who is a carpenter is living with Joseph Bloggs or employed by him or both. In some Returns it states the difference.

Householder errors

In many instances incorrect information was given to the enumerator, particularly as regards the year of arrival, through hazy recollection. Where a large landholder listed many employees, he often must have taken a stab at their ages and even their ship and year of arrival. In a number of these cases on the Returns, some of these details were left blank.

Enumerators' errors - accent interpretation & illiteracy

The Enumerators' and Clerks' interpretation and literacy were also obstacles to the information being recorded correctly. When the Household Returns were subsequently transcribed into the bound volumes, the Clerks may have encountered difficulties in reading the handwriting.

Widely differing accents caused the enumerators to write down the wrong information.

A0468 Christopher ANGER as recorded by the enumerator is found on the Indent as HANGER. This is typical of dropping the H which occurs in many colonial records. In a number of cases the ship of arrival was written as the *Kennedy* which was a mis-hearing of the *Canada*. The enumerator of the Botany District households was a poor speller always writing down place names incorrectly and spelling John as Jhon. His spelling of Irish names was a particular challenge.

Entries R0788 to R1891 are listed on the return as Ryley. The Householder signed the form 'William Riley' and it was also signed by the District Constable 'J. Riley' neither man having noticed that the Clerk had written Ryley **four** times on the page that they both witnessed! The clerk at the Colonial Secretary's Office subsequently corrected the error.

In a couple of instances the enumerator failed to name people e.g. Ann Morgan, on the Household Return of Thomas Hassall (018/10010) District of Cooke, is recorded with the comment "has husband and 10 children" who were not named.

Clerical transcription

This is where most of the errors and clerical interpretation changes occurred.

The bound List volumes held in London and Sydney are almost entirely in strict lexicographical order of surname, with only a few people out of order at the end of their respective alphabetical listing and a couple of other blocks of surnames. As the vast number of Returns contain people with surnames that differ from that of the Householder, to achieve this order in a bound ledger format the clerks who received

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the Returns must have copied all the information of each individual from the Return onto separate forms which were then sorted into strict lexicographical order by surname. An exception may have been the family of the same name who may have been entered on a single sheet, as family members are recorded together. The data on the separate sheets of paper must have then been entered into the List version. During this double transcription, thousands of errors occurred and the clerks also standardised many entries. **They also failed to list 61 people recorded on the extant Household Returns, which could translate to about 250 persons missing throughout the Colony, from the Lists.**

The PRO and SRNSW Lists vary slightly in the order in which people are listed and the PRO List contains more numbered people. e.g. The SRNSW List records as follows:

N0430 Norman, William - ship *England* - Iron Cove Gang - no residence
no number - James - ship *England* - Carters Barrack, Sydney.
N0431 Norman, John

The PRO list repeats *N0430* as above the gives James number *N0431* and numbers John *N0432*. At first glance it may appear that William was actually William James as the name James was squeezed in without a separate surname. It would follow that he was in the Gang but residing at Sydney. However, investigation of the Indent of the *England* reveals them to be three different men named Norman and thus the SRNSW List is correct.

The clerks must have had difficulty in reading each others handwriting when they came to writing up the Lists from the slips of paper or cards. In a number of cases they record in the Lists that people were staying with Sarah Staples, but the exact address of 104 Pitt Street, Sydney reveals that she was Sarah Waples, an unusual name, which the clerk it would appear, thought more likely to be Staples.

It was assumed that the ship *C. Forbes* was the *Castle Forbes*, a convict transport which arrived in January 1824 and it was transcribed so with the date 1825 against Governor Darling's entry. Darling, his family and a number of servants arrived in 1825, but on the ship *Catherine Stewart Forbes*. The Editors have corrected this obvious error. The Governor's staff are recorded under variations of Catherine Forbes, Cath. Cn. etc. What was written on the original Return will never be known. The only person to arrive with them, recorded on an extant Bathurst Return, is assistant-surgeon *R0678* William Richardson whose Return records *K.S. Forbes* 1825. The Clerk had actually transcribed this into the PRO List as *C.S. Forbes*.

The clerks also appear to have standardised details during their transcription, mainly to suit their own individual rules. This standardisation included changing the name Anne to Ann (or vice versa) in many instances and changing the spelling of places, names of ships and even surnames according to the clerk's own interpretation of the way in which the word should be spelt. This was by no means universally done, but there are enough instances to show that the clerks influenced how words appear in their final Lists.

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There were many instances where a person's occupation was changed from a description as a tinsmith on the Return to labourer in the List, and one youth in the back blocks some distance north of Bathurst was described by the clerk as a labourer, but on the Return it records him as a goldsmith. This probably was his apprenticeship occupation back in England. Little did he know that some of the richest goldfields in the world lay beneath his feet waiting to be discovered!

In one of the Lists the clerk described *H2720* Thomas Hughes, as "Hangman", whilst another clerk wrote out what was probably on his original Return "Finisher of the Law".

Differences have been found in every field from name to occupation, religion to abode. Many are also blank in the Lists but detailed in the Return. Some of these errors clearly occurred because the clerks lost their place on the Return, particularly where there were many names on the Return and the writing was squeezed together causing the details of one person to be transcribed onto the details of the person above or below.

Other changes made by the clerks included recording a woman with the householder's surname when it was fairly obvious she was his wife or partner. However, the Household Return records her under another name, most probably her name upon her arrival in the Colony, which of course was not necessarily her maiden name. Conversely, as for Return 85 in Prospect, Mary Johnston is given as the Householder and first on the List with seven children following named Crump all bracketed with the word "children" indicating they were her children. In the List the clerk has entered them all as *J0502* Johnston. One child Arthur is also listed *C3169* as Arthur Benjamin Crumpton with his father *C3168* Thomas Crumpton Senior and his half brother *C3165* Thomas Crumpton at Lower Portland Head with his wife Eleanor and infant daughter Elizabeth. Elsewhere the family name is also frequently recorded as Crump. {Ref. *Settlers and Seditious - the People of the Convict Ship Surprise 1794* by Michael Flynn, pp.34-38}.

The other major differences between the Lists and the Returns fall into two main categories: additional information and a precise description of where people, land and livestock were situated.

Additional information included the status of a woman who was a householder. Whilst the Return stated that to be the case, it sometimes recorded that she was a widow, a fact not transcribed by the clerks. In many instances it recorded "wife" and "son" or "daughter" and in some cases this was very important in that it indicated that a child was the child of the woman and not of the man recorded as living with her or vice versa. This is not evident from the two List versions.

There are also many instances where information on the Return has been left blank in the Lists. This occurred in hundreds of cases especially relating to religion, class, occupation, abode and in a number cases to ship and year of arrival. This must be put down to careless transcription by the clerks.

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One of the major items of information not transcribed to the Lists was the property name and its location. In almost all cases where a householder held land and even just livestock on another person's land, the property was named. It was also recorded who owned that land and in many instances, particularly in the Bathurst District, it described where the property was e.g. "125 miles north of Bathurst".

Even more importantly, a Return records which people were where in the so-called household. An example is *T0936* Charles Tompson whose PRO Listing indicated he had 2565 acres, 365 cattle, 1043 sheep & 18 horses, all at Bathurst the Less (near the Nepean River). However the Return tells the true story, 700 acres at Clydesdale Farm, South Creek, 70 acres at Upton's Farm, 35 acres at Palfreys Farm, 60 at Loder's Farm, along with 300 cattle, 795 sheep and 14 horses, 600 acres at Alfred's Retreat, East Bargo, Co. Camden, 800 acres at Drummond's Farm, Van Diemens Land and 100 acres at Leyland Park, Battery Point held as trustee for Charles Armitage a child of 12 years, and 200 acres, 65 cattle, 250 sheep and 4 horses at Goulburn Plains, Co. Argyle held by Charles Tompson Junior by grant. In addition, seven named men are not at Bathurst the Less at all, they are on a property named Binbingine at Argyle. In other examples, servants are divided between as many as five different properties, some great distances apart.

Infant children at the Female Factory, Parramatta, were listed at the end of the Return after the 527 women listed; their ages were all given in months, e.g., *B2954* Margaret Bryan is aged 30 months according to the return. In both the PRO and SRNSW volumes she is listed as 30 years. The same clerical error was made in respect of most of the children in the list who were more than 12 months old. This is one of the many instances where the Editors have corrected the PRO copy from the extant Household Returns.

The Lists indicate that *C1841* Ann Collitt was the housekeeper of *C1027* Wm. Chickley but the Return shows that Chickley was a servant living with *P1447* John Pye, as was Ann, who was probably housekeeper to Pye and wife to Chickley.

Some examples of discrepancies between the PRO and SRNSW volumes are as follows:

F0021 The typescript of the PRO copy states in the remarks column 'Wm. Geo. Corribee, Windsor.' It was in fact the abode of the employee, viz. Wingecarribee, Minto. In the employers column, many entries contained the possessive [*'s*] (lodger at Mr. Smith's).

The Employer column contained many errors of transcription:

C0402 Alexander Still not Alex Hill. *C0437* Patrick Harper not Patrick's Plains. *C0439* Adam Clink not Adam Clerk are good examples.

Ages likewise differed: *B1086* - 28 not 25, *B1101* - 10 not 20, *B1219* - 34 not 32, and many more entries.

In *E0557* William Evans' ship of arrival was given as *Carnfree* - he came free. The ship was not recorded. *E0615* was one of the many Sawyers who were recorded as *Lawyers* and *F0300* was not a patient in the Lunatic Asylum - he was in fact a Cook at the Asylum.

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From an historical and genealogical perspective these are profound differences and very significant details for researching the early settled districts of New South Wales.

There are also instances where the clerks failed to record a family together such as *G0741* Mary Gore where the List shows her alone with no residence or district. The Household Return shows that she is living with her husband Patrick Gore at Castle Hill.

In a number of cases the clerks recorded the religion of a spouse and children as the same as the householder, this was often not the case, the children being sometimes recorded as the same as the father and in other instances that of the mother.

The religion of many of the men in government establishments was not given. In the summary statistics, the clerks divided the figures almost identically between protestants and catholics in every institution, an unlikely situation. For some individuals, the clerks recorded the religion as it appeared on the Return, but in other instances where the persons was specifically recorded as a Quaker or Presbyterian, the clerk wrote Protestant. New statistics of given religions is contained in [Table 9](#).

One Return records very clearly the householder as *T0868* John Tunks, however, when the clerks transcribed him into the List volumes they recorded him as Tinks and for the entries of his employees variously recorded him as Tink, Turk, Tanks & Jenks. This is a clear indication that every employee must have been recorded on separate slips of paper or cards and the clerk who did the transcription from them to the Lists did not have them all together to compare the name of the Householder.

There are examples of the meaning of facts was sometimes lost during transcription. *W1722* Edward Williams appears in the PRO List as stockman to Thomas Raine at Bathurst. He was in fact a stockman to James Blackett who owned his own farm of 1000 acres but lived elsewhere and was the superintendent of [Captain] Thomas Raine who lived in Sydney, when he returned from his voyages.

Similarly two shepherds were recorded in the List as the employees of *W0095* Walker who held 1000 acres, but the Household Return reveals that they were shepherds to Brown on his 100 acres and Brown was overseer to Walker. The way in which the clerks transcribed the data did not allow for these complex situations to be more fully documented and as a result they gave the wrong impression of the facts.

Small errors also lead to people being allocated to the wrong master. *M1791* William Marsh, is recorded in the List as being Servant to P.T. Frederick of Iron Bark Creek, Hunter River. *F1358* P.J. Frederick, is recorded as Overseer to J.B. Webber of Sydney, indicating that Frederick was in Sydney. He may well have been at the time of the Census, but the entry should have recorded him as overseer to W.J.B. Weller who had seven labourers employed by him at Iron Bark Creek. Webber was in fact another man.

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There is evidence that the clerks looked up other records when transcribing data from the Returns to the List volumes. *T0558* Ann Thomas is recorded in both Lists as Thomas or Callaghan. There is no mention of the name Callaghan on the extant Return. In other instances the clerks ignored the surname of the wife which was probably her arrival name and converted it to that of her husband.

There are also later notes by the clerks in the List volumes. *R1560* Charles Louis Rumker, astronomer, "gone to England in the *Ellen*, Jan. 1829", this does not appear on the extant Return.

Some data is abbreviated by the clerks and sometimes gives the wrong impression of the facts. *N0183* Edward New, butcher, is recorded in the Lists with Esther and four children - their relationship to Edward is not stated. However, the Return states that Esther is "wife". The next child is recorded as "son of Esther" and the other three children as "son (or daughter) of Edward". This indicates that the eldest child is not the son of Edward.

Similarly, *H.2531* John Howarth, labourer, is Listed with Mary and two children. But the Return states that the first child Sarah is the "daughter of Mary" and Ann is the "daughter of John". There are other such cases.

Several names were wrongly reversed by the clerks. *E0190* Moy Edwards appears in the PRO List, but in the Slops List he is recorded as Edward Moy, his correct name as confirmed by the 1825 General Muster List.

Duplication:

A number of the large landholders recorded all their servants on their Return irrespective of where they were located. Their Overseers, on different properties, also recorded the people with them and thus those people are recorded in the Census Lists twice. Others, because they owned the land, were recorded by their overseer as the owner but recorded as living elsewhere and are thus duplicated.

Another source of duplication occurred when men on gangs were recorded thus but also recorded on a Hospital or Gaol Return, possibly they were there for only a short period. Some householders also recorded children who were in fact with others, possibly a relative, on Census day and were recorded twice. In a couple of instances a person is recorded with two masters, probably having transferred from one to another during late October or November 1828 as the Census was taken over several days and even weeks in some districts. A few people are recorded three times.

Some people are recorded in both the Lists and on a Return who were not in the Colony. They are usually Householders and recorded as e.g. "in India".

The Returns also include some terms and abbreviations not used by the clerks in the Lists - these are detailed below in the Notes under the relevant Fields.

Missing Entries:

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The clerks neglected to record 61 people listed on the Household Returns as previously stated. They clearly missed some people as in one Return they forgot to record all five people listed on a second page. Some of the slips of paper or cards used for transcription may have been lost.

In addition there are persons who signed a Return who were not listed on it and in some cases cannot be located in the Census, e.g. John Barry who signed Return 001/10009 at Melville on behalf of the Householder *B3164* Michael Burgan.

A few examples of missed people are:- James Williams 018/10022; William Wannecett 020/10067 - 107 & John Lee 020/10067 - 108

There are also a few instances where the Return is missing from a District where almost all have survived. In the case of *K0832* James King, Return - 152 for Evan District, the statistics sheet survives and indicates that he had no family but had 6 bond men with him, 2 protestants and 5 catholics in the household. In some other districts the only missing Return is for a Road Gang and its Return number, and the number of men on it, can usually be found from the statistics sheet. They can then be identified on the List and if so we have added in their District.

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2008 Publication Editors' Methodology

An electronic copy of the PRO List was taken as our base start (as published in 1980). Where information differed on a Household Return, the data has been changed accordingly. This has resulted in thousands of changes and additional data.

We also used a copy of the Land and Stock Returns, published in 1980 as Appendix 3, and added to it the names of the properties, who owned or occupied them and the break-up of the Livestock where a householder held more than one property. These details were recorded on the back of the Household Return and only those Returns extant, approximately one quarter, are changed. The remainder are included as they appeared in the 1980 publication.

A new District number was allocated to each batch but retained the original number given by the clerks for each individual Return, thus our 001/10001 is a Return for Melville, followed by the Return number. A new running number was then allocated to each individual on the Return as they appeared thus allowing them to be published in the same order as they appear in the original.

Editing Parameters

Four main parameters have governed the editorial policy adopted for this work.

(a) To reproduce an accurate copy of the 1828 Census as recorded in the volumes held in the Public Record Office, London (now The National Archives, Kew, Surrey).

- (b) To change that data to that recorded on the Household Returns where extant.
- (c) To enable the user of this CD to call up all persons in a Household as they appear on the extant Return.
- (d) To enable the user to call up all persons in a Household as reconstructed by the Editors where the Return no longer survives.

It was with this in mind, and also because of the availability of a typescript copy of the PRO volumes that the Editors chose to reproduce this version of the Census. However, as the typescript used as the basic document was a third generation copy of the Census volumes, as explained in the Introduction of this work, it was decided to use the easily accessible Archives Office of N.S.W. volumes as a backup to the checking process [see Method of Checking].

One other important factor in choosing to reproduce the PRO version was the fact that when checking was done for the 1980 publication it was the only copy available to researchers either in Britain or in Australia (on microfilm). The order of the Census and the reference numbers allocated in the PRO copy have been the only ones quoted by researchers for many years and have therefore been retained in this work [see also Explanatory Notes - Reference Numbers].

As a result, the work now produced is an edited copy of the PRO version, supplemented by information from the SRNSW volumes and the extant Household Returns, the Slops List and Deaths of Convicts listing.

Editors' Changes

Some editorial corrections of Personal names and Ship names have been made where such were obviously wrong in both the PRO and SRNSW volumes. However, as explained elsewhere, the Editors have not attempted to cross check the PRO volumes against the extant Household returns or, in the event of their non-existence, against other sources.

The Editors have changed place names, the names of properties and ships of arrival to their correct spelling. The extent of these changes is detailed in the Explanatory Note for each category or column of information.

It is most important to note that whilst we used the PRO copy as our base, information in that copy has been replaced in this work by information from the extant Household Returns if the data differed.

Method of Checking

Using a photocopy of the typescript of the PRO volumes, a team working in pairs read over and checked the typescript against the original volumes that were retained in Sydney since compilation, and are now at the SRNSW.

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Where a discrepancy between the two versions occurred, a notation was made on the photocopy. These discrepancies were then checked against the microfilm copy, held in Sydney, of the PRO volumes.

Several factors impeded this task, one being that the microfilms were very hard to decipher and in parts impossible. Three major difficulties had to be overcome:

- (a) some entries in the typescript differed from the PRO volumes, indicating that Mr Dwelly, in his pencil transcript, or the typist during the 1930's, or both, made errors during transcription.
- (b) the original PRO and SRNSW volumes differed in facts.
- (c) the order of entries in the SRNSW volumes differed from the PRO volumes, some letters of the alphabet being listed in almost identical order, whilst others were considerably rearranged, which made checking a very lengthy operation.

The checking process may have eliminated the Dwelly/typist transcription errors, but it may also have introduced some new ones. However, the factual differences between the PRO and SRNSW volumes, if not corrected by editorial research, have been listed as variations.

Various other records were used to double check inconsistent information and these are detailed in the following Explanatory Notes.

Explanatory Notes

Surnames and Family Units

Firstnames

Ages

Class

Class Abbreviations

Ships

Year of Arrival

Sentence

Religion

Occupation

Employer

Original Remarks

Residence & District

Reference Numbers

Editors' Remarks

Duplicates

Land & Stock

Notes on Surnames and Family Units

Surnames are listed in almost exact alphabetical order (except the letters 'I' and 'J' which were listed together) but not in strict lexicographical order. This is because they follow the order set out in the PRO volumes as previously explained.

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The PRO List bracketed families and these have been retained on this CD by the use of unseen numbers allowing the family to be grouped together even when the Return is not extant.

If a surname cannot be located, it is essential to search the indexes under all possible phonetic and transcription variations. e.g. PRO List = Evans, Household Return = Everett.

Notes on Firstnames

The Dwelly pencil transcript of the PRO volumes abbreviated most First names. These have now been expanded to their original full spelling except in a few cases where the original was also abbreviated and there was some doubt about the actual name. A number of Middle names originally appeared as initials only and remain that way. Courtesy titles (Mr, Mrs, Rev, Sen. Jun.) originally included have been included.

Notes on Ages

All numerals represent years unless indicated in months - (M), weeks - (W), or days - (D). In the original volumes the ages of many children are given in fractions, e.g., 2½ years or 15/12. To simplify computing, ages with monthly fractions have been converted to months up to and including 2½ years, which becomes 30 m. Ages over 3 years with fractional months are shown as the full years attained with the actual age shown in Original Remarks.

Some infants' ages were not given but the word 'infant' appears in Remarks. Some were referred to as being 'under' age 20 etc. There were many errors in transcribing ages.

Notes on Class

On the original Household Returns, this column is headed 'Class'. In most cases the PRO volumes showed two alpha capitals. Where the word 'Free' appeared it has been reduced to 'F' (Free does not necessarily infer that the person arrived in N.S.W. as a free settler). In many cases the PRO volumes showed 'C' for Convict whilst the SRNSW copy showed 'GS'. In these cases where the person appeared to be working for a master, 'GS' has been adopted. What appeared in the List volumes has been over written by what appears in the extant Returns.

The meaning of some initials is not clear or is unknown. Refer to the List of Class Abbreviations [55].

Class Abbreviations:

additional information has been moved to Original Remarks column

AP = Absolute Pardon

AS = Assigned

B = Bond (still a serving convict).

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BC = Born in the Colony
BS = Born at Sea
C = Convict (still as serving convict)
CF = Came Free
CP = Conditional Pardon
CS = probably Convict Servant
E = Emancipated
F = Free (could be free by arrival, birth or service)
FB = Free Born
FC = Free Convict
FS = Free by Servitude
FP = Free Pardon
GE = Government Employ
GP = Government or General Pass
GS = Government Service
IN = In Irons
MP = [not known - P probably means Pardon]
N = Native (possibly Aboriginal or Native Born)
NS = Not Stated
NZ = New Zealander
P = Prisoner
PC = [not known - probably means Prisoner of the Crown]
TE = Ticket of Exemption
TL = Ticket of Leave
VD = Born in Van Diemens Land (Tasmania)

Notes on Ships

In the PRO volumes ship names were abbreviated inconsistently. Many appeared in both the PRO List and the Returns as e.g. M. Cornwallis and the Editors have expanded these to *Marquis Cornwallis* etc.

Every effort has been made to correct the spelling of ship names as recorded in the two important reference volumes *Shipping Arrivals and Departures, Sydney, Vol.1 1788-1825* by Dr J.S. Cumpston and *Vol. 2 1826-1840* by Commodore I.H. Nicholson, CBE. Where a ship could not be identified it has been left as it appeared in the PRO volumes. If a numeral follows the ship name it indicates the number of the visit of that ship to Sydney. However, the figures are taken from the PRO volumes and have not been changed or amended. Ships without numbers do not necessarily imply the first visit of the vessel to Sydney. Researchers should never assume that the ship name given is correct until the actual shipping list is consulted at the SRNSW [see also Notes on Year of Arrival]. A number of persons stated that they arrived by the ship 'Aylesbury' which proved, in every instance to be the ship *Hillsborough* in 1799. {Ref: Noah, William, *Voyage to Sydney in the Ship Hillsborough, 1798-9*. (LAH, Sydney, 1978)}. Similarly, the ship 'Kennedy' proved to be the ship *Canada*. These entries have been corrected by the Editors.

Notes on Year of Arrival

Reference to the Cumpston/Nicholson *Shipping Arrivals* volumes indicates that many of the years of arrival given in the Census do not correspond with the years that the ships named arrived in Sydney. In some instances the year of arrival is wrong; in others the ship name may have been incorrectly recollected by the informant. In either or both this may apply, as a result the Editors have **not** changed the year of arrival to correspond with the year of arrival of the particular ship named. There have been very few exceptions; one was the year of arrival of the First Fleet vessels which in some cases was given as 1787 or 1789, years in which no vessels arrived in Sydney from Britain. [See Notes on Ships]. See also the Cumpston/Nicholson volumes previously mentioned and Charles Bateson's *The Convict Ships 1787-1868*. (LAH, Sydney, 2004). CD is available from our [Shop](#)

Notes on Sentence

The Returns often gave sentence years in full e.g. 14 years or Life. All information has been abbreviated to two digits 07, 14. and L. In cases where this could not be done the additional information has been listed in the Original Remarks.

Notes on Religion

On the original Returns, most religions were entered in an abbreviated form. e.g. Prot. R.C., Presb. etc. whilst other were given more fully e.g. R. Catholic, and others in full e.g. Church of England. These have all been expanded and standardized by the Editors.

Notes on Occupation

Unless specified, persons working on road gangs, etc., are not given an occupation. It could be assumed that they were government labourers but that may not have been the case; no occupation is shown. The Dwelly transcript shows over 40 *Lawyers* in the Colony in 1828. Checking revealed that most of them were in fact Sawyers. The Mineral Surveyors are in fact Labourers working for the Mineral Surveyors Department and the word 'Department' has been added to indicate this.

As mentioned in the Introduction, a number of occupations are more specifically recorded in the Returns and they have replaced those recorded in the PRO version.

Notes on Employer

It was decided to leave in such words as 'to', 'at', 'with', because of the different meanings they convey. It is not always clear what the relationship was between the principal and the ancillary persons referred to in an entry. In some instances, both the name of the Employer and Landlord are given. In these cases the Landlord's name appears in the Residence column. Government departments are shown as Employers, e.g., Engineer's Department, Road Gang-12, etc.

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A number of employers do not appear in their own right as principal entries in the Census. This may be because they were absent from the Colony or because their names are spelt incorrectly. The Editors have corrected a number of these names where they were clearly wrong. However, if an employer or landlord of a subject person could not be found in the Census in their own right, the Editors have allocated an 'X' number so that all persons associated with them can be brought together.

Notes on Original Remarks

The clerks sometimes wrote in extra information from the Returns which did not fit well into the space provided by the columns in the Lists and did not fit into our data Fields. These extra details have been placed in a Field titled Original Remarks.

Notes on Residence & District

This information presented one of the most difficult editing tasks as it required considerable abbreviation and standardisation on account of space and to facilitate computing. Place names are not necessarily abbreviated identically in all instances. It was also made more difficult in the cases where the Returns no longer exist as the clerks did not duplicate what was on the Returns. The Return provided a column headed Residence whilst the District of the Return was filled in at the heading of the Return. In the Lists the clerks added both of these names together or left out the District. To complicate this further, some enumerators entered a farm name in the residence column whilst in other cases they entered the District only with no indication where the residence was located.

Where a Return exists we have added the Residence data into the Residence field and the District name given into the District field. Where the Return does not exist we have repeated what the clerks recorded in the Lists but have split it into District where a known District name was given and placed the remainder in the Residence Field. In a few cases the Residence is not in the District. There are cases of absent householders where their name was recorded (when it should not have been because they were not in the Household) and so there are entries such as Pitt St. Sydney / Bathurst. Pitt Street being where the householder, or more likely the house owner, was living, and Bathurst is where the Return was completed, by employees, tenants or other family members.

The spelling of Property names, Place names and Street names varies considerably between the PRO volumes and the SRNSW volumes. Some names were wrongly recorded in both. The Editors have attempted to correct Place names and Street names. However, a concerted effort has not been made to correct the spelling of Property names, the modern spelling of which may now differ from the original spelling. Some Place names may also be spelt differently from the spelling used today.

It is not always clear if the address given is the abode of the principal subject of the entry or the employer, or even the place of employment. Where a Return is not extant it should not be assumed that the residence is that of the subject person, it may be the residence of their employer.

Notes on Reference Numbers

As explained in the Notes under Editing Parameters, the order of the PRO volumes has been followed with very few exceptions. The principal exception arises out of the duplicated reference numbers that were originally used. So as to give every entry its own number, some entries have been transferred to the end of their respective alphabetical section and given the next running number.

In some instances, a reference number was completely left out and therefore no entry appears at all. In one case a block of 100 reference numbers was not used. They have also been left out of this work.

The reference number begins with the appropriate alphabetical letter listed except for the 'I's which are interspersed with the 'J's and all appear under the prefix 'J'.

Notes on Editors' Remarks

Any observations by the Editors have been placed in this Field and should be taken as a guide only.

Notes on Duplications

A number of persons and sometimes whole families are duplicated in the Census. Always check for a duplicate as it may contain additional or different information. Duplicated entries were deliberately retained for this reason. How these duplications occurred is discussed in the section *What did the Clerks do?* [see above 38]

Notes on Deaths

Ships, years of arrival, etc., are not repeated as they correspond with the data in the main entry. Where an exact date of death is not recorded in Original Remarks, it must be assumed that the person died during the period from December 1828 to December 1833 as stated above, or before 4 March 1834 at the latest.

Notes on Land & Stock

There were many discrepancies between the PRO and SRNSW Lists copies relating to land and stock. Three important aspects of these should be noted:

1. The Land and Stock listed under any particular reference entry may not belong to the subject person but may belong to his employer or landlord. In many cases it is obvious from the employment status of the primary entry, i.e. shepherd, that the 5000 sheep listed under his reference number in fact belong to his employer. In

other cases it is not as clear, e.g., *J0287* David Jenkins, do the 35 Horned Cattle belong to Jenkins, the Fencer, or to *B1443* Mr Bloomfield? The Household Return sometimes clearly indicates that some stock is owned by an employee.

2. The Land and Stock listed under the primary entry reference number may not be the total of his/her holding. In cases where a person had more than one property, or was an absentee landlord or employer, his/her property may be listed under the names of his employees. This may be determined by calling up the Household. Besides making it possible to completely list a person's employees, it should fully record his total Land and Stock holdings.

3. Where a Household Return no longer exists, the land and stock of the householder may not be in the District of his abode and could be split between several properties in different districts. Further research is therefore required to determine where exactly holdings were located. The PRO List often wrongly indicated that a person held 1000 acres and 300 cattle in Sydney whereas an extant Return indicates that his holding was in a named country district.

Historical Significance

The Bathurst and Wellington Returns show the amazing expansion to the west that had taken place only 15 years after explorers Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson first crossed the Blue Mountains, barely 13 years after the first road was constructed to Bathurst.

Not only were there 2259 colonists in those areas but 1176 horses, 45,147 cattle and 171,886 sheep. Some colonists had established properties well over 100 miles from Bathurst town. It has been suggested that the numbers of livestock may have been exaggerated by the owners to justify more land grants. The Returns also tell an interesting social story. In almost all instances of outstations, they were occupied by men only. However, if a husband and his wife were present, then they invariably had women servants on the property as well. In a number of instances the occupations of the men tell a story also, e.g. brickmaker, bricklayer, hutkeeper, fencer and cook. Almost all of the men on the outstations were serving convicts, many having arrived in very recent years.

Central Parramatta also tells its own story, there are many very old and early colonists, including First, Second and Third Fleeters and others who had arrived in the 1790s. If one can presume that the enumerator moved down the streets, they were living side by side, or in close proximity to each other.

There are many interesting facts detailed in the Census Returns, e.g. *T0708* Thomas Tholbey (spelt Tholley in the Slops List) describes his religion as "free thinker", quite a novelty for a man on a government gang.

Difficulties - finding people in the Census

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The following examples highlight some of the difficulties that may be encountered in identifying people in the Census.

In 1828 John and Mary Stanton and their four children were living at Castle Hill, N.S.W. They appear to be missing from the Census. However, they are listed under the surname Haskitt *H0922* [see facsimile illustration 86]. {Ref: SRNSW, 4/ 1238}. John Stanton had been transported from London under the name Stephano Haskitt and as a Ticket of Leave man was obliged to register in the Census under that name.

It is interesting to note that the PRO volume shows Stephano whilst the Dwelly transcript and the SRNSW volume show Stephen, a clerk's assumption that he was English. He was in fact either a Sicilian or a Slav, born in 1782 in Palermo, Sicily and had changed his name from Stephano Powseitch to Haskitt in England. He was transported to New South Wales in 1813 with an Italian, Piedro Poloni, who does not appear in the Census under that name. Stephano changed his name to John and after his marriage to Mary Stanton at Parramatta in 1820, he adopted her surname. It is interesting to note that the St. John's marriage register gives his original surname which the parish clerk recorded as Posich. The four children of the marriage were baptised as Stanton. {Ref: *Pioneers of Hornsby Shire 1788-1906* (LAH, Sydney, 1979) p.150}.

Many surnames are spelt incorrectly. The First Fleeter, *P0697* Edward Pugh is recorded in the Census at Edward Pew of Richmond. *P1053* Morgan Poor, born in the colony, was serving a two year colonial sentence at Norfolk Island. His young wife, *P1006* Ann Poer, 17 years and infant son, *P1007* Morgan Poer, 18 months, are living on 500 acres of land at Seven Hills. Their surname became Power.

Is it likely that *D0739* William Delvin was in fact William Devlin, *E0288* Samuel Eirth was Samuel Firth, *F0170* William Farlington was William Tarlington, and *G0837* Thomas Gostello was Thomas Costello? Were the Fergusons, *F1498* & *F0099*, in fact Fergusons. *M1318* Mrs McQuirey was in fact Elizabeth Henrietta Macquarie, the widow of Governor Lachlan Macquarie, living in Scotland but still the owner of land in the Bathurst district.

Whilst surnames normally commencing with the prefix 'Mac' are all listed as 'Mc' some are incorrectly listed without the prefix. *G0358* John Gibbon appeared to the Census clerk to be listed on the Household Return for the Government Establishment, Bathurst, as John M. Gibbon, Clerk to Government, Bathurst. His name was in fact John McGibbon but as he was the Clerk who completed the Return for the Superintendent, the entry for himself was his normal signature. His name at death, in 1842, is recorded in a Burial Register as John McGiven. This example is given as a further caution to look for all variations of a surname. The family of *S2731* Christian Sturnback, became known as Sternbeck, including a child *S2613* George Stornbeck at Brisbane Water in 1828.

Research Value

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The Census provides background details concerning many persons known in our history. Typical examples are the explorers Hume and Hovell, and Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth. We learn from the Census that *H2480* William Henry Hovell was aged 41 years in 1828 and that he came to Sydney as a free settler with his wife and daughter Emma, in the *Earl Spencer* in 1813. Hovell had a substantial land holding at Upper Minto. *H2872* Hamilton Hume aged 31 years was born in the Colony (in 1797) as was his wife Elizabeth (in 1802). They too had a substantial land holding, at Appin.

Gregory Blaxland is not listed, as he was in England from early 1827 until September 1829. {Ref: Richards, J.A., (Ed.) *Blaxland - Lawson - Wentworth, 1813* (Blubberhead Press, Hobart, 1979), p.36}. His brother *B1408* John Blaxland of Newington (near Parramatta) is recorded, as well as a number of Gregory Blaxland's assigned servants at his property *Brush Farm*, Field of Mars.

Two entries *L0355* and *L0358* appear for the explorer William Lawson, aged 55, who came as a free settler in the ship *Royal Admiral* in 1800. He is recorded as a substantial landholder at Prospect. His sons John, William (junior) and Nelson Lawson, all born in the Colony, are also listed as large landholders at Bathurst and Mudgee.

W0998 William Charles Wentworth's entry records that he was born in the Colony and that he was a landholder at Argyle. Two children, both born in the Colony, are listed; *W0996* Catherine Wentworth, aged 4 years and *W0997* Charles D'Arcy Wentworth, aged 7 months. {Ref: These children are not recorded in Burke's *Colonial Gentry* (Facsimile Ed., Heraldry Today, London, 1970) Vol. I, p.97}. *L0354* Ann Laws, 35 years, who came free in the ship *Sinclair* in 1806 is recorded as the housekeeper to W.C. Wentworth of Homebush, Sydney.

The entry for the widow of John Oxley who had died in May 1828, is not informative. The details are as follows: *O0433*, Mrs Oxley, came free, widow of *Kirkham*, Cooke with two children, *O0434* J.N. Oxley, 4 years and *O0435* H.N. Oxley, 2 years, both born in the Colony. {Ref: *ADB*, Vol. 2, pp.305-7}.

More than 450 people are listed as having arrived in New South Wales in ships of the First Fleet - 1788, Second Fleet - 1790, and Third Fleet - 1791. Of the 100 First Fleeters identified, ten did not record the year of arrival, only the vessel. Five persons who came free by *H.M.S. Sirius* and remained in the Colony, still survived in November 1828. They were:

C0734 Owen Cavanagh (senior), 66 years; *G0909* John Gowen, 65 years; *H1630* Peter Hibbs, 64 years; *P0033* James Painter, 67 years; and *P0070* John Palmer, 68 years.

Of the other 95 persons, the majority were emancipated convicts. Of the sixteen convict's children who came on the First Fleet, only two are recorded in the Census: *K0017* Henry Kable (junior), 42 years, came free in the ship *Charlotte* and is residing with his father, Henry Kable, 64 years, a farmer at Pitt Town; and *S2480* Roseanna Stewart, a landholder in Kent Street, Sydney, aged 43 years, who stated that she

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arrived in the ship *Lady Penrhyn* in 1796. This vessel came only once to New South Wales, with the First Fleet in 1788. {Ref: Foster Transcripts, SAG, records that Roseanna Stewart died 11 April 1837 aged 49 years}.

It would appear that Henry Kable (junior), who died on 15 May 1852, at the age of 66 years, was one the last survivors of the First Fleeters; S1216 John Small, one of the last survivors of the emancipists, died at Kissing Point in October 1850. {Ref: Small Family Archives}.

The Census records that O003 Rebecca Oakes, aged 40 years; H0762 Sarah Harrex, 39 years; and T0279 Diana Teele, 39 years, were born at the infant settlement in 1788-1789. J0256 Jemima Jenkins stated that she was 42 years and was born in the Colony. In fact she arrived in the Colony with her mother, Mary Pitt, a widow, in 1801. Jemima was widowed twice before 1828; her first husband, Captain Austin Forrest, formerly of the East India Company, died in 1812 and Robert Jenkins, a Sydney merchant, to whom she was married in 1813, died in 1822. {Ref: ADB, Vol. 2, p.16}.

Other 'currency lasses' included, born during the earliest period of colonization, were P0909 Ann Piper, 37 years and M0469 Lydia McDonald, 37 years. P0475 George Peat, aged 36 years, appears to be the oldest 'currency lad' listed. However, W0998 William Charles Wentworth, whose age is not given, was 38 years old and was born at Norfolk Island in October 1790. {Ref: *Australian Encyclopaedia* (1963 Ed.) Vol. 9, p.236}. [It is more likely he was born on board ship in July/August 1790]. R1666 Elizabeth Ryan, 38 years, who came free on the *Scarborough* in 1790, was probably born on the voyage to New South Wales. She was the wife of the Chief Clerk in the Principal Superintendent of Convicts' Office, R1662 Thomas Ryan, whose initials 'T.R.' appear on so many butts of Tickets of Leave and Certificates of Freedom.

Of the 125 persons recorded as arriving in the four vessels of the Second Fleet, most are emancipated convicts. Of the exceptions, notable are M0036 & M0037 John and Elizabeth McArthur of Parramatta who arrived by the ship *Scarborough* in 1790. Despite John McArthur's long sojourn in England, 1810-1817, he does not refer to the vessel in which he returned to the Colony in 1818. U0023 James Underwood and R0441 Mary Reiby [Reibey] refer to the ships in which they returned free to the Colony rather than the ships of their original arrival as convicts. B3131 Captain Eber Bunker, Master of the convict transport ship *William and Ann*, 1791, and P0908 John Piper who arrived in the *Pitt* in 1792 as an ensign in the newly formed New South Wales Corps, record ships in which they later returned to New South Wales. R0057 Captain Thomas Raine made six voyages to Sydney between 1814 and 1823 but records his arrival in 1820 on his ship *Surry*. {Ref: ADB, Vol. 2, p.359}.

There were some First, Second and Third Fleeters residing in Van Diemen's Land in 1828 and naturally not recorded in the Census of New South Wales. Some had settled there following a period of residence on Norfolk Island, others had settled there after many years in New South Wales. An example of the latter category is Jonathan Griffiths who arrived by the ship *Scarborough* in 1790 and after at least

fifteen years in Launceston, Tasmania died at Port Fairy, Victoria, in November 1839. {Ref: MS. material in possession of the Editors}. The mother of his nine children, Eleanor McDonald, who arrived in the ship *Queen* in 1791 and died in March 1831 at Richmond, N.S.W. where a number of her children also resided with their families, is not recorded in the Census, she was visiting Launceston, V.D.L. where Jonathan Griffiths, their eldest daughter and three of their sons had settled in 1820. {Ref: *ibid.*}.

Distributed throughout the Census there are many examples of families where the father had been sentenced to transportation and his wife and children followed him to New South Wales, sometimes almost immediately, in other instances many years later. The entry for *C2016* John Conneen, 50 years, free by servitude, who had arrived in Sydney in 1818 and was in 1828 a householder at South Creek, Pitt Town, is interesting for the next entry, *C2017* is a son James, born in the colony in 1826 shortly after he and his wife *C2018* Mary Conneen were re-united in 1824. Mary brought with her in the ship *Almorah* from Ireland her four older sons Patrick, Michael, John and Thomas and her twelve year old daughter, Susannah, who had all been born before their father was sentenced to transportation in 1817. As John Conneen's crime warranted a sentence of seven years and was not serious enough for 14 years or life, it typifies the harshness of the Judiciary in Ireland at this period, that a 40 year old man with five children under the age of ten years was transported to New South Wales.

A number of men and women transported by the ships *Broxbornebury*, *Somersetshire* and *Indefatigable* in 1814/1815 were joined by their families who arrived in June 1815, in the ship *Northampton*, which also brought 106 female prisoners. Joseph Arnold, the surgeon on this vessel, kept excellent records. {Ref: ML, C.720 Journals of Joseph Arnold, Surgeon, RN., August 1810 - December 1815}.

A number of large houses were erected in New South Wales during the 1830's. Evidence that the landholders who had these built were making preparations or at least clearing their land before the end of 1828 is apparent from the Census. *F0453* Heneage Finch, the first trained surveyor appointed to New South Wales and who discovered the original route of the Great North Road in 1825, had cleared 12 acres of his 1,000 acres grant at Laguna. He had *E0622* John Evans, a labourer assigned to him at Laguna in 1828. His simple elegant Georgian homestead, *Laguna House*, the oldest existing stone building in the Wollombi Valley, was built in 1831.

In Sydney, the Colonial Secretary, *M1053* Alexander McLeay of Macquarie Place, already had at the end of 1828 assigned labourers including *A0313* Alfred Allibun, *G1537* John Grundy, *L0937* William Littlegood, and a gardener *B0968* Richard Bennett at Elizabeth Bay where he subsequently had *Elizabeth Bay House* erected between 1835 and 1839. A letter from Governor Darling dated 4 October 1826 granted him 54 acres of land at Elizabeth Bay. {Ref: ML, Norton Smith Papers A5377-3 No. 98}.

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Various suburbs and districts took their names from the early settlers and landholders in New South Wales. They include:

G0524 John Glade, 57, of Kissing Point, after whom Gladesville is named; *P1468* Robert Pymble, 40, of Hunter's Hill, after whom Pymble is named; *D1643* George Druitt, 50, of Mt Druitt, Melville, a large landholder who had been the Chief Engineer at Sydney for a ten year period and after whom Druitt Street is also named; *B1456* William Blue, 80, described as a landholder of Hunter's Hill, who in fact was living at Billy Blue's Point, North Shore, which is still known as Blues Point; *M3274* Archibald Mosman, 25, a Merchant of George Street, Sydney, had his whaling station in a bay of Sydney Harbour which became known as Mosman Bay and *E0510* Rev George Erskine, 47, a Wesleyan Missionary at Parramatta in 1828, who subsequently moved to his property near Sydney which, when subdivided, became known as Erskineville.

There were also:

G0728 William Gore, 52, a Hunter's Hill landholder, whose home *Artarmon House*, was situated at what is now known as Gore Hill; *M2844* Thomas Moore, 66, a landholder of Liverpool, after whom Moorebank was named, and who also endowed the Moore Theological College, which was originally located at Liverpool; *H2402* Samuel Horne, 30, Constable of Parramatta, after whom Hornsby was named; *T0663* John Thorn, 35, Chief Constable at Parramatta after whom Thornleigh was named; *O0025* James Oatley. Watchmaker, George Street, Sydney after whom the southern suburb of Oatley was named, he was buried on his landholding there; *L0688* Robert Lethbridge, 38, landholder, Flushcombe, Prospect, after whom Lethbridge Park is named, these are only a few examples.

One can ascertain the reasons for the naming of various city streets. Examples of small streets near Darling Harbour, Sydney. now laneways are:

J0266 James Jenkins, 56, Farmer after whom Jenkins Street is named; *M3428* James Munn, 45, Shipbuilder after whom Munn Street is named; *B0315* Thomas Barker, 29, Miller, of Sussex Street, after whom nearby Barker Street, Barker Lane and Steam Mill Street, are named; *D1390* James Dowling, a judge of the Supreme Court, who had only nine months previously arrived in Sydney and was leasing a house in Kent Street, which has become known as the 'Judge's House' (beautifully restored in 1978), and after whom Dowling Street is also named; *R0441* Mary Reiby [Reibey], 50, Merchant and householder, George Street, Sydney, after whom Reiby Place is named; *M2297* James Merriman, lodger with *R0157* Joseph Raphael, Pitt Street, Sydney, who subsequently became a Lord Mayor of Sydney, and lived in Argyle Place, after whom Merriman Street, Miller's Point is named.

Unusual and Interesting Entries

Some fascinating occupations are recorded for many colonists, they now have a quaint ring to them some 180 years later:

M2002 John Massagorah of George Street, Sydney, was a Dealer in Curiosities; *H2720* Thomas Hughes of Kent Street, Sydney, the Hangman, was aptly described as the Finisher of the Law; *W2026* William Wilkins is described as the Cryer at Court, Phillip Street; *P0287* Capper Pass was a Tallow Chandler in George Street; *A0316* Joshua Allott of Kent Street was the Beadle - the parish officer appointed by the

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Vestry of St. Phillip's Church to punish petty offenders; *L0062* Edward Lakeman was Postillion to Governor Darling, the man who rode one of the two horses that drew the Governor's carriage and had control of the pair of horses; and *B2179* William Brennan, the Gaoler at Windsor, is described as the Turnkey.

Other interesting occupations include those practised by:

L0054 Miles Lake who was the Turnpike Toll Taker at Parramatta; *B0269* Richard Bannister who is described as an Ostler to *S1740* John Smith, Newcastle, in other words the stableman at Smith's Inn, and *A0094* William Adams was a Cordwainer but now would be described as a Shoemaker.

There are a number of colonists in their 80's and 90's recorded in the Census. Some ages are likely to be overstated. Was *M2480* John Millet 99 years old? *K0139* John Keating, a Pensioner at the Benevolent Asylum aged 90 years? *H0633* Mary Harney of Seven Hills aged 90 years? *K0813* John King of Airds aged 89 years?

The widowed parents of a number of colonists joined their sons and daughters in New South Wales. Examples: *J0979* Anne Inch aged 95 years who came free in 1821, living with *J0977* Joseph Inch, aged 59, in Pitt Street Sydney, he had arrived in 1790. *J0976* Joseph Inch (junior) 26, born in the Colony, was a Grazier in the Argyle District.

U0009 Mary Underwood, aged 82, who came free (duplicate *U0022*) in the ship *Harriet* in 1817 was the mother of *U0010* Joseph Underwood the Merchant of George Street, Sydney and *U0023* James Underwood the Distiller of Botany.

As well as very elderly and long time colonists in New South Wales, there were a number of very recently born infants as well as recently arrived colonists recorded.

P0741 An infant son, not named, of James and Lydia Phillips of Bona Vista, Durham, was only three days old. One of his two older brothers was *P0737* Frank Henry Fortunate Phillips, so perhaps his parents needed some time to think up a name for their eighth child! *P1158* The ten day old son of *P1153* John and *P1154* Charlotte Powell of Orange Grove, Patersons Plains, was not named. The one week old son of *P1298* Edward Priest, a whitesmith of Newcastle, had been named *P1307* James Priest.

Whilst some persons who arrived in the Colony in October/November 1828 have been omitted from the Census, others who reached Sydney during the early months of 1829 have been included. Elizabeth Mortimer who arrived with two young daughters in the ship *Competitor* in October 1828, and married *C0005* John Cadman in 1830, is not recorded but the elder of her two little girls, Charlotte Phoebe Mortimer could be *M3220*, C. Mortimer, at the Female Orphan Institution, Parramatta. Why Elizabeth Mortimer and her younger daughter, Ellen Elizabeth, are not recorded is not known. {Ref: Provis & Johnson, *Cadman 's Cottage, The Life and Times of John Cadman in Colonial Sydney, 1798-1848* (Sydney, 1972)}.

K0484 Basil Kendall, 21, who came free in the *Lady Blackwood* on 25 November 1828, is recorded as resident at Illawarra with his parents, *K0481* Thomas and Jane

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Kendall and five brothers, Thomas, Joseph, John, Laurence and Edward. Basil's son, Henry Kendall, the famous colonial poet, was born in 1839 at Ulladulla. {Ref: *ADB*, Vol.5, p.13}.

G1245 Edmond Greenfield, Government servant to *A0221* Mr Allan at Goulburn Plains, is recorded as arriving in the ship *Royal George* in 1829; the vessel in fact arrived at Sydney on 24 December 1828. The point is that a number of persons who arrived after November 1828, are included in the Census.

C0827 J.H. Challis, the famous philanthropist of the University of Sydney, who came free to Sydney from Hobart on the *Pyramus* on 9 May 1829, is included; others who arrived in 1829 and are included were three convicts: *R1806* Edward Ryley, Labourer to John Wyllie, *M.2684* James Moil, also Labourer to *W1478* John Wyllie, Illawarra and *D0409* William Davis, groom to Governor Darling, who all arrived by the ship *Vittoria* in Sydney on 17 January 1829. It is of interest that another Groom to Governor Darling was *S2752* Syngeeze Success aged 18 years; he arrived in Sydney with the Governor in 1825 and came free. Another Illawarra landholder, *S2092* J.H. Spearing, had assigned labourers *H2429* William Hornby and *C1298* Edward Clarke, who had both arrived by the East Indiaman *Mellish* on 18 April 1829.

L1107 Michael Looby, who was a labourer to *C2503* Edward Corrigan, a Shoemaker at Illawarra, arrived in the ship *Governor Ready* on 16 January 1829. Two labourers employed by *O0150* W. Ogilvie at Merton, Hunters River, *S0473* Michael Shanahan and *M3177* Jeffrey Morrisey, also arrived in the *Governor Ready*.

The children of women who had been widowed and married again are recorded under their proper surnames, i.e., their deceased father's names:

G1316 to *G1318* Thomas, Matthias and Jonathan Griffiths are described as the children of *W0697* Mrs Waterford of Richmond by her former husband; *P0402* John Robert Peake and his sisters, Elizabeth and Sarah Jane Peake, are the children of *B0596* Elizabeth Bates, Parramatta; *S2656* to *S2658* Pierce, Josiah and Joseph Strickland are the children of *F0345* Maria Field, Evan, by her former husband; *S0725* to *S0732* eight Sherwin children ranging in age from 18 years to five years are described as the children of *W0942* Mrs Mary Wells of Parramatta.

There are a number of people in the Census who belonged to racial and religious minorities: Natives of Otaheite include *D0833* Frederick Denyee and *F0295* Fermate, whilst *M3789* was a New Zealander. *P1066* Don K. Popilara could be Spanish or Portuguese and *P1095* (not named) is recorded in the surname column as Portuguese. Chinese include *A0124* Ahchun, *A0125* Ahfoo, *A0126* Ahlong and *A0527* Archoey.

People belonging to minority religions include *R0575* Rhamut and *W2490* William Wooden, both Mohammedans. *R0474* William Reilly was a Quaker and *R0088* Ramdial, a Hindu, while *A0693* Asson and *H1579* Samuel Hewitt were recorded as Pagans. The above is not a complete list.

Future Corrections and Additions

The Reference Numbers have been retained to aid identification for the purpose of amendments and supplementary lists that may be published in the future. As explained in the Notes on Editing Parameters, this copy of the Census will repeat some of the factual errors contained in the PRO volumes. In addition, there are undoubtedly some human errors for which the present Editors may be held responsible. The Editors would welcome the notification of errors and additional information, in writing. Please quote the Census reference number and also the source of your information.

Information should be sent in writing to The Editors, 1828 Census of N.S.W., PO Box 795, North Sydney, 2059.

Caution

It must be remembered that this CD consists of an edited version of the PRO volumes. Before taking any information to be absolute fact, reference should be made to the appropriate Household Return, if extant, and to complementary primary source material, such as the Official Shipping Lists. It must also be remembered that the Household Returns could be incorrect because of misinterpretation, by the Constables and Clerks collecting the data, of the accents of the informants and transcription errors. Additional difficulties arise from the fact that a number of householders, either intentionally, or through poor recollection of details, gave incorrect particulars to the Collectors [see Introduction].

Biographical Database of Australia

State Records NSW has given the Editors permission to add the data from the 1828 Census into the *Biographical Database of Australia*.

Abbreviations - General

ADB - *Australian Dictionary of Biography*

HRA - *Historical Records of Australia*

PRO - Public Record Office (London) now The National Archives (Kew, Surrey)

SRNSW - State Records of New South Wales

VDL - Van Diemens Land (Tasmania)

[] wording in square brackets has been inserted into original quoted text by the Editors.

{ } wording in squiggly brackets refers to the source record of the information.

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Illustration of a **Household Return**

The illustration shown is typical of a standard Household Return used by the Constables. Longer Returns were printed for use by large estates with many employees.

The Returns were often completed by the enumerator who was in most cases the District Constable, as in this case, W Moore, because the Householder was illiterate, as in this case where he signed with an X.

It appears Householders were expected to record their name as it appeared on their arrival record, mainly Convict Indents. Stephano Haskitt had arrived as Stefano Haskitt and had married Mary Stanton in 1820 as John Posich, having adopted the name John earlier, and used the name Posich which was his legal birth surname. Upon his marriage he adopted her surname, Stanton and died as such in 1861.

All their children were baptised Stanton, and so his wife and children are recorded under incorrect names in this Return.

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

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Extant Household Returns

Table 1:

| Our # | District | Household Returns | Missing | People Stats. intact | Land Stats intact |
|-------|--|-------------------------------|---|---|--|
| 001 | Melville | 17 | none | with Bathurst the Less 4/1240 | missing |
| 002 | Bathurst | 126 | none | yes | yes |
| 003 | Bathurst the Less | 20 | none | yes - 4/1240 | yes |
| 004 | Bathurst (misc.) | 3 containing 49 | none | yes - summary grouped into 3 | yes with Bathurst |
| 005 | Wellington Valley | 7 + huts total 8 | Huts = 102 men - but they have all been identified | yes - 4/1240 | yes |
| 006 | Parramatta | 399 less 16 net 386 | 272 to 310 + 343 15 of these are named in the Land Return. 343 is Wilton, Rev C.P.L. 242 to 258 are combined | yes - except for # 272 to 310 but they are in district stats. some damage. | yes |
| 006 | also missing in Parramatta are the Returns for No. 26 Carters Road Gang, Town Gang, Hospital, Telegraph, Gaol, Engineer Dept., Botanical Collector & Commissariat. These appear to be in addition to the 399 numbered returns. | | | | |
| 007 | Kissing Point | 38 | none | yes - 4/1238.2 | yes |
| 008 | Concord | 33 | none | yes - 4/1238.2 | missing |
| 009 | Baulkham Hills | 38 | none | yes - 4/1238.2 | yes |
| 010 | Seven Hills | 29 | none | yes - 4/1238.2 | yes |
| 011 | Castle Hill | 46 | none | yes - 4/1238.2 | yes |
| 012 | Prospect | 52 | none | yes - 4/1238.2 | yes |
| 013 | Field of Mars | 37 | none | yes - 4/1239.1 | yes |
| 014 | Botany | 60 | # 9 Riley & # 58 Simms | yes - 4/1239.1 | yes |
| 015 | Holdsworthy | 11 | none | yes - 4/1239.1 | yes |
| 016 | Cabramatta | 40 | none | yes - 4/1239.1 | yes |
| 017 | Liverpool | 60 | none | yes - 4/1239.1 | yes |
| 018 | Cooke | 27 | none | yes - 4/1239.1 | yes |
| 019 | Sydney | unknown | all but # 256 | #256 - 4/1239.1 | no |
| 020 | Evan | 154 (125 survive) | 112 to 134 136 to 142 + 148 & supplement, Wm Cox. total of 29 missing | yes - 4/1239.2 except for # 112 to 142 missing. | yes except 112 to 142 they are in final stats. |

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The following two Tables contain a list of Returns which are missing from those Districts where the bulk of the Returns do survive. There are many Districts where all Returns are missing - consult the Master Statistics to see a complete list. **Missing Returns & Statistics**

Table 2: Parramatta - Missing Returns

| District | Our # | Sheet # | Householder | Details from:- |
|--|--|------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Parramatta | 006 | 343 | Wilton, Rev C.P.L | people statistics |
| | Return MISSING - the return is noted in the People statistics as having 14 persons. The DB has been noted so that Wilton and wife appear on a Return. 2 males CF over 12; 1 male pardon; 3 male TL or Bond; 3 females CF over 12; 5 female TL or Bond; total 14, 12 Prot. 2 RC. | | | |
| Parramatta | 006 | 272 to 310 | not known | total summary stats. |
| | Returns MISSING - These numbers do NOT appear in people stats which are totalled at the end of 271 and start on a new page with 311. The summary totals show that there were 93 males and 75 females on these missing pages. So the HH Returns and the Statistics page for them are all missing. However, 15 of the householders are listed on the Land and Livestock statistics (as List No. 8). | | | |
| At the end of the individual Household Return statistics, in which the householder is named, come the Summary Statistics: These list blocks of returns e.g. 272 to 310 above and then give a complete break-up of persons free, bond, religion etc. At the end of these groups of summary stats. the following institutions are added. | | | | |
| Parramatta | | | Town Gang | total summary stats. |
| | Stats. show 99 males. Return Missing - The Census names 86 men in Parramatta Town Gang - the Household Return is missing. | | | |
| Parramatta | | | Hospital | total summery stats. |
| | Stats. show 13 males. | | | |
| Parramatta | | | Telegraph | total summery stats. |
| | Stats. show 5 males. | | | |
| Parramatta | | | Gaol | total summery stats. |
| | Stats show 42 males. | | | |
| Parramatta | | | Engineers Dept. | total summery stats. |
| | Stats. show 171 males. | | | |
| Parramatta | | | Botanical Collector | total summery stats. |
| | Stats. show 2 male. | | | |
| Parramatta | | | Commissariat | total summery stats. |
| | Stats. show 1 male | | | |
| The above institutions tally 353 people. Their returns are all missing. Total 2285 in Parramatta. | | | | |

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Table 3: Missing Returns & Statistics - Other Districts

| District | Our # | Sheet # | Householder | Details from:- |
|----------|--|--------------------------|---|----------------------|
| Botany | 014 | 9 | Riley, Robert | District Stats. |
| | Return MISSING . District Stats. of land name his farm as Banks Town, owned or tenanted by Sir John Jami[e]son. The people stats. show there are 1 CF male and 2 Bond males in the household. Riley cannot be found in the Census Lists and the other two men, if there, are not recorded as with Riley. | | | |
| Botany | 014 | 58 | Simms, William | District Stats. |
| | Return MISSING . District Stats. of land name his farm as Banks Town, owned or tenanted by William Simms Sen. The people stats. show 1 male FS + 1 female FS (1 Prot. & 1 RC). Simms cannot be found in the Census Lists and the woman, if there, is not recorded as with Simms. | | | |
| Evan | 020 | 112 -134 & 136 to 142 | Missing - not known return 135 survives. | No Stats sheet. |
| | Returns MISSING . The returns and their statistics sheet (#4) are missing (except for return #135) but the total on statistics sheet # 5 includes them - there are 214 people in these returns. There are 36 people on sheet # 135. | | | |
| Evan | 020 | Supplement | Cox, William Esq. | People stats. sheet. |
| | Return MISSING - 15 Bond males - added to stats. are they in Census List? | | | |

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Table 4: Gangs & Government Establishments

| District | Name | Return # | People Listed | Stats. Sheet | Found in DB |
|------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| Melville | No. 10 Iron Gang - Western Road | 17 | 43 | 53 | 85 |
| Melville | Rooty Hill Gov. Establishment | 15 | 105 | 107 | 105 |
| Bathurst (Less) | nil | | | | |
| Wellington Vy | Huts | missing | missing | 102 | 102 |
| Bathurst (Misc.) | nil | | | | |
| Bathurst | Gaol | 40 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| | Govt. Civil Establishment | 31 | 48 | 48 | 48 |
| | Hospital | missing | missing | 5 | 5 |
| | No. 1 Iron Gang | missing | missing | 66 | 63 |
| | No. 2 Iron Gang | missing | missing | 79 | 79 |
| | Mountain Road Gang | missing | missing | 62 | nil |
| Parramatta | No. 13 Road Gang - Dogtrap Road | 259 | 54 | 54 | 54 |
| | No. 15 Road Party | 352 | 83 | blank | 83 |
| | No. 23 Road & Bridge Party | 357 | 47 | not listed | 47 |
| | No. 26 Carters Road Gang | return found in Concord - see below | | | |
| | Town Gang | missing | missing | 99 | 86 |
| | Government Factory | 241 | 584 | 591 | 585 |
| | Female Orphan Institution | missing | missing | not listed | 131 |
| | Hospital | missing | missing | 13 | 12 |
| | Telegraph | missing | missing | 5 | 5 |
| | Gaol | missing | missing | 42 | 42 |
| | Engineers Department | missing | missing | 171 | 171 |
| | Botanical Collection | missing | missing | 2 | 2 |
| | Commissariat | missing | missing | 1 | nil |
| Kissing Point | No. 14 Road Gang | 34 | 125 | 116 | 125 |
| Concord | No. 7 Road Gang | 31 | 35 | not listed | 35 |
| | No. 22 Road Gang | 30 | 26 | not listed | 26 |
| | No. 26 Road Gang (Carter's) | 28 | 19 | 20 | 20 |

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Table 4: Gangs & Government Establishments

| District | Name | Return # | People Listed | Stats. Sheet | Found in DB |
|----------------|---|----------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| Baulkham Hills | No. 5 Iron Gang | 38 | 59 | 92 | 59 |
| Seven Hills | nil | | | | |
| Castle Hill | nil | | | | |
| Prospect | No. 9 Iron Gang - at Maroolta Forest | missing | | 90 | 70 |
| Field of Mars | No. 23 Road Gang or Party | missing | missing | 59 | 58 |
| Botany | No. 11 Road Party - Liverpool Rd | 51 | 50 | 52 | 50 |
| Holdsworthy | nil | | | | |
| Cabramatta | Male Orphan School | 34 | 140 | 133 | 140 |
| Liverpool | Lunatic Asylum | 30 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| | Prisoners Barracks | 31 | 83 | 85 | 83 |
| | Hospital | missing | missing | 7 | 5 |
| | Gaol | 27 | 4 | not listed | 4 |
| | No. 11 Road Gang | missing | missing | 49 | nil |
| | this could be the same as No. 11 Road Party in Botany (see above) | | | | |
| | No. 13 Road Gang | | | 54 | * |
| | * this gang is found in the Parramatta District (see above) | | | | |
| Cooke | Nil | | | | |
| Evan | Nil | | | | |

Although No. 9 Iron Gang Return in Prospect is missing, the 70 men have full details recorded in the PRO List.

Although No. 23 Road Gang at the Field of Mars is missing, most of the men have full details recorded in the PRO List.

Sydney Establishments & Gangs**Table 5: Sydney Establishments & Gangs
where no Returns survive the figures are compiled from the
Master Statistics Table**

| Sydney Establishment | Male | Female | Total |
|--------------------------------|------|--------|-------|
| The Jail | 210 | 7 | 217 |
| Barracks H Park | 539 | | 539 |
| Oversleepers from "do" | 183 | | 183 |
| Carters Barrack | 122 | | 122 |
| Hulk | 183 | | 183 |
| Benevolent Asylum | 83 | 37 | 120 |
| The Hospital | 25 | | 25 |
| Grose Farm & Longbottom | 21 | | 21 |
| Lighthouse & Telegraph | 10 | | 10 |
| Barren Hills Sawing Est. | 46 | 2 | 48 |
| Boats Crew Customs Ho. etc. | 44 | | 44 |
| Messengers | 9 | | 9 |
| Gangs - Iron Cove | 49 | | 49 |
| No. 12 Longbottom Quarry | 46 | | 46 |
| Sydney Road | ?? | | ? |
| Grose Farm "do" | ?? | | ?? 9X |
| 22 & 21 Rd Parties | 53 | | 53 |
| Mineral Surveyor | 104 | | 104 |
| Kissing Point | 116 | | 116 |
| Watchmen | 23 | | 23 |
| Seamen in Colonial Craft | 753 | | 753 |

It is of interest that the first entry in this table was written as "Jail", perhaps one of the earliest uses of this spelling in the Colon7?

?? indicates that the figures are blotted out by an ink stain.

Slops List

General Abstract of the Gangs etc. to whom Slop Clothing was issued on the 1st November 1828, to 4033 different Convicts, and others.

Table 6: Slops List

| Gang or Establishment | Locations | Men | Found | # | Full |
|--|---|------------|--------------|----------|-------------|
| 1 Iron Gang | Bathurst Road | 66 | 65 | 01 | no |
| 2 Iron Gang | Bathurst Road | 79 | 79 | 02 | no |
| 3 Iron Gang | Wisemans Station or Portland Head | 40 | 40 | 03 | no |
| 4 Iron Gang | Lower Branch, Hawkesbury | 72 | 72 | 04 | no |
| 5 Iron Gang | Baulkham Hills, Parramatta | 58 | 58 | 05 | yes |
| 6 Iron Gang | Windsor Road | 39 | 39 | 06 | no |
| 7 Iron Gang | Sydney Road | 35 | 35 | 07 | yes |
| 8 Iron Gang | North Road, Wisemans, Lower Portland Head | 58 | 58 | 08 | no |
| 9 Iron Gang | Morroota Forest near Prospect | 43 | 43 | 09 | yes |
| 10 Iron Gang | Melville District | 53 | 53 | 10 | most |
| 11 Road Gang | Liverpool Road | 49 | 49 | 11 | yes |
| 12 Quarry Gang | Longbottom | 46 | 46 | 12 | no |
| 13 Road Party | Dogtrap Road between Parramatta & Liverpool | 54 | 54 | 13 | yes |
| 14 Road Party | Kissing Point, Parramatta | 116 | 116 | 14 | most |
| 15 - not listed | [see Note below] | | | 15 | --- |
| 16 Road Party | Cowpastures Bridge, Camden | 82 | 82 | 16 | no |
| 17 Road Party | Grose Farm, Sydney | 94 | 94 | 17 | no |
| 18 - not listed | | | | 18 | --- |
| 19 Road Gang & Party | Wombat Bush near Paddys River | 73 | 73 | 19 | no |
| detachment of above forming a bridge party | Illawarra | 37 | 37 | 19 A | no |
| 20 Mountain Road Gang | Bathurst | 62 | 62 | 20 | no |
| 21 Road Gang | Sydney Road, Sydney | 25 | 25 | 21 | no |
| 22 Road Party | Sydney Road | 28 | 28 | 22 | yes |
| 23 Road Party | Field of Mars, Parramatta | 59 | 58 | 23 | most |
| 24 Windsor Town Gang | Windsor | 76 | 76 | 24 | no |

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| Gang or Establishment | Locations | Men | Found | # | Full |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|--------------|----------|-------------|
| 25 Windsor Road Party | Portland Head | 35 | 35 | 25 | no |
| 26 Carters Road Gang | temporarily at Parramatta | 20 | 20 | 26 | yes |
| 27 Road Gang | Wallis Plains | 23 | 23 | 27 | no |
| 28 Road Gang | Wollombi & Wallis Plains | 55 | 55 | 28 | no |
| 29 Road Gang | Newcastle | 39 | 39 | 29 | no |
| Detachment of Road Gang 29 | Wallis Plains | 43 | 43 | 29 A | no |
| Morleys Bridge Party | Wallis Plains & Newcastle | 16 | 14 | 30 | no |
| Cooper Murphy's Bridge Party | Newcastle & Wallis Plains | 18 | 18 | 31 | no |
| Parramatta Town Gang | Parramatta | 99 | 99 | 32 | some |
| Hyde Park Barracks | Sydney | 539 | 536 | 33 | no |
| [men in huts] | Wellington Valley | 102 | 102 | 34 | no |
| Mineral Surveyor | Sydney | 104 | 104 | 35 | no |
| Carters Barracks | Sydney | 122 | 122 | 36 | no |
| Hospital | Windsor | 9 | 9 | 37 | no |
| Hospital | Sydney | 25 | 25 | 38 | no |
| Hospital | Bathurst | 5 | 5 | 39 | no |
| Hospital | Parramatta | 13 | 13 | 40 | 1 |
| Hospital | Liverpool | 7 | 7 | 41 | 1 |
| Asylum | Sydney | 4 | 4 | 42 | 1 |
| Rooty Hill [establishment] | Parramatta or Prospect | 90 | 90 | 43 | yes |
| Barracks | Liverpool | 85 | 82 | 44 | yes |
| Grose Farm & Longbottom Farm | Sydney | 21 | 21 | 45 | no |
| Barren Hills | Parramatta [crossed out] Sydney | 46 | 46 | 46 | yes |
| Telegraph | Parramatta | 5 | 5 | 47 | 2 |
| Gaol | Parramatta | 42 | 42 | 48 | no |
| Engineer Department | Parramatta | 171 | 171 | 49 | no |
| Botanical Collector | Parramatta | 2 | 2 | 50 | yes |
| Commissariat | Parramatta | 1 | 1 | 51 | no |
| Commissariat | Windsor | 5 | 5 | 52 | no |

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| Gang or Establishment | Locations | Men | Found | # | Full |
|---|---|------|-------|----|------|
| Gaol | Sydney | 137 | 137 | 53 | no |
| Sleepers in private Lodgings attached to Hyde Park Barracks | Sydney | 183 | 181 | 54 | no |
| Watchmen | Sydney | 23 | 23 | 55 | no |
| Boats Crews | Sydney | 38 | 38 | 56 | no |
| Light House | Sydney | 8 | 18 | 57 | yes |
| Telegraph | Sydney | 2 | 2 | 58 | no |
| Iron Cove Gang | Sydney | 49 | 49 | 59 | no |
| Customs Boats Crew | Sydney | 6 | 6 | 60 | no |
| Messengers | Sydney | 9 | 9 | 61 | no |
| Phoenix Hulk | Sydney | 183 | 183 | 62 | no |
| Hospital | Newcastle, Hunters River | 25 | 25 | 63 | no |
| Barracks | Newcastle | 158 | 156 | 64 | no |
| Gaol | Newcastle | 16 | 16 | 65 | 3 |
| Service of Rev. E. Threlkeld teacher of Aborigines | Reids Mistake, Hunters River, Newcastle | 4 | 4 | 66 | 3 |
| | | 3931 | | | |
| Difference with Numbering of the Slop amount | | 102 | | | |
| | | 4033 | | | |

The Slops List itself numbers every name and runs from 1 to 3933. However, the clerk numbered the heading Hyde Park Barracks 1693 and again Mineral Surveyors 2335 instead of the next man - so the number 3931 is correct and not the listing number of

3933. The "difference" referred to above by the clerk is not identified, however, it does match the 102 men in huts at Wellington Valley and the clerk may have therefore added them in twice to reach an incorrect total of 4033.

Note: The above Table reflects the actual data on the original table, except for the final three columns. The Found column is the total of the actual persons we were able to identify in the Census. The discrepancies in those found and those listed is due mainly to the fact that some people were recorded on more than one Slops List. Full column indicates the extent to which full details are recorded in the PRO List and equates closely to the extant Returns, those marked NO usually relate to the missing Districts.

Gang 15 was not listed above in the Original Slops List but the Household Return survives and records 83 men in Road Party 15 at Parramatta. Of these, 13 are in fact on the Slops Lists under Parramatta Town Gang. A further 6 are duplicated

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elsewhere.

3920 men have been marked in the Census as receiving slops. Of the 11 not marked three on the Slops List have not been found in the Census. Samuel Madden (*Mariner*), Gang 14 at Kissing Point; Joseph Tutty (*Hoogley*) Newcastle Barracks; William Hague (*John Barry*) Hyde Park Barracks - out sleeper. The other 8 were found to be on two sections of the Slops List, usually in hospital.

Military in 1828

State of the Military with their Wives and Children in this Colony and its dependencies in November 1828

Table 7: Military

| Corps | Officers & Men | Women | Children | Totals |
|--|---------------------------------|-------|----------|--------|
| 39 th Regiment of Foot | 756 | 87 | 125 | 968 |
| 57 th do | 793 | 112 | 190 | 1095 |
| Royal Staff Corps | 46 | 9 | 22 | 77 |
| Royal NSW Vet ⁿ Comp ^{ys} | 151 | 103 | 155 | 409 |
| | | | | |
| In New South Wales | 1746 | 311 | 492 | 2549 |
| In Van Diemens Land | 638 | - | - | 638 |
| Total | 2384 | 311 | 492 | 3187 |
| The number of Women and Children in Van Diemens Land not known | | | | |
| signed | K. Snodgrass - Major of Brigade | | | |

Note: Major Kenneth Snodgrass arrived in Sydney in December 1828 with his wife and six children

Population Statistics

A Transcription of the original statistics follows later - below is a summary of some other statistics not originally shown.

Table 8: Population

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|---------------|
| Came Free | | |
| above 12 years of age | Males | 3,093 |
| under 12 | Males | 295 |
| Total | Males | 3,388 |
| above 12 years of age | Females | 1,569 |
| under 12 | Females | 253 |
| Total | Females | 1,822 |
| Total Came Free | | 5,210 |
| Born in the Colony | | |
| above 12 years of age | Males | 1797 |
| under 12 | Males | 2452 |
| Total | Males | 4249 |
| above 12 years of age | Females | 1579 |
| under 12 | Females | 2560 |
| Total | Females | 4139 |
| Total Born in Colony | | 8,388 |
| Free by Servitude | Males | 5,127 |
| | Females | 1,854 |
| Total Free by Servitude | | 6,981 |
| Pardoned | Males | 836 |
| | Females | 48 |
| Total Pardoned | | 884 |
| Total now Free | Males | 13,600 |
| | Females | 7,363 |
| Total now Free | | 20,963 |
| Bond | Males | 14,353 |
| | Females | 971 |
| Total Bond | | 15,324 |
| Grand Total | Males | 27,953 |
| | Females | 8,334 |
| Grand Total in Census | | 36,287 |

Religions

The following Table is compiled by the Editors from the actual religion given on the Returns and from the PRO List where the Returns no longer exist.

Table 9: Religions

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| Baptist | 1 |
| Calvinist | 1 |
| Catholic | 8,515 |
| Church of England | 35 |
| Deist | 2 |
| Dissenter | 2 |
| Episcopalian | 17 |
| Free Thinker | 1 |
| Hebrew | 8 |
| Hindu | 1 |
| Jew | 86 |
| Lutheran | 3 |
| Malay | 3 |
| Mohammedan | 10 |
| Pagan | 2 |
| Presbyterian | 249 |
| Protestant | 21,148 |
| Quaker | 6 |
| Seeker | 1 |
| Wesleyan | 7 |
| not recorded | 6,287 |

Of those with no religion recorded, about half were on Gangs etc. where details are missing. Others, even some clergy, failed to record their religion and "missionary" sometimes appears as their occupation. Of the Protestants, many probably had their exact religion recorded on the Returns, but as explained above, the clerks standardised them. As a result the numbers of Lutherans, Wesleyans etc. was probably higher.

Land & Stock

Table 10: LAND AND LIVE-STOCK.

| COUNTY AND DISTRICT. | Total Number of Acres Located | Acres Cleared | Acres Cultivated | Horses | Horned Cattle | Sheep |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Argyle and St. Vincent</i> | 295,921 | 33,311 | 2,836 | 2,087 | 66,697 | 116,021 |
| <i>Bathurst & Wellington Valley</i> | 250,796 | 39,037 | 3,497 | 1,216 | 45,447 | 172,953 |
| <i>Camden including Illawarra</i> | 97,113 | 7,723 | 3,278 | 452 | 8,962 | 17,805 |
| <i>Cumberland:-</i> | | | | | | |
| - Airds & Appin | 96,719 | 18,168 | 9,172 | 899 | 13,694 | 19,832 |
| - Bringelly & Cooke | 89,978 | 11,674 | 4,052 | 596 | 10,182 | 19,242 |
| - Liverpool Town & District | 66,569 | 9,340 | 2,222 | 635 | 3,906 | 6,198 |
| - Parramatta Town & District | 82,676 | 17,969 | 6,626 | 1,191 | 15,035 | 13,189 |
| - Penrith | 78,051 | 16,997 | 5,690 | 795 | 7,660 | 12,388 |
| - Sydney Town & District | 272,513 | 21,639 | 5,065 | 1,643 | 28,598 | 30,354 |
| - Windsor Town & District | 105,577 | 32,049 | 18,156 | 1,650 | 21,048 | 24,086 |
| <i>Northumberland & Durham</i> | | | | | | |
| - Hunters River & Port Stephens | 1,465,953 | 21,666 | 10,844 | 1,311 | 41,319 | 104,123 |
| <i>River Manning</i> | 4,480 | 2,000 | 85 | 4 | 320 | 200 |
| <i>Colonial Marine</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>Road Parties</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>Penal & Distant Settlements</i> | | | | | | |
| Totals | 2,906,346 | 231,573 | 71,523 | 12,479 | 262,868 | 536,391 |

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Aborigines - these numbers are not included in the Master Statistics

Table 11: Abstract showing the number of Aborigines requested by Colonial Secretary 31 March 1827 (see end of Table).

| Tribe & District in which they reside | Number of Men | Women | Children | Total |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|----------|----------|
| Brisbane Water | | | | |
| - Broken Bay Tribe | not recorded * | | | about 15 |
| - Tuggera Beach Tribe | not recorded * | | | about 15 |
| - Wyong Tribe | not recorded * | | | about 15 |
| - Narara Tribe | not recorded * | | | about 10 |
| - Erina Tribe | not recorded * | | | about 10 |
| Parramatta | | | | |
| - Parramatta Tribe | 21 | 13 | 15 | 49 |
| Windsor | | | | |
| - Richmond Tribe | 36 | 25 | 12 | 73 |
| Portland Head | | | | |
| - John Nolan - Chief of Mangroo Tribe | 9 | 4 | 5 | 18 |
| - N. E. Arm | 8 | 6 | 8 | 22 |
| - Mullet Isle Tribe | 4 | 5 | - | 9 |
| - 1st Branch Tribe | 25 | 22 | 18 | 65 |
| Liverpool | | | | |
| - Liverpool Tribe | 9 | 6 | 5 | 20 |
| Airds | No Natives residing in this District | | | |
| Illawarra | | | | |
| - Thapma Yarramah Tribe | 12 | 5 | 3 | 20 |
| - Five Islands Tribe | 10 | 6 | 5 | 21 |
| - Illawarra Tribe | 15 | 11 | 9 | 35 |
| - Crooked River Tribe | 6 | 5 | 3 | 14 |
| - Kangaroo Ground Tribe | 5 | 9 | 1 | 15 |
| Bringelly | | | | |
| - Mulgoa Tribe | 7 | 5 | 3 | 15 |

Table 12 - 1828 Census - Original Grand Total Statistics

| Population | Males | | | | | | Females | | | | | | Totals | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------|------|----------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------|--------|----------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------|--------|-------------|
| | Came Free | | Born Colony | | Total | Bond | Pardoned | Free by servitude | Came Free | Born Colony | | Total | Bond | Pardoned | Free by servitude | Grand Total | Protestants | Catholics | Leaves | Pagans | |
| | above 12 yr | under 12 yr | above 12 yrs | under 12 yrs | | | | | | above 12 yr | under 12 yr | | | | | | | | | | above 12 yr |
| Sydney District | 997 | 141 | 449 | 751 | 1509 | 225 | 1248 | 5320 | 825 | 123 | 466 | 848 | 421 | 27 | 441 | 3151 | 8471 | 6538 | 1840 | 61 | 12 |
| Districts which were usually mustered with Sydney | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Concord | 11 | - | 15 | 21 | 41 | 7 | 86 | 181 | 10 | - | 12 | 28 | 13 | - | 21 | 84 | 265 | 212 | 49 | 4 | - |
| Kissing Point | 9 | 4 | 25 | 12 | 58 | 10 | 49 | 176 | 5 | 2 | 14 | 22 | 15 | - | 3 | 61 | 228 | 190 | 37 | - | 1 |
| Hunters Hill | 14 | 2 | 13 | 8 | 63 | 8 | 35 | 143 | 8 | 2 | 12 | 23 | 11 | - | 4 | 60 | 203 | 116 | 87 | - | - |
| Petersham | 16 | 2 | 12 | 13 | 55 | 2 | 52 | 152 | 18 | 2 | 14 | 13 | 15 | - | 16 | 78 | 230 | 170 | 57 | 3 | - |
| Pitt Water | 8 | - | 4 | 4 | 24 | 1 | 13 | 54 | 2 | - | 5 | 9 | 7 | - | - | 23 | 77 | 47 | 30 | - | - |
| Brisbane Water | 10 | - | 2 | - | 18 | 3 | 54 | 87 | 2 | - | 1 | 3 | 3 | - | 1 | 10 | 97 | 68 | 29 | - | - |
| Botany Bay | 16 | 1 | 13 | 18 | 76 | 15 | 89 | 228 | 7 | - | 14 | 18 | 28 | - | 4 | 71 | 299 | 208 | 90 | 1 | - |
| Supplement | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | 4 | - | - | - |
| Sub Total | 1082 | 150 | 533 | 827 | 1844 | 271 | 1629 | 6336 | 877 | 129 | 538 | 904 | 513 | 27 | 490 | 3538 | 9874 | 7573 | 2219 | 69 | 13 |
| Establishments | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| The Jail | | | | | 73 | | 137 | 210 | | | | | | | 7 | 7 | 217 | 108 | 109 | | |
| Barracks H Park | | | | | | | 539 | 539 | | | | | | | | | 539 | 269? | ? | | |
| Oversleepers from "do" | | | | | | | 183 | 183 | | | | | | | | | 183 | 91 | 92 | | |
| Carters Barrack | | | | | | | 122 | 122 | | | | | | | | | 122 | 61 | 61 | | |
| Hulk [Phoenix] | | | | | | | 183 | 183 | | | | | | | | | 183 | 91 | 92 | | |
| Benevolent Asylum | 2 | | | | 77 | | 4 | 83 | 1 | | 1 | | 35 | | | 37 | 120 | 60 | 60 | | |
| The Hospital | | | | | | | 25 | 25 | | | | | | | | | 25 | 12 | 13 | | |
| Grose Farm & Longbottom | | | | | | | 21 | 21 | | | | | | | | | 21 | 10 | 11 | | |
| Lighthouse & Telegraph | | | | | | | 10 | 10 | | | | | | | | | 10 | 4 | 6 | | |
| Barren Hills Sawing Establish. | | | | | | | 46 | 46 | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 48 | 24 | 23 | | | |
| Boats Crew Customs Ho. etc | | | | | | | 44 | 44 | | | | | | | | 44 | 22 | 22 | | | |

DISTRICT of Launceston
NEW SOUTH WALES.
Census for the Year 1828.

By Act of the Governor and Council of the 9th Geo. IV. No. 4, sec 8, it is enacted, that if any Householder, Employer of Servants, or Proprietor or Occupier of Lands, shall refuse or neglect to answer, or shall answer falsely or untruly, any of the Questions authorised by the said Act to be put relative to the Population, Gender, and Occupied Land in the Colony, the Person so offending shall be fined, at the discretion of two or more Magistrates, in a Sum not exceeding Ten Pounds.

| HOUSEHOLDERS NAMES | RESIDENCE | | | Ten. | Arrival. | Ship. | Chm. | Age. | Names of Family and Servants. | Religion. | Birthplace. | Employment. | Birthdate. | Religion. |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|------------|------|----------|-------|------|----------|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------|
| | Household. | Street. | Town. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stephano Warkitt | 46 | St. L. | W. Spencer | 1813 | | | | Life | Launceston | Catholic | Launceston | | | |
| Mary Warkitt | 30 | C. C. | Elizabeth | 1818 | | | | 14 years | | | | | | |
| Margaret Warkitt | 8 | B. C. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| John Warkitt | 5 | D. D. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mary Ann Warkitt | 1 | D. D. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ann Warkitt | 2 | D. D. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Thomas Warkitt | 25 | L. J. | Robertson | 1818 | | | | 14 years | | | | | | |
| Thomas Warkitt | 22 | C. S. | Robinson | 1823 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Isaac Warkitt | 54 | R. J. | Warkitt | 1818 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mary Warkitt | | A. T. Moore | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Sample of a completed Household Return.