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WALTER JACOB LEVI and GOVERNOR RALPH DARLING

The Sad Story of a Gentleman Planter

by Dr. G. F. J. BERGMAN

This is the very sad story of a man who came to Australia as one of the first free Jewish settlers with the best intentions and ambitious projects, but who failed not only because of official bickering, but also because at that time too little was known about the potentialities of this new country.

On 7th November, 1826, Mr. Walter Levi, of No. 4 King Street, Finsbury Square, London, wrote to Earl Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary:—¹
My Lord,

Having for some time past been engaged in acquiring a knowledge of the Climate and Soil of New South Wales, and its capability of producing Sugar, Cotton, and various other products of the East and West Indies, the Brazils, etc.,

I applied to Major Moody of His Majesty's Engineers, with whom I had the honor of becoming acquainted during my residence in the West Indies, in order to obtain the printed regulations, under which Land is granted to Settlers in that Colony.

I have now the honor to state to your Lordship my reasons for hoping that I may obtain a Grant of Land without purchase, as per clause 20* of the printed Regulations.

I am possessed of £5,000, with the command of as much more as may be required, and having resided many years in the West Indies, as a Merchant and Planter, the last ten years of which permanently at Barbadoes, I became personally known to the Governors of that Island from the year 1809 to 1825, particularly to Lord Combermere, and Sir Henry Warde, also to Lieut. General William Johnstone, Major Moody, and Sir Charles Smyth of the Royal Engineers, as well as to most of His Majesty's Officers of rank in the Leeward Islands during that period; and some of whose names I subjoin, to whom I can with confidence refer your Lordship as to Character. I also add a list of Mercantile Firms, who can confirm my statement as to means and capability.

My intention is to cultivate Cotton and Sugar to a considerable extent, provided I can obtain a Grant of 5,000 Acres of Land at Port Macquarie with the privilege of purchasing 10,000 acres, adjoining the grant on the terms specified in Clause No. 1* of the printed Regulations, etc.

Hitherto, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land have been supplied with Sugar from Java, Batavia, the Brazils, and other distant foreign Colonies, taking specie in payment, draining the Colonies of their circulating medium, and causing a fluctuation in the price, detrimental to the free Settler and only beneficial to a few monopolists.

Whereas I feel confident that both Sugar and Cotton may be successfully cultivated at Port Macquarie, from the local advantages which it offers, and that much public benefit will be derived not only from furnishing sufficient supply of the former for the consumption of these Colonies, but of the latter as a profitable export. And it may be proper to state I am confirmed in this opinion respecting Cotton, from the valuable quality of a specimen of that Article, which I have seen from Sydney.

In requesting the grant for the above purpose, I will only add that I purpose also to embrace extensively the ordinary methods of Agricultural improvements of Land by rearing Stock and growing Corn, and that I shall be anxious to employ, in this and other objects, from 70 to 100 Crown Servants, and which number will of course increase as my operations extend.

I have, &c.,

WALTER I. LEVI.

He gave the following references:—

Lord Combermere; Lt. Genl. Sir Hy. Warde; Lt. Genl. Johnstone; Major Genl. Codd; Lt. Col. Sir Charles Smyth; Lt. Col. Sir Charles Gordon; Lt. Col. Sir Edmund Williams; Commissary Genls. Bullock, Turquand, and Routh.

Chas. Dixon, Esqre., Savage Gardens; Messrs. Pugh and Redman, Trinity Square; J. Levi and Compy., 75 Old Broad Street; Cavan Brothers and Co., Circus, Finsbury; Lemon Hart and Son, 57 Fenchurch Street.

Levi's application was favourably received by the Colonial Secretary and on 14th November, 1826, Under-Secretary R. W. Hay wrote to him as follows:—

Downing Street, 14 Novr., 1826.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 7th Instant, requesting 5,000 Acres of Land at Port Macquarie in New South Wales, with the privilege of purchasing 10,000 more, for the purpose of cultivating Sugar and Cotton, besides other produce of the East and West Indies; and, in reply, I am directed by Earl Bathurst to acquaint you that the Governor will receive Instructions to afford you such facilities, as may be practicable, in furtherance of the objects, which you have in view; but it will rest with his Excellency to decide hereafter, upon a deliberate consideration of the success of your projects, how far you may be entitled to benefit by the Twentieth Clause of the Printed Regulations.*

On 10th December, 1826, Governor Ralph Darling was consequently informed by Mr. Hay of Lord Bathurst's recommendation:—

Downing Street, 10th December, 1826.

Sir,

I am directed by Earl Bathurst to transmit to you herewith an application, which has been received from Mr. Levi, who is about to proceed to New South Wales with the intention of cultivating Cotton and Sugar to a considerable extent, provided he obtains adequate encouragement towards the prosecution of his object.

By the enclosed reply, which Lord Bathurst has caused to be given to Mr. Levi's application, you will perceive the extent of the facilities, which his Lordship has thought proper to hold out to him, but that it is at the same time left to your discretion so far to extend towards that Gentleman the advantages, alluded to in Clause No. 20 of the Printed Regulations, as you may deem proper upon consideration of the probable success of his undertaking with reference to the amount of Capital, which he may have at his disposal.

Although Mr. Hay's letter left no doubt that the Governor would finally have to decide on Levi's application, he was sure of success and set sail for Australia. On 22nd September, 1827, he arrived in Sydney, followed on 2nd October by his wife, Rebecca, and his three children, Jacob, Simon and Letitia, to start a new life in New South Wales² and on 26th October, 1827, he made an application for 5,000 acres of land.³

There seems to have been trouble from the start, because on 2nd November, 1827, Levi wrote to Darling that he cannot understand why the Governor can have had doubt of his intentions, and he made it clear that "if my views are not in future purely agricultural, it will be from a total failure of those facilities I expected to receive from His Excellency in the prosecution of the objects I had in view, and had I entertained *any* doubts of the possibility of disappointment, I should not have emigrated to the Colony".

It might be that Darling had never before known of any Jew either in England or in the Colony who wanted to be a farmer and planter instead of engaging in commercial enterprises. As a matter of fact, this was the first application for a large land grant by a Jew who had the intention to become a farmer in the colony.

On 8th December, 1827, Levi was subsequently called before the Land Board and furnished it with a schedule showing that he had a capital of £3,000 to be applied in the cultivation of grazing and agriculture, and on 10th December, 1827, the Board reported to the Governor that Levi has cash in hand to the amount of £5,000 besides a quantity of merchandise which he had brought with him in the ship, *Medway*. Levi, wrote the Board, had resided some years at Barbados in the West Indies, where he was an extensive dealer in Military clothing and other merchandise and also in purchase and sale of estates. For the last 10 years, however, he was engaged in Barbados as a planter and came to the colony in expectation of a large grant of land at Port Macquarie for the purpose of establishing a plantation of sugar and cotton, but finding that these views cannot at present be realised, he was de-

terminated to commence with the usual pursuits as grazier and agriculturalist, till he may be enabled to follow up his initial intentions, unless he finds the banks of the Manning River, which he proposes to visit, suitable for the cultivation of cotton and sugar and succeeds in obtaining a grant in that part of the colony. As he has the intention to reside upon the land and manage it in person, the Board wrote that it had no objection to such a grant of land "as His Excellency may be pleased to order".

Yet His Excellency was not pleased to grant Levi land at the Manning River and noted on the Board's report that "he may select 4 square miles and is to be informed that the Manning is out of the Boundaries".

From this report we can see that Levi had been misinformed in London about the situation in the colony. Port Macquarie had been founded by Governor Macquarie in 1821 as a penal settlement and although the first sugar was planted there in 1821 the township and its district was not opened for free settlers until 1830, after the penal settlement there had been closed.

As for the Manning River, its lower part, where now the towns of Taree, Wingham and Gloucester are flourishing in a rich mainly dairying district, certainly did not have a climate suitable for sugar and cotton planting. This Levi did not know and still believed that he could achieve his aims there. But was the Manning district really "out of Boundaries", as the Governor answered?

On 26th November, 1828, Mr. E. S. Hall, the editor of *The Monitor* in Sydney wrote to Sir George Murray in a letter of complaints against Governor Darling, who he said "alienated land that several thousand of the richest acres on the River Manning had been granted to Mr. Arthur Pooley Onslow, a former civil servant in India and to Mr. Gilding, an emigrant from the West Indies who was also granted an estate alongside him. But Mr. Walter Levi, who arrived in the colony with a large property, the produce of an estate sold by him in the West Indies, and who brought an order for land from Earl Bathurst, was refused on the same river".⁴

Was Levi discriminated against because he was a Jew? Darling was certainly not a particular friend of the Jews. His eternal quarrels with Barnett Levey about the windmill which Levey had built above his Colchester warehouse and about Levey's theatre had shown his animosity against Levey, the Jew he despised. On the other hand, Israel Chapman, the Jewish constable was one of his favourites. Darling has been characterized as "an ultra-conservative" and that "his heart was with the

old establishment. He had little sympathy with popular reform and less with its restless symptoms".⁵ I am inclined to say that it was less discrimination than favouritism which led to Darling's refusal to grant Levi land at the Manning River.

Port Macquarie and the Manning River being out of the question, Levi had now to look for another part of the colony to select land.

His choice fell on the Hunter River, which was at that time practically the only flourishing agricultural district north of Sydney.

He undertook the journey to the Hunter River to look for himself, but here, too, he experienced disappointment.

He then obtained an interview with the Governor, after which he wrote on 14th April, 1828, to Darling that at this interview he had stated the difficulties he felt in the selection of land suitable for extensive grazing and that he regrets that this difficulty still exists.

He stated that his various stocks were distributed in all directions and that he was unable to collect them, because he has no proper locations for them. "It may be necessary to add," he wrote, "that prior to my leaving for the Hunter River, to examine a certain track of land, I ascertained its being unappropriated and on my return I found Lt. Lamb, R.N., had selected the identical spot and consequently I have the same labour and expense to go through here and at this moment I have two persons on the Hunter River instructed to inform me."

As the period for the selection of land expired on 18th April, he asked the Governor again for an extension of time.

On 21st April, Darling informed him that he agreed to extend the time for selection of land for two months until 21st June, 1828.

On 10th June, 1828, Levi wrote again to the Governor: "The difficulty of procuring a town residence for my family induces me to apply to Your Excellency for a town allotment upon which I engage Forthwith to build a suitable structure."

In December 1827, Levi had rented storerooms at Macquarie Place from Simeon Lord⁶ and sometime later took up residence in Pitt Street.⁷

He informed the Governor of a shipment expected of 3 casks of Vine cotton seeds which, he said, produces cotton with 120% and more in the market than ordinary cotton and requires planting but once in 10 to 12 years instead of annually as with the old plants. "I am to

believe," he wrote, "that the soil of the North Island is congenial to growth. I trust at no very distant day it will become one of the staple commodities. I mean to give the subject publicity offering equal advantages to those who choose to embrace it."

Yet he had again to state:—"I have not spared expense in endeavouring to discover a suitable location, but without effect down to the 2nd inst. as per advised from the Hunter River. The advanced state of the season to put my sheep, cattle, etc., on terms usual in the colony at considerable loss to me and consequently I respectfully solicit further indulgence of time until I find a suitable place as the opening of Port Macquarie to settlers which will admit of my carrying my original plan into effect."

Darling's answer was that no town settlement was vacant and that no further time for selection can be given.

But Levi did not give up and tried again, and on 16th June, 1828, he wrote to the Governor:—

"The advertisement in the *Gazette* of this day signed 'A friend to Australia' will have informed Your Excellency further respecting the planting of cotton in the colony. To the questions of many of the respectable settlers, whether I mean to try its effect myself, I cannot give any other answer than that I have no suitable location and it appears to me an active example is necessary to produce the effect."

He told Darling that he has now found a spot "totally useless for cultivation but suitable for the culture of cotton." It is a "sandy swampy soil situated and bounded by Botany Bay on one side and the other by Cooks River, I believe about 800 acres."

Darling had enquiries made concerning this land, but the grant of the land was finally refused, because it interfered with the Sydney water supply. Darling agreed, however, to give him 200 acres there to experiment with cotton.

This land and Sydney's climate was, of course, completely unsuitable for the growing of cotton.

And here the correspondence ended.

Levi's "advertisement" in the *Sydney Gazette* of 16th June, 1828, which he signed "A FRIEND TO AUSTRALIA" and not with his name, is of great interest, as it shows his unbounded confidence and also his experience as a cotton planter.

This was not, as we will see, an "advertisement", but rather some kind of "Letter to the Editor" which the editor of *The Australian* deemed to be interesting "to any

Reader who like the gentleman from whom we received the subjoined, professes to be 'A friend to Australia?.'

This "communication" reads as follows:—

We readily give insertion to the following communication from a gentleman, who signs himself "*A Friend to Australia.*" Whatever has a tendency to develop the capabilities of our soil for the production of some of the most valuable commodities of other climes, and consequently to increase the amount of our exports—the preponderance of which, over the extent of imported articles, constitutes the standard by which the virtual prosperity of the Colony must be measured, cannot be uninteresting to any Reader, who, like the gentleman from whom we received the subjoined, professes to be "*A Friend to Australia.*"

Valuable Introduction into New South Wales, calculated for the barren and hitherto unproductive land, particularly on and near the sea coast, harbours, creeks, and sandy soil.

VINE COTTON SEED.

On my fixed determination to remove to this Colony with my family, I bent my mind towards the growth of those the most profitable and best calculated tropical plants likely to succeed here, and with which I am well acquainted, from many years' experience in the West Indies. Prior to my leaving England, I wrote to my most intimate friends in the West Indies and America for the most approved cotton seed in use; and, on my arrival in South America, I also ordered a supply of Pernambuco seed to be forwarded to me, that I might have an opportunity of trying the effect of each, and selecting the best suited to the soil.

By the Mangles I received advices from the West Indies of a supply of the vine cotton seed being shipped to my London friends for me, and from London of its re-shipment on board the *Beneoolen*. My West India friend writes me to the following effect: "I send you a sufficient supply of vine cotton seed to plant a large tract of land, with directions for its planting: it is far superior to any other cotton seed grown; it requires planting but once in ten or twelve years, instead of annually; as is the case with the ordinary cotton seed; indeed, I think it will prove invaluable in a Colony like New South Wales, where you have not the labour we have here. This plant becomes more productive every year. I planted an acre at my Marine Villa*; it yielded 190lbs. nett cotton; it brings 15d. per lb. in the home market, whilst the ordinary West India cotton only commands 7d. per lb.

Directions for Planting the Vine Cotton Seed

To make the plant very productive, let the land be hoe-ploughed four or five inches deep, open small holes twelve inches square, and two or three inches deep, four feet apart, drop four or five seed in each hole, cover them slightly with soil, when the plants spring four or five inches high, single them out, leaving two in each hole; instead of weeding the grass, hoe the land, which will keep it light. The second year of its growth, previous to the wet season setting in, dig up every other row of trees, which will then leave the rows eight feet apart; at the same time cut off all the little dry branches that may be found on the trees of the remaining row; if the trees are tall, lop off the boughs about one-third the height of the trees. The third year dig up every other hole of trees, which will leave the remaining holes eight feet square from each other; they will bear ten or twelve years, the land must be kept clear of grass, and no mould suffered to be put to the roots of the trees.

The seed will be sold at 2s. 2d. sterling per lb. The proceeds after defraying the expenses of importation, will be added to the funds of the Agricultural Society, to be distributed in prizes, for the first and second best specimens of cotton from the seed, of not less than 25 lb. weight, ginned and clean. The machinery required is very simple, and the labour, after the first year, a mere nothing. The writer will feel pleasure in affording such farther information as may be required, and takes the present opportunity of stating his conviction of the success of this plant, if managed as directed, and that, at no very distant period, cotton will become one of the staple commodities for export from this Colony.

A FRIEND TO AUSTRALIA.

13th June, 1828.

* The soil of the Marine Villa is inferior to that of Vacluse or Elizabeth Bay.

Levi's efforts had been very premature and he had been completely misinformed about the climate in the colony and the land available at the time which would be suitable for cotton planting.

The First Fleet brought with it cotton seed that had been obtained in Rio de Janeiro, but early trials near Sydney soon showed that the climate in that area was unsuitable for cotton culture. Good cotton was first raised at Moreton Bay in the 1840's and cotton growing continued on a limited basis in Queensland, where it flourished during the American Civil War in the sixties, to decline in the eighties.⁸ Levi's efforts were premature and real cotton growing in Australia was reserved to the second half of the 20th century.

On 20th June, 1828, Darling noted that Levi had to be advised that no further renewal would be given and that Levi "may apply again for land, when he is prepared to select" . . .

So Levi had to sell his cotton seeds and on 9th July, 1828, he put the following advertisement in *The Australian*:—

VINE COTTON SEED

READY for delivery at the Residence of

Mr. WALTER LEVI,
Pitt-street.

On my fixed determination to remove to this Colony with my family, I bent my mind towards the growth of such of the most profitable and best calculated tropical plants as would be likely to succeed here, and with which I am well acquainted, from many years experience in the West Indies. Prior to my leaving England I wrote to my most intimate friend in the West Indies and America, for the most approved cotton seed in use; and on my arrival in South America I also ordered a supply of Pernambuco seed to be forwarded to me, that I might have an opportunity of trying the effect of each, and selecting the best suited to the soil.

By the Mangles I received advices from the West Indies of a supply of the vine-cotton seed being shipped to my London friends for me, and from London of its re-shipment on board the *Beneoolen*. My West India friend writes to me to the following effect:—"I

send you a sufficient supply of vine-cotton seed to plant a large tract of land with directions for its planting. It is far superior to any other cotton seed grown. It requires planting but once in ten or twelve years, instead of annually, as is the case with the ordinary cotton seed. Indeed I think it will prove invaluable in a Colony like New South Wales, where you have not the labour we have here. This plant becomes more productive every year. I planted an acre at my Marine Villa.* It yielded 190lbs. nett cotton. It brings 15d. per lb. in the home market, whilst the ordinary West India cotton only commands 7d. per lb."

The following are directions for planting the vine-cotton seed:—To make this plant very productive, let the land be hoe-ploughed four or five inches deep, open small holes twelve inches deep, four feet apart, drop four or five seed in each hole, cover them slightly with the soil. When the plants spring four or five inches high, single them out, leaving two in each hole. Instead of weeding the grass, hoe the land, which will keep it light.—The second year of its growth previous to the wet season setting in, dig up every other row of trees, which will then leave the rows eight feet apart. At the same time cut off all the little dry branches that may be found on the trees of the remaining row. If the trees are tall, lop off the boughs about one-third of the height of the trees. The third year dip up every other hole of trees, which will leave the remaining holes eight feet square from each other. They will bear ten or twelve years, or more. The land must be kept clear of grass, and no mould suffered to be put to the roots of the trees.

The seed will be sold at 2s. 2d. stg. per lb. The proceeds, after defraying the expense of importation, will be added to the funds of the Agricultural Society—to be distributed in prizes for the first and second best specimens of cotton from this seed, of not less than 25lbs. weight, ginned and clean. The machinery required is very simple, and the labour after the first year a mere nothing. The writer will feel pleasure in affording such further information as may be required; and takes the present opportunity of stating his conviction of the success of this plant, if managed as directed—and that at no very distant period, cotton will become one of the staple commodities of export from this Colony.

* The soil of the Marine Villa is inferior to that of Vaucluse or Elizabeth Bay.

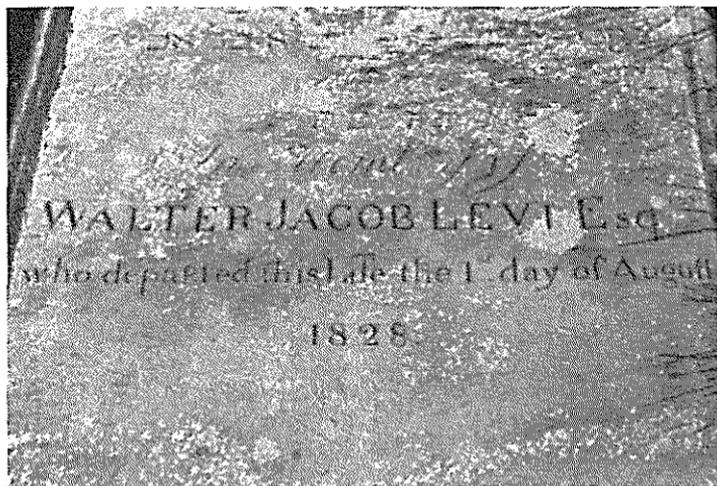
We do not know, if Levi was able to sell his seeds. I rather doubt that he was able to do so, as there are no records that anybody else attempted the planting of cotton during that period.

But Levi had probably anticipated difficulties. When he arrived, he had brought with him a number of goods for sale, and on 10th December, 1827, Mr. Paul advertised in the *Sydney Gazette* that he would sell from Levi's storeroom in Macquarie Place, paint oil, which was just landed from London, Port and Sherry wine, printed stuff, calico and other sundry goods. When he found that his land venture had not eventuated, he at once ordered other goods from England and also registered as a shipping agent and merchant.⁹

It appears that Levi was immediately accepted by the "Society" of Sydney which generally shunned the "Eman-

ipist" Jews, because, when on 23rd April, 1828, the "Australian Racing Club" was founded with the Governor as patron, Levi became one of the foundation members. Sir John Jamieson was the President of the Club and members of the "Establishment" like William Cox, John Blaxland and Alexander Berry were the Vice Presidents.¹⁰

He took a keen interest in all the affairs of the colony. At the second annual meeting of the Female School of Industry, which was also attended by the Governor and Mrs. Darling, Levi was with the Reverends Samuel Marsden



*TOMBSTONE OF WALTER JACOB LEVI IN BOTANY
CEMETERY*

and William Cowper the only other person who addressed the meeting and donated a cow to the school's cattle fund.¹¹

When a reorganisation of the Bank of N.S.W. took place in July, 1828, in view of the competition encountered by the "Old Bank" by the "New Bank", the "Bank of Australia", it was Levi who proposed a "sinking fund"

which was adopted and which the *Sydney Gazette* characterized as an "admirable measure" to save the Bank.¹²

Levi could, therefore, look forward to a prosperous future and to fulfilment of his plans to plant sugar and cotton, when Port Macquarie would be opened for settlement in the near future.

Alas, fate intervened. On 1st August, 1828, Walter Jacob Levi died, and on 4th August, the *Sydney Gazette* published the following touching obituary:—

DEATH

"On Friday morning last, at his residence in Pitt Street, after an illness of only four days, Walter Levi, Esqu., merchant.

Mr. Levi had only emigrated to these shores about twelve months, and promised, from his wealth, intelligence and public spirit, to have constituted a superior and valuable colonist. He was seized with an inflammation on Monday and lingered to the Friday following in great agony, though attended by the first medical men in the Colony. At six in the morning he observed he should die, and collectedly made his will—and at eight o'clock he was no more.

A wife and four children deplore the loss of a tender husband and affectionate parent. Such an event as this one so sudden and melancholy—the living should lay to heart, for in such an hour as we think not, we are implicitly told "the Son of Man will come" and it therefore behove us all to be prepared to meet our God".

The Australian remarked that "the deceased being of the Jewish persuasion, and Saturday being the Jewish Sabbath, his remains were not moved till Sunday, when a long and respectable funeral train accompanied them to the new burial ground, in the vicinity of the Brickfields".¹³

The Monitor also mentioned "the long train of mourners of the first respectability" which accompanied Levi's remains to the cemetery.

Levi's will is interesting from the point of view of certain English Jewish customs, which are now forgotten, as the present of a "mourning ring" to relatives and also from the point of view of genealogy, concerning his own and his wife's family. It will therefore be published in extract:—

"I, Walter Jacob Levi, of Sydney, N.S.W., considering the vicissitudes of life though at this moment of sound and disposing mind though ill in health, give and bequeath unto my beloved darling wife Rebecca all and every sheep and lamb in the possession of John Liscombe at Bathurst . . . £500 lawful money of Great Britain, all household goods etc. . . . The entire residue of my property to remain under her control, also which I recommended being placed out at interest in N.S.W., but I believe it entirely at her own discretion reserving an equal division of property for that child with which she is now in the family way. I mean to say that the residue of my property shall be divided amongst all my children. The girls to have possession of theirs on their day of marriage provided they marry with the consent of their mother and the boys . . . at the age of twenty.

I give and bequeath as a way of legacy to my brothers Isaac Levi and Solomon Levi, to my brothers-in-law George Levi and Benjamin Elkin a suit of mourning clothes and a ring of mourning each as well as to my mother-in-law Mrs. Mary Hart and my brother-in-law David Hart also a mourning ring each and a suit of mourning clothes to the latter. To my father-in-law Leman Hart I bequeath a mourning ring, a suit of mourning clothes and ten pounds to be distributed among the poor in England. To my faithful servant Hannah I bequeath ten pounds and a free passage to England provided she goes with her mistress."

Levi solicited "his friends" Daniel Cooper and Michael Phillips to act as executors of his will conjointly with his wife and Mr. Leman Hart in London, but Cooper and Phillips refused to act as executors.

Witnesses to the will were Messrs Andrew Gibson, Michael Phillips and Emanuel Solomon.¹⁴

Probate was granted to his wife Rebecca who, as we saw from his will, expected another child, on 19th August, 1828,¹⁴ and she instructed the solicitor, David Poole, who, although in the Census 1828 he declared himself to be a Protestant, was probably a Jew, to act as her proctor.¹⁵

It must have not been easy for Rebecca Levi to settle the affairs of her husband, because during the year 1829 the goods which he had ordered, continued to arrive, and in considerable quantity.

On 27th January, 1829, the *Surry* arrived with 20 tierces of wine, 20 cases of anchovies and 1 case of apparel.¹⁶ On 24th March, 1829, the *Caroline* arrived with 110 bundles of spades, 22 cases of hats and 130 casks of cider¹⁷, and finally on 16th May, 1829, came the *Elizabeth* with many goods for Levi, among which were 26 cases, 33 casks of wine, 27 hogheads of paint and colours, 6 pipes of linseed oil, 15 carboys of turpentine, 1 case of wearing apparel, 22 cases, 17 casks, 2 crates of merchandise, a stove, 1 range.¹⁸

One sees that, having failed in his agricultural enterprise, Levi had tried to make the best out of the situation and was determined to try his luck as a merchant until the time when he would be able to fulfil his ambitions on the land.

On 26th October, 1828, Rebecca Levi applied for the grant of an allotment in South Head Road, to build a cottage, and in the application said that she had the intention to continue residence in the colony.¹⁹ The Governor approved, but she had to wait till 1834 to receive a grant of land in Sydney.¹⁹

This grant came, however, too late, because on 2nd March, 1831, Samuel Lyons, the auctioneer, advertised in the *Sydney Monitor* the sale of her household goods, and

she obviously left shortly afterwards for England, with her children. A fourth child was born after his father's death.

All what remains of the memory of Walter Jacob Levi, whose early death deprived not only the colony of a vigorous colonist, but the small Jewish community of a future leader, is his tombstone which at the turn of the century was transferred to Botany Cemetery, where it can still be found as a memorial to one of Sydney's earliest and most important Jewish pioneers.

NOTES.

1. *Historical Records of Australia*, Ser. I, Vol. XII, pp. 736/37/38.
2. *The Australian*, 26.9.1827, *Sydney Gazette*, 29.8.1827, 5.10.1827. The "Medway" was held up in Hobart Town, so it appears that Walter J. Levi took the "Emma Kemp" so as to arrive in Sydney as soon as possible, probably to prepare the necessary accommodation before his family arrived.
3. The whole correspondence between Levi and Governor Sir Ralph Darling is contained in Colonial Secretary In-Letters re Land File 2/7906 (Mitchell Library).
4. *Historical Records of Australia*, Ser. I, Vol. XIV, p. 600.
5. *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. I, p. 286.
6. *Sydney Gazette*, 10.12.1827.
7. *The Australian*, 11.7.1828.
8. *Australian Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 3, p. 67ff.
9. *Sydney Gazette*, 7.7.1828.
10. Ditto, 25.4.1828.
11. Ditto, 16.4.1828.
12. Ditto, 18.7.1828.
13. Ditto, 6.8.1828.
14. Sydney Probate Office, Register of wills No. 365(1).
15. The solicitor David Poole, who arrived in Sydney in August, 1828, from London, is shown in the Census, 1828, to be a Protestant. He was very closely associated with the Jewish Community. In 1845 he left Sydney for Hobart Town and the minutes of the Hobart Town Hebrew Congregation record that he was a seat-holder in the Synagogue . . .
16. *Sydney Gazette*, 27.1.1829.
17. Ditto, 24.3.1829.
18. Ditto, 26.5.1829.
19. Colonial Secretary In-Letters re Land file 2/7906. (Mitchell Library).