HISTORICAL AND
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
ANALYSIS OF
THE FORMER 'RED COW' INN.

PROPOSED SITE OF
MULTI-STOREY CAR PARK,
ERBY PLACE,
PARRAMATTA, N.S.W.

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Draft: July 1990.
Final: October 1990.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This report was commissioned by Ron Hartley, Parramatta City Council on 2 May 1990. Its purpose is to investigate the historical and archaeological potential of the proposed site of a multi-storey car park in Erby Place, Parramatta.

The site is located within the block, bounded by Phillip, George, Church and Smith Streets, Parramatta (figure 1.1). The site is mostly confined to a portion of land defined as F.P. 64505, but also includes small parts of four neighbouring portions.

The site is identified in the Archaeological Zoning Plan of Parramatta, as part of inventory number 37 of Parramatta Central.¹

Figure 1.1. Location plan of the site of the proposed multi-storey car park, Erby Place, Parramatta, N.S.W.
2. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

2.1. Summary of historical research

Terry Kass was commissioned by Consultant Archaeological Services to complete the historical research necessary for this project. His report may be found in appendix 2.

The land which forms the subject of this study was laid out as part of the Town of Parramatta in 1790. It formed the rear portion of one or perhaps two allotments, each measuring 100 feet (30.48 metres) frontage to George Street, by 200 feet (30.48 metres) in depth. They were standard sized allotments upon which a hut was erected for convict accommodation. The hut, which measured 12 by 24 feet (3.65 by 7.31 metres), was placed in a central position on the street frontage and was intended for the housing of 10 convicts, although sometimes up to 14 may have been crammed in.\(^1\)

The line of the street frontage and of these huts was between the subject site and George Street, even though the original street was 205 feet (62.48 metres) wide.\(^2\)

On 16 April 1804 two town leases were granted to Joseph Ward, numbered 6 and 6 respectively on the 1804 map of Parramatta.\(^3\) The site forms the rear of part of these leases. The leases were combined in a deed of April 1809, and almost immediately on 15 April 1809 were granted in fee simple.\(^4\) The grant was recalled and then confirmed by Governor Macquarie on 1 January 1810.\(^5\) Historical documentation suggests that the improvements were carried out for the opening of a hotel, Ward receiving a publicans licence on 5 March 1809.

Joseph Ward died on 5 May 1812, leaving his estate to his widow, Hannah, and their two daughters, Sarah and Elizabeth. Hannah Ward retained the hotel, and married Charles Walker by September 1814. The hotel was known as the 'Red Cow' by 1817.

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\(^2\) Figure 6.01 in the historical report.

\(^3\) Bk. 3C. Nos. 141, and 141. LTO. Figure 6.02 in the historical report.

\(^4\) Bk. 4D. No. 13; Bk.4D. No. 15. LTO.

\(^5\) Bk. 6. No. 6 at back of volume. LTO.
The 1823 map of Parramatta shows two large buildings on Allotment 91 of Section 21. These buildings probably date back to the improvements made to the lease, resulting in their conversion to a grant on 15 April 1809, and may also be identified on the undated 19th century photograph of the hotel. The hotel itself is the single storey building with verandahs on the former street frontage, while the 'long room' or clubhouse, mentioned as early as 1822 and used for public meetings and dinners, may be identified as part of the two storey building set back behind and to the west of the hotel.

The 'long room' or clubhouse was probably located on the first floor of this building. This is suggested by several features on the undated 19th century photograph:

**First floor**
- glass windows.
- access from front of building by a double staircase, with shallow risers.
- outdoor lighting.

**Ground floor**
- louvred openings.
- no access from front of building.

These features imply public use of the first floor, and the service use of the ground floor (see below). It is possible that the function of these structures may have changed during the occupation and development of the hotel, but until contrary evidence is available it may be assumed that there was continuity of use up to the date of the historic photograph.

The hotel building was located immediately in front of the subject site, although it is possible that it slightly overlapped the boundary. The 'long room' was located immediately to the west of the site.

Charles Walker died after an illness on 2 June 1826, leaving Hannah Walker to run the hotel until her death in March 1851.

The 1836 map of Parramatta shows two buildings in addition to those on the 1823 map. They are only shown in outline, and are not shaded in the manner of other

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6 Figure 6.03 in the historical report.
7 Figure 6.06 in the historical report.
buildings. This probably indicates recent construction, rather than different building materials. They are in the correct positions for the other two buildings shown on the undated 19th century photograph. The one directly behind the hotel is a single storey building, with gabled roof and chimney. Behind that again there is a two storey brick building, with gabled roof and chimney.

It is not possible to identify the use of these buildings with any certainty. Mentioned in historical documentation are the hotel or cottage residence, and 'long room' or clubhouse, already identified, but also the stables and unspecified outbuildings. The hotel would have required facilities which may be divided into a number of groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation of guests and proprietor</th>
<th>hotel building</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catering and service of guests</td>
<td>staff quarters</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kitchens</td>
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<td>coachhouse</td>
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<td>tack rooms</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maintenance of buildings</td>
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<td></td>
<td>maintenance of grounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and gardens</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

From their location and appearance it is most likely that the buildings behind the hotel are associated with catering and the service of guests. The features of the ground floor of the 'long room' or clubhouse, as mentioned above, imply usage in the other services group, perhaps stabling, stores or workshops. There is little doubt that the area behind this building would have been used for those purposes.

The two buildings behind the hotel were both located on the subject site.

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8 Figure 6.04 in the historical report.
9 Figure 6.06 in the historical report.
With the death of Hannah Walker in 1851, the hotel passed through a number of owners, and was leased to a number of publicans. However it is clear that the hotel declined from the 1850s onwards, and was demolished in 1872 to make way for the new bank of the Commercial Banking Company.

The part of the hotel that is the subject site was subdivided and sold off in 1873. It passed through a number of owners, namely a grocer, two merchants, and then a produce merchant by 1906. The occupations of the owners may give some indication of the sites ongoing usage, with two buildings being shown on the 1895 map of Parramatta, and also on the 1906 primary application.10

2.2. Condition of the archaeological evidence.

The site is on the edge of an elevated portion within the alluvial plain of the Parramatta River, and therefore slopes slightly down to the north.11 On the basis of the geotechnical survey the upper or southern part of the site is covered by a red brown clayey silt or silty clay (bore hole 6) (figure 2.1).12 This represents the B horizon of a red podzolic soil developed on an old high terrace, without any surviving greyish brown A1 or grey A2 horizon.13

Elsewhere on the lower parts of the site the B horizon is represented by a grey clay, with red or brown mottles, indicating poor drainage conditions. The grey sandy silt of the A2 horizon also survives in these lower areas, together with fill layers to a depth of approximately 1 metre. The first 30-40 centimetres of this fill may be associated with the present bitumen and concrete surface of the site, leaving only approximately 60-65 centimetres of fill, which may belong to 19th century occupation (bore holes 9-11). In

10 Figure 6.07 in the historical report.
11 E. Higginbotham. 1981. The excavation of a brick barrel drain at Parramatta, N.S.W. Keers and Banks, Architects, for the Government Insurance Office of N.S.W. Figure 2. This map was provided by Roy Lawrie, soil scientist, Department of Agriculture, N.S.W. It indicates the extent of the alluvial plain to the south of Parramatta River. The 'Red Cow' would have been located on an elevation within this area.
12 Jeffery and Katauskas Pty Ltd. 1990. Report to Sinclair Knight and Partners Pty Ltd on additional foundation investigations for Erby Place Car Park - stage 2 - at Erby Place, Parramatta, N.S.W.
addition, a number of features excavated into the surviving A2 horizon may be expected.
3. RESEARCH THEMES IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY.

3.1. Definitions of cultural significance and archaeological potential.

The importance of the archaeological site identified by this study will be assessed in general terms according to its cultural significance. The term "environmental heritage", as defined by the Heritage Act of 1977, is interchangeable with the term "cultural significance": it "means those buildings, works, relics or places of historic, scientific, cultural, social, archaeological, architectural, natural or aesthetic significance".1

However this report will not describe all aspects of cultural significance, but will concentrate on the archaeological potential of the site. The term "archaeological potential" may be defined as the extent to which a site may contribute knowledge, not available from other sources, to current themes in historical archaeology and related disciplines.2

In the assessment of archaeological potential, several factors or criteria have to be taken into account. Questions include:

1. Does the site contribute knowledge not available from other sources? In this respect, the preservation of the site, the availability of comparative sites, and the extent of historical documentation should be considered.

2. Does this knowledge contribute meaningfully to current research themes in historical archaeology and related disciplines? The relevance and importance of this contribution should be assessed on a spatial basis. For example, the contribution may be relevant to the site, between sites, or on a regional or wider basis.

It is also necessary to clarify the significance of a site in terms of its ability to 'demonstrate a way of life, taste, custom, process or function of particular interest.'3

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1 Heritage Act, 1977, no.136, s.4(1).
2 This definition is based upon the following reference, among others; Bickford and Sullivan: 19-26.
This factor was given great emphasis by J. S. Kerr in the assessment of cultural significance in the second edition of his book, entitled *The Conservation Plan*. In fact it is also the basis of all archaeological interpretation. On both archaeological excavations and during site survey and recording, the archaeologist is trained to interpret the physical evidence in terms of past patterns of human behaviour. Where physical evidence survives above ground, this ability is not confined to archaeologists, but is shared with historians, historical geographers and other similar practitioners. However it is the specific use of scientific excavation and recording methods, which allows the archaeologist to understand and interpret both above and below ground remains, thereby making a significant contribution over and above other disciplines.

An artifact, an archaeological feature or site may possess this ability to 'demonstrate a way of life, taste, custom, process or function of particular interest'. This may be described as its educational value. It may also possess archaeological potential to contribute knowledge, not available from other sources, to current themes in historical archaeology and related disciplines. This archaeological potential may be recovered by archaeological excavation or by recording, so that the evidence is enabled to make its contribution and thereby gives up its archaeological potential. On the other hand, even if the archaeological potential is fully recovered, that same artifact, feature or site may still possess its educational value, providing it is conserved or survives in some physical sense. It is the various approaches to the conservation of the physical evidence, which forms the basis of the *Australia ICOMOS charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance*, otherwise known as the *Burra Charter*.

3.2. Research themes

As indicated above, the archaeological potential of a site is directly related to its possible contribution to current research themes. Previous historical research and archaeological investigation in Parramatta have led to the formulation of a number of research themes in historical archaeology. These themes are listed as follows:

1. Penal administration, 1788 onwards.
   1a. The agricultural settlement, 1788 to 1790.

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5 op. cit., appendix 1.
1b. The foundation of the town as a convict settlement, or "gaol town", 1790 onwards.

1c. The reuse and development of former convict town allotments and huts, 1790s onwards.

2. Civil administration: the development of administrative and service functions as the central place in the County of Cumberland, 1788 onwards.
   2a. Town planning and land use.
   2b. Religion.
   2c. Civil defence and the armed forces.

3. The development of the town by free enterprise, 1790s onwards.
   3a. Cottage industries and small scale manufacturing.
   3b. Industry and manufacturing.
   3c. Land use of town allotments.
   3d. Socio-economic status of population and its distribution.

4. Social mobility, and relations between convict, emancipated and free persons (both emigrant and official).

5. Public health and sanitation, water supply and sewerage.


7. Environmental changes resulting from human occupation and exploitation.

8. Contact between Aboriginal and European settlement.  

It can be seen that some of these themes overlap, but the important issue is to recognise the range of themes to which historical archaeology can contribute. The site, which is

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the subject of this report, will be assessed in relation to its potential contribution to the above research themes.

3.3. The archaeological potential of the site.

Of the research themes in historical archaeology that have been developed for Parramatta, only a small number apply to this site. The absence of any convict hut on the site means that it will be able to contribute little to the research themes relating to the early convict occupation of the town. The site is relevant to themes on social mobility, and relations between convict and free persons, but it is the historical documentation, rather than the archaeological evidence, which is able to make the principal contribution in this instance. For example, one of the most fruitful approaches is to research the lives of individuals using historical documentation, in order to evaluate the progress of their careers and their relationships to others, as has been achieved in the attached historical analysis.7

However the early leasehold title and grant, and the presence of an early hotel make the site particularly relevant to the theme of the development of the town by free persons. Again the contribution of historical documentation is substantial, while the archaeological potential is reduced, because only a part of the hotel site is available for investigation, although other parts may become available in future. The principal buildings of the 'Red Cow' Inn are located on the edge of the site or outside its boundaries.

That part of the hotel which lies within the boundaries of the site has been identified as probably having a service function, the running of the hotel and catering for guests. It is precisely this area which may contribute most evidence on the standard and hygiene of the establishment, thus addressing the research theme on public health and sanitation, water supply and sewerage. The other activities carried out in this area may also contribute to the research theme on cottage industries and small scale manufacturing. Archaeological investigation would also confirm the interpretation of the historical evidence as to the function and dating of the structures on this part of the site.

7 Appendix 3.
The artifact assemblage may contribute to knowledge on manufacturing techniques, as well as to an understanding of the trading and marketing networks between New South Wales and the rest of the World, or the commercial relationships between Sydney and Parramatta. The correlation of the artifact assemblage to the socio-economic status of the owners, occupiers, staff and guests of the hotel would apply to the research theme on the development of Parramatta by free persons.

The role of the environmental sciences (soil science, palynology, etc) on historical archaeological sites in Parramatta has only recently been recognised. There is now evidence to suggest that soil erosion accompanied agricultural clearance and settlement in the environs of Parramatta, depositing on the town a substantial layer of fine sandy silt by the 1840s. Pollen analysis of soil samples is able to determine the changes to the vegetation over time, not only dating from the pre-European Aboriginal exploitation, but also as a result of European clearance and agriculture. The economic role of crops grown on town allotments is beginning to be understood. Further soil profiles and deposits of this nature should be examined.

The above discussion has evaluated the contribution of the site to various research themes, and has indicated where the extent of historical documentation diminishes the role of archaeological investigation. There are other factors which should be taken into account in making a final assessment, including comparative examples and the preservation of the site.

There are a large number of surviving hotels of the nineteenth century, some spanning the period of the 'Red Cow', from approximately 1809 to 1873. Many standing and well preserved examples exist in the historic towns of Tasmania and New South Wales, several with commencement dates before 1820. Compared with those surviving examples, the thin deposit of archaeological evidence is an palimpsest of the original hotel. Thus in terms of the typology of hotel buildings, archaeological investigation may not contribute substantially to the available historical and comparative evidence.

The archaeological potential of the site may thus be substantially narrowed down to the possible contribution of those surviving artifacts, and their archaeological context.

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(spatial or locational analysis), to the abovementioned research themes. A similar early hotel site, that of the 'Hawkesbury Settler' / 'Babes in the Wood', on the corner of Smith and George Streets, Parramatta, was recently excavated in 1989 for Prospect County Council. The majority of the site was available for excavation, and provided extensive structural and artifactual evidence on the development of the site from 1790 onwards. Any artifact assemblage recovered from the 'Red Cow' should be compared with the material from the 'Hawkesbury Settler' / 'Babes in the Wood', in order to further any evaluation on a socio-economic basis. This evidence may assist in determining the relative status of the two hotels, but would also be relevant to the study of early hotels in general.

The above evaluation of the archaeological potential of the site suggests that any investigation should concentrate on the recovery of extensive artifact assemblages from intact and sealed contexts, for example, wells, cisterns, or former underfloor deposits. It should also sample and record any soil profiles of environmental value.

3.4. Proposed Car park.

The method of construction for the proposed car park has an influence upon the nature of the archaeological investigation. Parramatta City Council have provided plans indicating that the car park will be constructed upon a grid of concrete piles at approximately 10 metre intervals. The car park will then be built up over the existing surface.

There will be a single row of 6 pits, 1 metre square, on the eastern side, and then a grid of 18 pits, 1 by 2 metres, over the remaining area. There will also be an approximate length of 40 metres of footing trench, 1 metre wide.

The car park will cover approximately 1600 square metres, of which only 82 square metres or 5.125 % is likely to be disturbed. The archaeological remains will nonetheless be concealed under the car park for the life of the building.

9 E. Higginbotham. Forthcoming. Archaeological excavation of the 'Babes in the Wood' Hotel Site, Parramatta, N.S.W. Prospect County Council.
4. RECOMMENDATIONS.

The archaeological potential of the site was assessed in chapter 3, and shown to have a restricted number of research goals. In addition the method of construction of the proposed car park was found to be relatively benign towards the surviving archaeological remains, causing only an estimated 5.125% of the site to be disturbed. The car park would nonetheless conceal the archaeological remains for the life of this structure. The following recommendations are made in view of these considerations.

It is recommended that:

4.1. Archaeological investigation.

1. The mechanical excavation of all pits and footing trenches be observed by an historical archaeologist under the provisions of an archaeological watching brief or monitoring programme.

2. Should important archaeological remains be observed in any of the pits or footing trenches, then provision should be made to allow for their manual excavation by an historical archaeologist.

3. Sufficient time should be allowed for the historical archaeologist to investigate and record the archaeological evidence so exposed.

4.2. Excavation permits.

1. An excavation permit under the Heritage Act 1977 should be obtained in order to disturb the site for construction, demolition, and archaeological investigation.

2. The finding of any Aboriginal artifacts, during the archaeological investigation or otherwise, should be reported to the National Parks and Wildlife Service, and the relevant permits obtained under the National Parks and Wildlife Service Act.
APPENDIX 1. EXTRACT FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL ZONING PLAN.

The site is identified in the Archaeological Zoning Plan of Parramatta, as part of inventory number 37 of Parramatta Central.¹

**Inventory No. 37.**
Appn. 14505. DP522740, DP560542, DP626329.
George Street.

Part, 3 convict allotments and 2 huts, possibly another, 1790.
Pre 1823 leases: 2 leases, Joseph WARD, both 16 July 1804 (LTO. Book 3C. Nos. 141, and 141). Title combined in lease, April 1809. (LTO. Book 4D. No. 13).
Grant: Joseph WARD, 15 April 1809, cancelled 8 October 1821 (LTO. Book 40. No. 15). Grant confirmed, 1 January 1810 (LTO Book 6, No. 6 at back of volume).
c.1804 map: No. 6.
1823 return: Charles WALKER.
1823 lease: None.
Sec. 21. Allt. 91.

**Sites of buildings**

c.1792 map: convict hut.
c.1804 map: building, same, another building.
1823 map: 2 buildings.
1844 map: same 2 buildings, one wood, one masonry, and another building, wood.
The "Red Cow Inn".

**Extant buildings**

none.

**Archaeological zoning**

group 2.

APPENDIX 2. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. ERBY PLACE CAR PARK SITE. CITY OF PARRAMATTA. (SITE OF THE 'RED COW' INN).

Terry Kass.
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

ERBY PLACE CAR PARK SITE

CITY OF PARRAMATTA

(SITE OF THE "RED COW" INN)

Draft Report

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For Parramatta City Council

July 1990
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2.0 THE SPIDER’S WEB AND THE BULL’S EYE - PARRAMATTA’S ROLE IN THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND 1789-1850

3.0 JOSEPH WARD

4.0 CHARLES WALKER

5.0 HANNAH WALKER

6.0 “THE RED COW”, GEORGE STREET, PARRAMATTA

7.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>1828 Census</td>
<td>Sainty &amp; Johnson <em>Census of 1828</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>A. O.</td>
<td>Archives Office of New South Wales</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Aust</em></td>
<td><em>Australian</em> (newspaper)</td>
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<td>HRA</td>
<td>Historical Records of Australia</td>
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<td>LTOD</td>
<td>Land Titles Office, Deeds Registers</td>
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<td>SMH</td>
<td><em>Sydney Morning Herald</em> (newspaper)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Syd Gaz</em></td>
<td><em>Sydney Gazette</em> (newspaper)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
1.0 INTRODUCTION

This historical analysis has been prepared as the basis for an assessment of the archaeological potential of the subject site, which is currently a car park in the City of Parramatta.

On the basis of discussions with the archaeologist, Edward Higginbotham of Consultant Archaeological Services, it was decided that a full economic biography of each of the principal owners and occupiers of the site was necessary. Too narrow a focus on the individual site alone, leaves it shorn of the historical context and personalities who utilised that site. More detailed research provides far more complete information about the site, the owners and occupiers of the site, and its economic and social context. A more sophisticated understanding of the site and its role in its locality is then possible. A better assessment of what physical evidence may be located on the site is also possible.

There were three main owner-occupiers of the subject site before 1850. They were Joseph Ward, Charles Walker and Hannah Ward/Walker. The focus of much of this report is upon these three individuals rather than a sole concentration upon the site alone.
2.0 THE SPIDER’S WEB AND THE BULL’S EYE - PARRAMATTA’S ROLE IN THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND 1789-1850

Parramatta was established as an agricultural settlement, initially known as Rose Hill. Due to its better prospects as a centre for food production than Sydney, a substantial population was relocated there. By 1804, there were 1,709 men, women and children located at and near Parramatta, whilst there were a total of 3,212 men, women and children in Sydney.¹

Quite apart from its concentration of population, Parramatta rapidly became an important administrative centre. A house was built for the Governor. By the early 1820s, the Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, was spending a great deal of his time at Parramatta, rather than at Sydney. A host of significant administrative functions followed in the wake of the Governor. A convict barracks was constructed. A barracks was also built to house the military garrison, a necessity with a large population of felons to manage. A hospital was constructed, mainly to care for the convict population. A court house appeared, as did churches.

Parramatta also developed as a commercial and manufacturing centre. It never became as pivotal to the colonial economy as did Sydney, but a group of entrepreneurs emerged who grew in wealth and status. It is difficult to fully assess the role of these entrepreneurs in Parramatta since Parramatta has not yet attracted any studies of its commercial life and elite of the same quality as Hainsworth’s study of Sydney.²

Initially, much of the entrepreneurial talent emerged from within the ranks of free population, particularly from amongst the officials and military. As a group of large scale landholders developed, many of them also commenced to operate in the sphere of urban commercial activity as well as functioning as rural property-holders. Due to the emergent state of the colonial economy, many entrepreneurs spread their talents into a variety of avenues seeking to earn a profit.

From amongst the convicts a group of entrepreneurs also emerged. Andrew Nash was one of these. He rose from tanner to innkeeper, holding the licence for that notable hostelry, the “Woolpack Inn”. He later diversified his interests, acquiring landed property, issuing his own currency notes in 1828, and dabbling in a coaching service to connect Sydney and Parramatta.³ James Larra was another ex-convict who opened a public house in Parramatta and later developed into a notable local entrepreneur. Nathaniel Payten was a building contractor responsible for the construction

¹ HRA, I. V, 40
² D R Hainsworth, *The Sydney Traders - Simeon Lord and His Contemporaries*
Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1981
of many of Parramatta's large public buildings. Relatively little is known about these early entrepreneurs. All of them are worthy of further study.

Parramatta also spread its tentacles into the countryside. Many of the surrounding large landholders, the Macarthurs, the Pyes, the Oakes's, were the notables of the district and of the town. Yet, a two-way traffic developed between town and hinterland, as people who had grown wealthy, invested in the town and those who commenced as urban entrepreneurs placed some of their funds into rural activity. It is possible to overstate the development of an urban ethos in Parramatta. The town was a provincial centre rather than a city and the rural-urban nexus was far more significant than the linkages within the town itself. It was Parramatta's role as the provincial centre for the County of Cumberland which distinguished it from other centres in the County of Cumberland. It was also the reason why the first railway was built to Parramatta, bringing with it a faster and more effective mode of transport which also commenced the destruction of the dominance of the County of Cumberland by Parramatta.

1 Jervis, Cradle City, 98
3.0 JOSEPH WARD

Joseph Ward was one of the earliest convicts to arrive in the colony. He had arrived about 1791. He was possibly the convict named Joseph Ward who arrived on the "William and Anne" after conviction at Derby in March 1790. He served as a constable for three years under Governor Phillip and his successor. He also served as an Assistant in the Commissariat stores for six years.

By 1802, he had risen considerably in status and was sufficiently highly regarded to be accepted as a member of the Loyal Parramatta Association, a form of militia recruited to serve against any possible uprising. In consequence, in April 1802, he kept a gun and sword at his home at Parramatta.

By 1804, he had acquired the parcel of land on which the "Red Cow" inn was to stand. On 16 July 1804, he was given two Crown leases in George Street in the Town of Parramatta, one for 1 rood and 30 poles and the other for 1 rood and 34 poles. A survey of the Town of Parramatta on 5 April 1804, by surveyor, James Meehan, noted "Ward's Old House" as well as "Ward's [house] (See Illus 3.01). At the same time, his Parramatta lease was measured. These two houses possibly represented the convict hut noted on the 1792 plan of Parramatta, which was still there on the 1804, which had also been joined by another dwelling by then.

A butcher's licence was granted to a Joseph Ward of Parramatta in March 1805, but we cannot be certain that it was the same man. Ward may also have been conducting an inn in the houses in George Street by that time. In 1820, Charles Walker his successor, claimed that his inn had been "established upwards of Twenty Years". In 1806, Ward was receiving regular issues of beer from the government, but it is unlikely that the small quantities involved could have supplied sufficient for an inn, particularly in

References:
1 General Musters of New South Wales Norfolk Island and Van Dieman's Land, 1811.
ABGR, Sydney, 1987, No. 6041
2 Col Sec. Letters Received, 1810, A. 0. 4/1822, No. 326.
3 Col Sec. Letters Received, 1810, A. 0. 4/1822, No. 326.
4 HRA, I. III. 692
5 Col Sec. Letters Received, 1789-1806, A. O. 4/1719, 87.
6 Grants Register, 3C, 144, 145, LTO
8 Surveyors' Field Books, No 32, J. Meehan, A. O. S2865, p. 11.
9 1792, 1804 maps
10 Sydney Gaz. 31 March 1805.
11 Wentworth, Papers - Petitions for renewal of wine & spirit licences, 1819-20. M. L.
A 764, 51
Illus 3.01

Survey of Parramatta, April 1804

Meehan’s survey of Parramatta makes clear reference to Ward’s houses.

Source: Surveyor-General, Surveyors’ Field Books, No 32, J.

11 ¼ of 143 ¼ W - Hubbard 143 ¼ W - abode

[Handwritten notes and measurements follow, including locations and distances]
view of the much greater amounts received by other Parramatta householders at the same time.1

Ward prospered during the administration of William Paterson, who ruled the colony after the deposition of William Bligh. In April 1809, Paterson granted a lease over a parcel of land, measuring 3 roods and 24 perches in the "Main Street" of Parramatta (George Street).2 This was converted into a grant within a few weeks.3 Ward later maintained that it was awarded for having "been at considerable expense in building and repairing his Dwellinghouse and Premises".4 These improvements may have been to fit the site up to open as an inn, for which he received a publican's licence on 5 March 1809.5 By late in 1809, he had also acquired thirty-five head of cattle, seven horses and some sheep.6 Paterson had also granted him 100 acres on 8 August 1809 to allow him to pasture that livestock.7 This grant was later described as being in the District of Minto. On 28 December 1809, he was also granted 300 acres in the District of Cook.8 Like many other landholders, Ward was selling grain and meat to the Commissariat. Thus, on the 31 March 1809, Paterson drew a Treasury Bill to the value of £131/16/6 on Ward's account.9

When Governor Macquarie called in all of the grants and leases made by the rebel administration, Joseph Ward's town grant and the two rural grants were amongst them.10 Macquarie confirmed the two rural grants.11 The town grant, however, does not appear to have been either cancelled or renewed in the Registers, but the Colonial Secretary's own list was endorsed on the back, "To be confirmed. L. M.".12

Ward also retained his status within the Parramatta community as well as his property. On 2 June 1810, in the absence of Francis Oakes in England, he was appointed the Chief Constable of Parramatta.13 He thus commenced a brief career as a public figure, receiving subscriptions to enclose the Burial

1 Col Sec, Letters Received, 1789-1806. A. O. 4/1719, 212, 214.
2 Register 4D, 237, LTO.
3 Register 4D, 238, LTO; The Col Sec, Lists of all Grants and Leases, 1788-1809. A. O. 9/2731, noted that the lease was cancelled and a grant issued by Paterson.
5 Syd Gaz, 5 March 1809, 1.
7 Register 4D, 1514, LTO.
9 HRA, I. VII, 178.
11 HRA, I. VII, 437.
12 Col Sec, Lists of all Grants and Leases, 1788-1809, 9/2731, 218. It was finally cancelled on 8 October 1821. Register 3C 238. LTO.
13 Col Sec, Government and General Orders, No. 1. 5 Jan 1810-12 Nov 1814. A. O. S2738.
14 Syd Gaz, 2 June 1810, 1.
Ilius 3.02

Ward's Lease, April 1804

Meehan also surveyed the Crown Lease to Joseph Ward

Ground, for instance. He also became the Parramatta distributor of the 1811 Almanac.

Joseph had also acquired 50 acres of land on the "Northern Boundary", originally granted to William Whiting on 1 July 1792, by Governor Arthur Phillip, and 30 acres in the District of Parramatta granted to William James on 1 May 1797. The thirty acres acquired from James was situated on the Western Road and was a most valuable acquisition, especially if one was hoping to place livestock on agistment prior to taking them at Parramatta for sale to either the Commissariat or the public. Whiting's 50 acres was also an astute acquisition. It lay immediately north of the town, between the Windsor and Pennant Hills Roads, and would have been equally useful.

His public role was curtailed on 5 May 1812, with his death. Probate of his will was awarded to his widow, Hannah. Hannah, nee Beans, had arrived in 1796 on the ship. His will bequeathed his house at Parramatta, his stock and all his possessions to his wife, Hannah and his daughters Sarah and Elizabeth in equal shares. After Hannah had been granted the administration of Joseph's will on 15 June 1812, she married Charles Walker. Sarah Ward married Robert Brady Hazard, a dealer of Sydney, and Elizabeth married Joseph Pye, a settler from the Pye family who were notable in the Parramatta District.

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3. Registers of Assignments. M. L. A3613. No. 1535
4. Portion 104. Parish of Field of Mars.
Between Joseph Ward's death in May 1812 and September 1814, his widow Hannah Ward had married Charles Walker, an ex-convict. Walker had arrived on the ship "Anne" in 1810 under a seven year sentence and had received his conditional pardon on 31 January 1814. From Walker's arrival until 1813, he was assigned to the Reverend Samuel Marsden at Parramatta. Marsden may very well have selected Charles Walker personally after prolonged observation, since Marsden had also returned to Sydney on the "Anne", after a journey back to England with his family. At that stage, Marsden was already a substantial landholder with extensive herds of sheep, cattle and hogs. We do not know what employment Marsden gave to Charles Walker, but Walker appears to have learned a good deal and formed valuable connections. His ability to write, as demonstrated in his later correspondence, may have placed him in a supervisory position. Within a few years of Walker's emancipation, he was handling large herds of livestock. Marsden may also have fostered Walker's independence. Marsden was often much more supportive of his convicts and employees than the legend of the flogging parson suggests.

Charles Walker left Marsden's employment in 1813. His rise to property was rapid. In July 1814, 'Mr Charles Walker, Parramatta' was advertising a substantial reward of £10 for the return of a Red Morocco Pocket Book, containing sundry Notes, Drafts, and other Papers of value, drawn conditionally, all of which are protested against to those concerned. Also, about £20 in Bills drawn by the Commissary General.

It had been lost between Duck River and Parramatta. By October 1814, he was recorded as a 'Landholder' in the 1814 muster and the hotel which had been recently managed by Joseph Ward was known as 'Walker's'. In March 1815, he successfully tendered to supply 2,000 pounds of meat to the government stores. This may have been supplied from the herds of the deceased Joseph Ward, which he was holding in trust. He received his

1 Registers of Assignments, M. L. A3613, No. 1535
2 Governors' Despatches, Macquarie, 1820, M. L. A1192.
3 HRA, I, XI, 746.
4 A T. Yarwood, Samuel Marsden - The Great Survivor, Melbourne, 1977 126.
5 Yarwood, Samuel Marsden, 132.
6 Yarwood, Samuel Marsden, 122, 126, 132.
7 Syd Gaz 30 July 1814, 1.
9 Syd Gaz 25 March 1815, 1.
Historical Analysis, Erby Place (Red Cow site) - Terry Kass

first publican's licence on 1 April 1815.1 Thereafter, he regularly received the renewal of his publican's licence.

In October 1815, he and his wife, the former Mrs Hannah Ward, signed a deed of settlement which split up the property of the deceased Joseph Ward, amongst Hannah and the two daughters, Sarah and Elizabeth. By then, Joseph Ward's livestock had increased to 130 head of cattle, 231 sheep with lambs and 7 horses. These were divided between Sarah and Elizabeth. The premises in Parramatta were described as,

All those messes lands buildgs & Appurt in Parramatta built on ye e lands mentd in a grant to ye sd Josh Ward decd from said L. M. Esqre Govr etc datd 1 Jan 1810 & desc in grant 24 rod situated in main street in Parramatta

That property was settled on Charles and Hannah Walker. The rest of the land included the 300 acres and improvements in the District of Cook originally granted to Ward by Paterson and confirmed by Macquarie. There was another 100 acres adjacent which was known as "Pimlico" which had been exchanged with Alexander Riley in exchange for the 100 acres originally granted to Ward by Paterson and confirmed by Macquarie, which had was situated in the District of Minto. Whiting's 50 acre farm at the Northern Boundary and William James' 30 acres near Parramatta were also included. There was also £100 in "currency money". The rural lands were divided but would remain in trust until Elizabeth Pye attained the age of 21 years.2 Within a month, Charles Walker had formally assigned the 300 acres in the District of Cook to Robert Brady Hazard.3

In February 1816, Charles Walker was advertising the sale of a 30 acre farm in the District of Toongabbie, which contained an orchard, a large dwelling and barns. This appears to have been James' grant, which was adjacent to the District of Toongabbie.4 In 1816, he was also added to the list of "Free Settlers" who were to have land grants marked out to them.5 This grant, of 50 acres in the District of Parramatta was located about a mile south of William James' grant. He also appears to have acquired a 60 acre grant made to John Duff in the District of Castle Hill in 1818.6 Whilst no transaction to Walker has been located, there is a release dated 6 April 1819 between John Duff and Robert Hazard, dealer, of Sydney, (Hannah's son-in-law) of this parcel of land.7

1 Col Sec, Government and General Orders, No. 2. 9 Nov 1814 - 26 Dec 1818, A. 0. S2759, 54; Syd Gaz, 1 April 1815, 1.
2 Registers of Assignments, M. L. A3613, No. 1535
3 Registers of Assignments, M. L. A3614, No. 147.
4 Syd Gaz, 24 Feb 1816, 1
5 Col Sec, Return of Land Grants, 1811-25, A. O. 9/2652, 30.
6 Recited in LTOD, No. 79 Bk 23.
7 Registers of Assignments, M. L. A3617, p. 30, No 40.
Charles Walker also dealt in livestock. In 1818, the government gave some of its cattle to Charles Walker in exchange for horses. In consequence, John Oxley’s 1818 exploring expedition set off mounted on horses supplied by Charles Walker. By 1820, Walker was supplying substantial quantities of fresh meat and grain to the Commissariat to Parramatta. For supplying 1,494 pounds of fresh meat, he received £31/2/6 in December, 1820, followed by £17/18/4 for 860 pounds in February 1821, and the very large sum of £212/16/3 for 10,215 pounds in March 1821. On 4 January 1821, Walker delivered 30 bushels of grain to the Parramatta Magazine. Like many other publicans, he was also making his stables available for stud purposes. In September 1823, the Arab thoroughbred stallion “Young Model”, from Samuel Terry’s Roxton Park was available at Walker’s stables every Friday. In 1822, the Land and Stock Muster recorded Charles Walker as holding 160 acres of land, 20 of which were orchard or garden, and 30 of which were cleared. He also owned 13 horses, 57 head of cattle, and 14 hogs. Four hundred bushels of maize were held in his stores. At the same time, five convicts were listed in the 1822 muster as engaged in “Clearing Party - Walker, Parramatta”, which may have been Charles Walker.

By 1817, the Parramatta inn traded under the sign of the “Red Cow”. His role in the local community hinged upon his relationship with the magistrates, large landholders and officials who controlled the local community. As early as 1814, he had made his loyalties clear when the first recorded mention of “Walker’s” inn was the roasting of a bullock to celebrate the European victories against Napoleon. In 1819, Macquarie sought to gain greater control over the issue of licences. Charles Walker’s application to renew his licence was attested by Samuel Marsden, the senior Parramatta chaplain. Unlike almost other applications by publicans for the renewal of their licences, Walker’s was also accompanied by a testimonial signed by numerous notables, that Walker’s premises were “always conducted in a very orderly manner”. Its signatories included Major George Druitt, the Chief Engineer of the colony, Richard Brooks,
merchant, William Cox, landholder and magistrate, John Piper, Naval Officer, and Simeon Lord, emancipist merchant and magistrate.¹

Walker's inn had a very special place in the lifestyle of the elite of the colony. Shortly after Walker had successfully retained his inn licence, the *Sydney Gazette* carried a brief report of a visit to the half-yearly fair at Parramatta by some gentlemen. A coach was hired. It travelled to Parramatta at a furious pace, carrying two clergymen, two bank directors, the Naval Officer (John Piper), and three officers of the 48th Regiment (George Druitt's regiment). After visiting the fair and dining at Walker's they climbed back onto the coach and, returned to Sydney, at a similarly blistering speed.²

Such support as Walker received from such notables stood him in good stead. Not only was his licence renewed but they also rallied to his support on another occasion. Hannibal Macarthur, one of the magistrates for Parramatta, attempted to deprive Walker of his licence later in the year. Hannibal Macarthur was one of the main protagonists of the exclusivist faction, which sought to curtail the power and influence of the rising emancipists in their midst. Edward Eagar, the emancipist lawyer, claimed that Macarthur's attempt to deprive Walker of his licence stemmed from Walker's refusal to purchase his liquor from Macarthur. Andrew Nash, Walker's main competitor, and a man with considerable influence and money himself had succumbed to Macarthur's pressure and purchased his liquor from him.³ Hannibal Macarthur claimed that he tried to withhold the licence because Walker had been holding auctions of goods received from Sydney at his hotel, and that many purchasers were lulled into a drunken state before bidding commenced. Macarthur tried to proceed against them on the basis of the Government Proclamation against Hawkers and Pedlars, but the magistrate Dr Harris, a group of Sydney magistrates, and, finally, the Judge-Advocate himself all independently ruled against Macarthur.⁴

Charles Walker trod a wary path between the exclusivist and emancipist factions, and was entangled in struggles between them, but his place in Parramatta society meant that he was involved with both sides. In November 1818, he signed a petition pleading for the government to permit the importation of goods into the colony on convict ships. The petition argued that such importations were instrumental in keeping the colonial cost of goods at a reasonable level. It also argued that permission to trade with the colonies for larger vessels would also allow a more ready

¹ Wentworth, Papers - Petitions for renewal of wine & spirit licences. 1819-20. M. L. A764. 49-51
² *Syd Gaz* 10 March 1821. 2.
³ Eagar to J. T. Bigge, 2 Jan 1821, in Bonwick Transcripts. B. T. 25, p. 5536.
⁴ Bonwick Transcripts, B. T. 1, 254-6
export of colonial products, particularly wool. Signatories to the petition included notable individuals who had arrived as free persons, as well as prominent emancipist, including the Parramatta publicans, James Larra and Andrew Nash, Walker’s main competitors.¹

Henry Grattan Douglass, a surgeon and magistrate, was ostracized by his fellow magistrates at Parramatta. Marsden and Hannibal Macarthur, with whom Walker had clashed already, united against Douglass. They attempted to impugn his motives and practice as a magistrate. In retaliation, Douglass fined Marsden for allowing one of convict servants to be at large. When Marsden refused to pay, Douglass sent the bailiff in to levy a distress against Marsden’s goods. Marsden was out of town. Before he went, however, he had called Charles Walker to him and warned him that a distress against his goods was likely. Marsden asked Walker to intervene if this occurred. In his own words, Walker said that Marsden asked him to,

act as I thought proper for him, and that whatever I should do he would be satisfied with it. I had no instructions to pay any money, but merely to act as I judged best.²

When the bailiff did arrive, Mrs Marsden, in a highly agitated state, sent for Walker. Walker spoke to the constable and showed him some furniture. When the constable seized the piano, Walker purchased it for “fifty dollars and a rupee”³. Subsequently, Marsden noted that “the same was released by Mr C. Walker”, possibly back into Marsden’s possession.⁴

When the gentry and merchants of the colony determined that an Agricultural Society should be established, it was but natural that the first meeting on 16 May 1822 would be held at the centre of the major food producing area, namely Parramatta. Walker’s inn was the obvious place to hold the Parramatta meeting.⁵ Similarly, the first dinner of the society was held at Walker’s inn. Guests included the Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane and the Colonial Secretary, Frederick Goulburn. Readers of the Sydney Gazette were informed how,

Upwards of eighty Gentlemen of the first rank & opulence in the Territory, sat down at six o’clock, to a most splendid dinner...⁶

¹ HRA, I. X, 21-2.
² Such an instruction suggests a great deal of trust between Marsden, the principal chaplain and Walker, a freed felon, and suggests tantalising possibilities about Walker’s employment when he was assigned to Marsden.
³ HRA, I. XI, 745.
⁴ Samuel Marsden, Papers 1793-1928. M. L. C244. 108.
⁵ Col Sec, Letters Received, 1822. A. 0 4/1753, 160b.
⁶ Sydney Gaz. 19 July 1822, 2.
Many future meetings of the Agricultural Society were held at Walker's inn.

The quality of the service was important. Much of the labour around the inn was male. In 1822, Walker was responsible for six assigned convicts, five of whom were men. Some of them may have been employed on his rural properties, but some would have worked at the inn, possibly as waiters. In later years, most of the waiters at the "Red Cow" were male.

Walker's Red Cow was a major public venue, because of its long room. Not only was it valuable for social functions, but it provided an important meeting place. By the early 1820s, auctions of goods were being held at Walker's inn. These continued with "Mr Rouse" conducting his "Auction Mart" on Walker's premises. The goods auctioned mainly appear to have been cloth and similar items. Two years later, Walker was happy to stand as surety when John Hickey Grose, a Parramatta dealer, applied for an auctioneer's licence.

The prominence of Walker and his inn also brought other benefits. He was the Parramatta agent for the Colonial Almanac in 1823, as well as the Parramatta agent for the Sydney Gazette. When a regular coach service between Sydney and Parramatta commenced, Walker's inn was often the Parramatta terminus. The "Eclipse" coach ran between Hill's Tavern, Hyde Park, Sydney and Walker's Inn. When that coach and the "Victory" coach were sold to another entrepreneur, Charles Walker was appointed as the Parramatta agent to collect outstanding debts.

As a notable citizen, he was asked to act surety for others. He was appointed as the trustee of the estate of William Rutter, who had owned various lands within the colony. In March 1825, he endorsed two promissory notes of 250 Spanish dollars each for William Tuckwell, who had lately been the Superintendent of the Factory at Parramatta, for a loan of 500 Spanish dollars from the government. Walker was also appointed to

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2. Bonwick Transcripts, B. T. 1, 254-6
3. *Syd Gaz*, 21 April 1821, 2; 8 Feb 1822, 2. This may have been Richard Rouse, the Parramatta Superintendent of Public Works. No other person of that name appears in the 1822 Muster. See *General Muster of and Land and Stock Register of New South Wales, 1822* Sydney, 1988, pp. 416-7. Richard Rouse was subsequently granted the Town Allotment, immediately adjacent to Walker's. (Allotment 94 Section 21)
4. Col Sec, Correspondence Received, 1824, A. 0. 4/1780, 277, 277b.
5. *Syd Gaz*, 2 Jan 1821, 1; 20 Feb 1823, 4.
6. *Syd Gaz*, 7 April 1825, 4
7. *Syd Gaz*, 22 Sept 1825, 4
9. Col Sec, Letters Sent, 1825, A. 0. 4/3513, 537.
collect 156 dollars deposited in the Savings Bank of New South Wales in the name of Joseph Challinor, and he agreed,

\[ \text{to pay with a part of this money all just expenses which may be incurred by Joseph Challinor on account of his trial now taking place in the Criminal Court.} \]

When the government surveyors mapped all of the allotments in the Town of Parramatta in 1823, and listed the landholders, Charles Walker held four parcels. One parcel of 248 perches was the site of the “Red Cow”, and the old cottage and the long building were shown on the plan. He also held another lot of 91 perches in Phillip Street fronting the river, with two small cottages or huts on them. He held a vacant allotment at the the south-west corner of Argyle and Church Streets measuring 57 perches. He also held a vacant allotment of 109 perches south of that at the north-west corner of Airds and Church Streets. The grant which had been given to Joseph Ward for the inn site in George Street had been cancelled on 8 October 1821. The government regularized the situation by issuing a grant to Charles Walker for 248 rods (i.e. perches) on 30 June 1823. In addition, leases for twenty-one years were issued for the three other allotments in Phillip, Airds and Argyle Streets, plus one for the back part of the inn site which fronted onto Phillip Street. Of all of these parcels of land, only the “Red Cow” site in George Street had come to him with his marriage to Hannah Ward. All the other allotments appear to have been acquired by Walker himself.

Late that year, Charles Walker requested a valuation of the houses on his property at Parramatta, to see if he was eligible for a grant. Under Governor Brisbane’s proclamation about converting leases into grants, landholders who had erected buildings of a value exceeding £1,000 were eligible for a grant. His houses were assessed at over £1,000 when they were valued. Some of the other people whose houses were also assessed as being worth over £1,000 at the same time were Francis Oakes, Andrew Nash and Richard Rouse. It is uncertain where these houses were located. It is not likely that they included the “Red Cow” since a grant had already been issued for it. No further grant for Parramatta town land was issued to Charles Walker.

3 Grant Registers. Bk. 25, p. 11 LTO.
4 Grant Registers. Bk. 25, p. 16, 117, 172, 173.
6 Col Sec, Letters Received. 1823. A. O. 4/1773, 109.
In October 1824, Walker was advertising 'Walker's Inn' at Parramatta to let. However, there appear to have been no suitable tenants, as Walker remained as licensee. Illness may have provided the impetus for such an initiative. In August 1825, he noted how Dr Henry Grattan Douglass had attended him during a long illness. On 2 June 1826, after an illness lasting a week, Charles Walker died. At his funeral there were nearly two hundred mourners, and even the normally staid Sydney Gazette was moved to write that,

For a number of years past the deceased has been respected for his public worth as one of the first innkeepers in Australia, and his loss will be proportionately felt.

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1 *Syd Gaz* 28 October 1824, 4.
2 HRA, I, XI, 794.
3 *Syd Gaz* 3 June 1826, 3
4 *Syd Gaz* 7 June 1826, 3; Quote at *Syd Gaz* 3 June 1826, 3.
5.0 HANNAH WALKER

Hannah was alone again with no husband, an adult family and a prominent hotel to manage. She was 53 years old and a substantial landholder, as she was willed all of the property of Charles Walker. She did not re-marry, but appears to have formed a relationship of sorts, possibly only commercial with a much younger man.

James Kay was a free settler who had arrived in Sydney in 1820. By 1828, he was residing "At Mrs Walker" at Parramatta. In later years, he styled himself a gentleman. He acted as witness to a property dealing of Hannah Walker's in July 1829. By 1835, he was acting in concert with Hannah Walker in some of her property dealings. Their property appears to have been kept quite separate. When Kay was bankrupted in 1849, when he could not repay a call on the Bank of Australia by the Bank of Australasia, for £219.18s.1/2d., there was no financial association with Hannah Walker noted in the bankrupt's schedule. In her will, however, Hannah Walker left express instructions concerning James Kay. It was stated that,

James Kay should have the use and enjoyment of her said Messuage Tenement Dwelling house or Cottage wherein she then resided together with the stables clubhouse Outbuildings yards gardens and other appurtenances thereunto belonging...for the term of his life at the best and most approved yearly rent that could be obtained for the same (not exceeding Two hundred pounds per annum) if he should choose to accept and reside in the same and carry on the business of an Innkeeper.

It is possible that Kay may have had a supervisory role in the inn, though admittedly, there is no evidence to confirm this.

During the rest of her life, Hannah Walker remained as the licensee of the "Red Cow". As such, she conducted a large business open at all hours, and had to manage a large group of employees. In 1828, the employees of her inn reflected the tasks which together made up a successful inn. There was a free male cook, William Barry, a convict baker, James Riddell, a free gardener, William Mullery, two ostlers, Edward Perkins and Richard Styles, plus, another free employee, John Fea.
Historical Analysis, Erby Place (Red Cow site) - Terry Kass

Over the years, Hannah Walker received a procession of assigned convicts which assisted her to maintain the inn and to service its clientele. In consequence, she had to manage her workforce to ensure the efficient running of the hotel. In April 1827, one of her female servants was convicted of drunkenness and returned to the Factory. She cannot have been too severe an employer, however, since at least one of her assigned convicts remained with her after his emancipation. The ostler Richard Styles who worked for her in 1828, had worked for the Walker's in 1822 whilst still an assigned convict whilst John Fea may have been the assigned convict, named as John Fern in the 1822 Muster. Despite all of the convicts she was assigned, they were still insufficient for her business and she had to hire free labour. William Barry may very well have been the 'Steady man, who can give good testimonials of character' which she advertised for as a cook in January 1827.

Much of her success derived from the good food, the long clubhouse let for meetings and functions, the careful attentive service and the garden in front lavishly planted with flowers. The aspect of the inn was so homely that one traveller remembered her surprise, when after seeing the long low house with its lavish garden that, "My belief it was a private residence was natural enough, for the sign of the 'Red Cow' on the roof had escaped my notice." William Mullery was fully engaged in maintaining a garden which mingled both the traditional English cottage flowers with specimens from the tropical world which had become so popular with English plantsmen. Most of the employees in 1841 were women, probably engaged in cleaning and working about the kitchen. Most of the waiters were men. The waiters, however, were noted by observers as being particularly civil. For the privilege of staying at one of the best inns, not just of Parramatta, but of the colony, guests paid handsomely. In 1843, it was reported that the 'Red Cow' charged three shillings for a bottle of porter or for a pot of tea, whilst the traveller's horse could be accommodated for five shillings a night.

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1 e.g. Assignment lists, Governors Despatches. M. L. A1206, 378; A1210, 264; A1211, 702; A1214, 760.
2 *Syd Gaz* 25 April 1827, 3.
4 *Syd Gaz* 3 Jan 1827, 4.
5 Mrs Charles Meredith, *Notes and Sketches of New South Wales During a Residence in that Colony from 1839 to 1844*. London, 1844, 61.
6 Meredith, *Notes and Sketches*. 61.
9 Hood, *Australia and the East*, 120.
The inn appears to have attracted the bulk of Hannah Walker's attention. The presence of a woman was important in any hotel. It is likely that, despite the prolonged period in which the hotel was conducted by her two husbands, Joseph Ward and Charles Walker, it was Hannah who provided the real management and control of garden, servants, linen, cooking and hospitality which lifted the "Red Cow" out of the ordinary and made it into a real inn rather than a mere pothouse like many of the hotels in Parramatta, and the colony. The building of the long room which proved such a boon for meetings, public dinners, and auctions may have been a masculine initiative, but the quality of service which gave the inn its colonial reputation was most likely to have been in Hannah's care. Over the long period in which the "Red Cow" was a notable hostelry i.e. Joseph Ward, Charles Walker and then Hannah herself, Hannah was the single constant factor.

Her continued control of the hotel after the death of Charles Walker was representative of the limited opportunities open to women at that time. Historians have identified a shrinking of the economic role of women in the 1820s and 1830s from the relatively higher levels of economic involvement common earlier on in the 1800s. Hotel-keeping was one of the few areas of commercial life which were still open to them and even that role was disappearing. Many women only took over the management of a hotel briefly in order to finalise the affairs of their deceased husbands and to provide a working establishment which could more readily be disposed of to another owner. Hannah Walker, however, held onto the hotel for many years and her tenure as publican was longer than that of either husband.

She received a grant of 115 acres of land in the District of Cook in her own name on 20 June 1816. Despite this, Hannah Walker appears to have taken little interest in the rural activities, in which her husbands had made such considerable income. After all with two married adult daughters, there were people enough to manage that side of the business. Hannah became the owner of all of the Parramatta Town leases held by Charles Walker after his death. On 28 July 1829, she transferred the lease over the 91 rods in Phillip Street (adjacent to Parramatta River) to William Clark, of Parramatta for £100.

In May 1839, she applied for grants for the other Town Allotments. She had to apply to the Court of Claims, since she derived her title from her husband's will. All of the allotments dated their title from Charles Walker's
1823 lease. She received grants of these three allotments on 14 December 1840. She also purchased a parcel of vacant land in Sydney on Liverpool Street, Woolloomooloo, from the Riley Estate trustees in August 1847 for £154/14/9.

Hannah died in March 1851.

1 Col Sec. Reports of the Commissioners of Claims, 1839, A 0. 2/1758 Nos 353-5
2 Grant Register 51, f. 71-3. LTOD. The allotments were Allotment 8 Sec 21. Phillip Street behind the "Red Cow"; Allotment 1 Sec 7. corner Aird and Church Streets; Allotment 22. Sec 7, corner Argyle and Church Streets.
3 LTOD. No. 325 Bk. 13.
4 LTOD. No 162 Bk. 31.
6.0 "THE RED COW", GEORGE STREET, PARRAMATTA

The site of the "Red Cow" was shown as occupied by a convict hut on the 1792 plan of Parramatta. This lay some way back from the current street alignment since the streets were later narrowed.\(^1\) By 1804, that hut was still there, but it had been joined by another building, which was also built along the street frontage.\(^2\) Joseph Ward had acquired that parcel of land by that time and he was given a Crown Lease in that year. When the Town of Parramatta was surveyed in 1804, the surveyor, James Meehan referred both to "Ward's House" and to "Ward's Old House" (See Illus 3.01) He also measured Ward's lease. (See Illus 3.02)\(^3\)

On the 1823 plan of Parramatta drawn when the titles to Town Allotments in Parramatta were being regularized, two buildings are shown on the plan. (See Illus 6.03)\(^4\) One was the inn building itself, a long single-storey building. To the north-west of it was the two-storeyed meeting room in which meetings were apparently being held, at least by 1822. The verandah which surrounds the main single storey section of the hotel building was in place at least as early as 1825. When Charles Walker was giving evidence at one of the enquiries into the H. G. Douglass affair, he noted how he had watched a gaol gang en route to the convict barrack. He stated, "I was standing in my own Verandah".\(^5\)

The 1836 survey plan of Parramatta showed these same buildings but the cartographer had also faintly sketched in two rectangular shapes north of the inn, possibly new or proposed outbuildings (See Illus 6.04).\(^6\)

By the early 1840s, the inn had acquired a solid reputation, and the garden was fully developed. Mrs Louisa Meredith, a lady highly attuned to the flora and fauna of the new colony has left a detailed description of the property:

After passing a particularly pretty garden, in which stood a long low house, with a spacious piazza in front. I was surprised by Mr Meredith's driving up to the door, and still more so on finding that it was our inn, where we had engaged rooms. My belief it was a private residence was natural enough for the sign of the "Red Cow" on the roof had escaped my notice; but we were most comfortably accommodated in every way. The garden was full of beautiful flowers, particularly the bright scarlet blossoms of the

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\(^1\) Map 18. B. T. 36. This map has been erroneously dated in the B. T. as 1811.
\(^4\) Parramatta Township - allotment numbers and building locations. Stewart (draughtsman), (P 1.1022), 1823. A. O Map 4907.
\(^5\) HRA. I. XI. 746
\(^6\) Map of Parramatta compiled from Richards' survey. Johnstone (P 714 a) A. O. Map 4709
One of the allotments with convict huts on them later became the property of Joseph Ward.

Source: Map 18, M. L., B. T. 36.
Joseph Ward's leases, (No. 6 on plan) showed two huts on the street alignment.

Source: G. W. Evans, Plan of the Township of Parramatta, M2/811.1301/1913/1. (Actually 1804)
pomegranate, the soft and fragrant oleander, and quantities of pink and crimson china-roses. An enormous prickly-pear (*Cactus opuntia?*) grew near the house (I think it must be twenty feet high), and was full of yellow blossoms and dark red fruit. In picking up some of which to taste, I stuck my gloves so full of the fine penetrating prickles that it was some days before I extracted them all from my hands.

Two beautiful birds were living tame in the garden; they were called curlews, but I doubt if correctly. They were much the shape of the avosetta, with long straight legs, long straight bill, a prettily-marked brown plumage, and the finest eyes I ever saw in any but the eagle or hawk tribe. The female was very shy, having had her nest and eggs repeatedly destroyed by mischievous boys and visitors; but the male was very familiar, following us all about, uttering a plaintive cry...

Several of the native parrots were caged in the verandah, and talked a little: one kind, as large as the grey and green parrots so often kept in England as pets, had a most elegant plumage, the back, wings and upper part of the tail being pale lavender-colour, and the breast and tail-linings the most delicate pink. Beside these hung the prison of a lovely little creature, called the Bathurst parrot or parroquet, or, as I named it then, and have done ever since, the “painted lady”, as on each cheek (or whatever ornithologists call the part of a bird’s face which corresponds to that human feature) there is a round spot of soft crimson orange-colour; the rest of the fair lady’s attire being bluish lavender, with a pale primrose-coloured breast, a long tail, and pretty sly eyes, make her one of the most beautiful of this numerous and gay tribe of birds.

Another traveller visited the “Red Cow” in 1843, a few years after Mrs Meredith and also commited his impressions to paper:

This is a sweet English-looking unpretending hostelry, the “Brown Cow” [sic] kept by Mrs Walker. None better in England, none so good in Sydney, although there were many of far greater pretensions; – a one-storied, verandahed square building, in the middle of a pretty garden, being all that presents itself to the weary traveller. As soon as he enters, however, he will find himself most comfortable, and inclined to rest longer than may probably suit his purse; for here, as elsewhere travelling is expensive. The charge for tea is three shillings; a bottle of ale or porter three shillings; the keep of the horse for the night five shillings. But the great danger lies in the real comfort around him: the beds, the neat small rooms, and the appearance of the whole establishment, from the nicety of the garden and cleanliness of the cottage, to the excellent arrangement of the interior, and the civility of the waiters.

When William Meadows Brownrigg published his plan of Parramatta in 1844, the following year, he depicted the same two buildings which had appeared on the 1823 plan. Another building had been erected behind the inn, in the same position as one of the dotted additions in the 1836 plan.

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1 Meredith, *Notes and Sketches*, 61-2.
2 Hood, *Australia and the East*, 120
3 William Meadows Brownrigg, Plan of the Town of Parramatta and Environs. M. L. Map M3/811.1301/1844/1
Illus 6.03
Parramatta, 1823
Stewart's Map of Parramatta shows the buildings on Walker's land - the Inn and the meeting rooms.
Source: A. O. Map 4907
Walker's "Red Cow" is depicted on this survey, essentially as in 1823, but there are also two rectangles drawn to the north of the inn, possibly representing new or proposed buildings.

Source: A.O. Map 4799
When Hannah Walker drew up her will she mentioned the hotel and it was described in a deed of 1853 as:

Messuage Tenement Dwelling house or Cottage wherein she then resided together with the stables clubhouse Outbuildings yards gardens and other appurtenances thereunto belonging.

After the death of Hannah Ward, James Kay elected to rent the premises and to conduct them as a hotel as allowed in Hannah Walker’s will. Thus, in July 1852, he advertised that he had taken over,

that old and favourite family Hotel, the “Red Cow”, Parramatta, for so many years respectably conducted by the late Mrs Hannah Walker, and trusts that the same character will be maintained, and comforts afforded which were so very proverbial under her management.

In later years, the “Red Cow” was photographed, and this image confirms many of the details which appeared on the plans showing the site from 1823 to 1844. (See Illus 6.06)

James Kay remained as the licensee for some years. On 11 September 1855, a deed was signed with “Joseph Kay” in which he assigned his interest in the hotel to the trustees of the will of Hannah Walker, after which he died in November. In December 1855, George Hill, of Surry Hills, Sydney, esquire and John Single, Parish of Castlereagh, esquire, the trustees of the will of Hannah Walker conveyed the “Red Cow”, the land it was situated upon, plus Allotment 8 Section 21, i.e. the land behind facing Phillip Street to Thomas Roberts, gentleman of Parramatta for £4,500. He mortgaged the property back to the trustees of the will of Hannah Walker for £2,200 of the purchase price.

Thomas Roberts died on 16 March 1858, the mortgage was paid off and the property was re-conveyed to the trustees of his will who immediately sold the inn and all of the land to Charles Roberts, gentleman of Wallgrove for £2,500. Charles Roberts mortgaged it to James Roberts, esquire of Currawong near Yass, for £2,000. That loan was not re-paid so the
Brownrigg’s plan showed the same buildings as in the 1836 plan, but one of the rectangular additions pencilled onto the 1836 plan had become a building.

Source: William Meadows Brownrigg, Plan of the Town of Parramatta and Environs, M. L. Map M3/811.1301/1844/1
Illus 6.06

The "Red Cow"

An undated photograph which clearly shows the main two buildings, though nothing of the outbuildings, especially the stable are visible.

Source: M.L. SPF
mortgagee conveyed the inn to Andrew Payten, gentleman of Parramatta for £1,950 on 16 January 1861. Payten mortgaged it back to James Roberts for £1,290. Payten paid off the mortgage in October 1868. Payten conveyed the land and hotel to the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney for £1,950 on 16 July 1872.

Since most of the owners during this period were gentry, the "Red Cow" was leased to a succession of publicans. In 1861, the publican had been Patrick Hayes. James Jervis noted other publicans who held the licence as V. Carr, J. Fulton. V. Carr held an inn licence at Parramatta from at least 1867 until 1870. J. Ferris then appears to have briefly held the licence.

The hotel retained its previous role as one of the major meeting places in Parramatta. In 1858, some of the early meetings which discussed the issue of municipal incorporation for Parramatta were held at the inn. The position of the hotel was in decline from then onwards. After the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney acquired the land in 1872 from Andrew Payten, it demolished the hotel, subdivided the land and built a new bank facing George Street in 1873.

The land which is the actual subject of this study was conveyed to Charles Kidman, grocer of Sydney on 13 June 1873 for £800. The land was further subdivided, and it acquired its current dimensions fronting onto a lane from George Street. It was sold by the trustees of Charles Kidman's will to Isaac Bernard and William John Ferris, merchants of Parramatta for £500. They appear to have built upon the land, financing their building with a mortgage for £7,500 from the Australian Joint Stock Bank, on 17 November 1888. In 1895, the Detail Survey of the Town of Parramatta showed two brick buildings on this site. (See Illus 6.07) Their loan from the bank was not repaid, and the bank sold the property to John Toohey.
The site, 1895

The site had acquired its current dimensions in 1888. It is the square lot running off the lane. The two buildings upon it were probably built by Ferris brothers.

Source: Lands, Parramatta Detail Survey, M. L. Ser
4/811.1301/1/Sheet 19
Historical Analysis, Erby Place (Red Cow site) - Terry Kass

produce merchant of Parramatta for £200 on 24 April 1906.¹ Toohey mortgaged the property for £600 on 27 September 1906 to George Wright, an accountant from Petersham.² On the same day, he applied to convert the land to Torrens Title, and placed a value of £1,500 on the property, though this also included a parcel of land facing George Street.³ On the plan drawn to accompany that application, there appear two buildings which seem to be the same ones that were shown on the 1895 Detail Survey. (See Illus 6.08)⁴

On 15 July 1909, Toohey transferred the land to Charles Edwin Rawlinson, estate agent of Parramatta, Septimus George Rawlinson, merchant of Parramatta, and John Percy Rawlinson, merchant of Parramatta.⁵ The property was used as the security for a series of mortgages. On 21 October 1912, Charles Edwin Rawlinson transferred his interest in the property to the other two proprietors.⁶ On 21 February 1921, they transferred the parcel facing the lane, which is the subject of this study to Thorpe's Limited. They transferred that parcel to Swift Enterprises Pty Ltd on 4 December 1946. They held that parcel until the land was acquired by the Council of the City of Parramatta on 27 August 1970.⁷

In 1969, during excavations for new banking chambers for the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney to replace the bank built in 1873 (adjacent to the Study Site), workmen uncovered a well believed to have been associated with the "Red Cow".⁸ These bricks were later incorporated in a feature wall in the new bank building.⁹ The present garage and storeroom used for storing bank records is also believed to have been part of the "Red Cow".¹⁰

¹ LTOD, No.576 Bk. 801; The complete collapse in value of this land is difficult to explain. Possibly the Ferris brothers over-capitalised. They may have used the land as security for a loan so they could build elsewhere.
² LTOD, No.104 Bk. 812
³ Real Property Application 14505, LTO
⁴ F. P. 64305, LTO Plans Room
⁵ C. T. 1783 f. 96.
⁶ C. T. 1783 f. 96.
⁷ C. T. 3861 f. 93.
⁸ The Advertiser (Parramatta), 27 Nov 1969.
¹⁰ Data sheet, supplied by National Australia Bank Archives, Melbourne.
When surveyed in August 1906, the same two buildings still appear on the site.

Source: F. P. 64505, LTO Plans Room.
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