

They Came as Strangers

Loftus Dun

The Dun family and its relationships with the Bedwell, Ward and Cork families in early Australia (and with some of the many other families related by marriage, up to the time of the First World War).

First published in 1995

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National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-Publication data

Dun, Loftus 1919 - .

They came as strangers

To my dear wife, Margaret, and to my family, who tolerated me during the lengthy period of the preparation of this history; also dedicated to the memory of the late Liliias Humphreys and the late Ruth Neilen, distant relatives of mine, who, over many years, provided me with useful information concerning the early days of the family, which helped and encouraged me in my research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank the authors and/or publishers and others, in relation to publications listed below, for their kind permission to reprint or use copyright material where required, and also for the helpful advice and expressions of encouragement.

Nancy Cato: *The Noosa Story*, Jacaranda Wiley Ltd.,

C.M.H. Clark: *A History of Australia*, Melbourne University Press,
Country Life Magazine, United Kingdom,

M.H. Dent for the family of Cecily Joan Mitchell: *Hunter's River*,

Mission Beach-Bingil Bay Progress Association: *Clump Point and District* (compiled by the late Constance Mackness),

J.L. Burton Jackson: *Not an Idle Man*, permission from J.D. Roe,

Thomas Shapcott: Limestone and Lemon Wine, Transworld Publishers,

A.G.L. Shaw: *Heroes and Villians in History - Governors Darling and Bourke in New South Wales*,

Lives Obscurely Great, edited by Patricia Thompson and Susan Yorke; Society of Women Writers (permission from B. Earnshaw),

R.J. Taylor: *The Lost Plantation*,

Judy White: *Tocal, The Changing Moods of a Rural Estate*,

Judith Wright: *A Human Pattern*, Harper Collins Publishers.

A special acknowledgment is due to the members of the Roe family in Western Australia (Judith D. Roe, and Augustus J. Roe and Catherine M. Gardner) for their great kindness in allowing me to use information contained in the many unpublished letters of John Septimus Roe held in microform at the Batty Library, State Archives of Western Australia, Perth. I am also grateful for the helpful guidance from that Library.

In addition, my sincere thanks go to the Women's Pioneer Society of Australasia for their support by allowing me to use copies of the portraits of William and Maria Dun held in their rooms in Sydney.

I am appreciative also of the useful assistance provided by the staff of both the Archives of New South Wales and the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, and for the permission of the Library to use photographic copies of portraits of members of the Bedwell family.

Finally, my thanks go to my family and friends for their stimulating interest in the work, and especially to my son, Kenneth John Dun, who assisted with proof-reading and preparation of the text for printing.

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CONVERSION TABLE

One foot	=	0.305 metre
One yard	=	0.914 metre
One mile	=	1.609 kilometres
One square yard	=	0.836 square metres
One acre	=	0.405 hectares
One pound (lb.)	=	0.454 kilogram
One ton	=	1.016 tonnes
One gallon	=	4.546 litres
32 degrees Fahrenheit	=	0 degrees Celcius
70 degrees Fahrenheit	=	21.1 degrees Celcius
100 degrees Fahrenheit	=	37.8 degrees Celcius

*'Be it east or west,
one common sign we bear,
The tongue may change, the soil, the sky,
But where your British brothers lie,
The lonely cairn, the nameless grave,
Still fringe the flowering Saxon wave,
'Tis that! 'Tis where
They lie - the men who placed it there,
That marks the frontier line.'*

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle
from *The Frontier Line*

*By those adventurous ones who went
Forth overseas, and, self-exiled,
Sought from far isle and continent
Another England in the wild,
For whom no drums beat, yet they fought
Alone, in courage of a thought
Which an unbounded future wrought; ...*

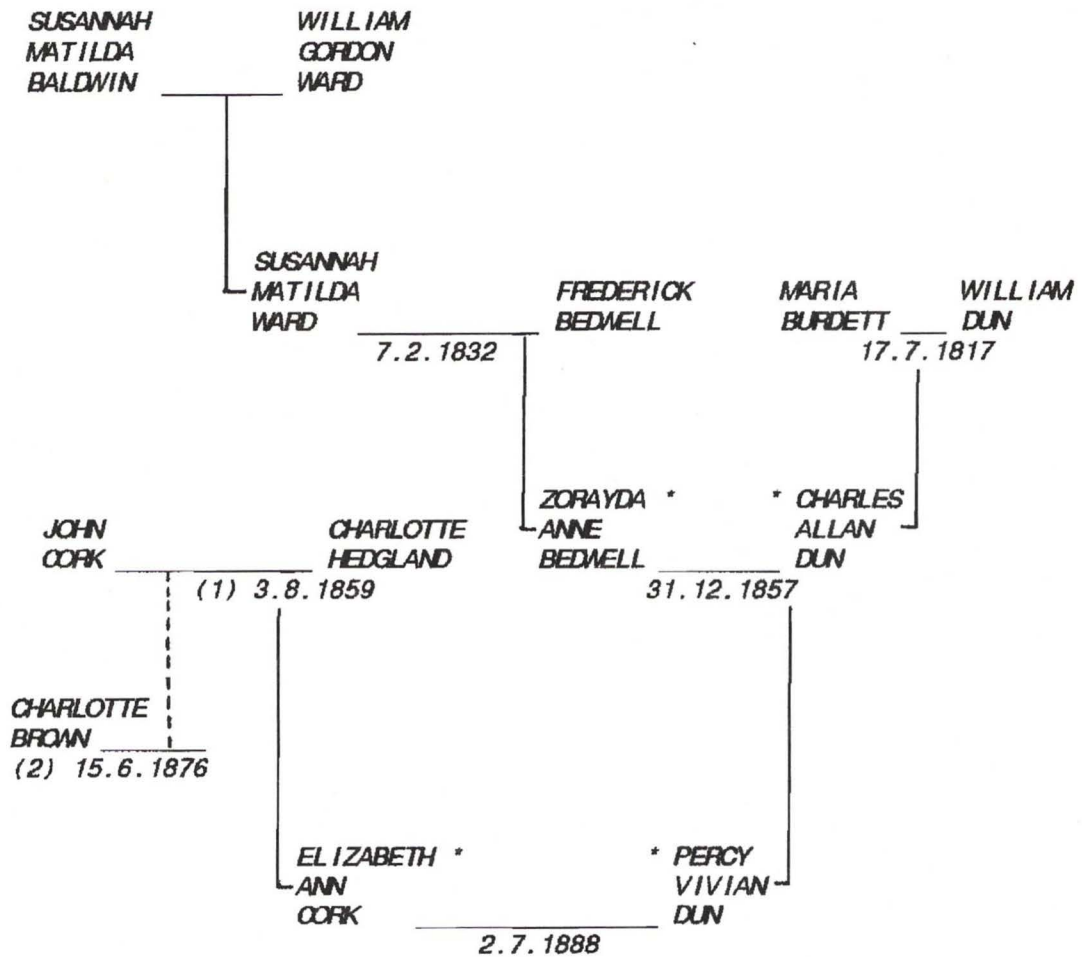
Laurence Binyon
from *England*

Both extracts are from 'Poems of Home and Overseas' compiled by
Charles Williams and V. H. Collins (published in 1921 by
Oxford University Press)

COMPACT FAMILY TREE

*Showing the relationships between those ancestors
who either settled or were born in Australia*

(refer to other charts for family details)



* indicates Born in Australia

Introduction

By the early 1820s, six of them (one yet a child) had already arrived in Sydney, five within two family groups and one single man, all young and free, with interesting though short past lives, and obviously, adventure in their hearts. Why else would well-born, young adults, especially those with children, leave the security of their English homes, to forge a new life in New South Wales, still a largely-unknown land, with the near-certainty of danger, and the possibility of great privation? The voyage out, in itself, could have provided excitement enough for a normal lifetime, even in those insecure days.

Thus it was, of course, for many who chose to come to Australia in those early times, and so it was for those six migrants, the first of my forbears to reach this southern land. Others were to come later, also from England, although Scotland clearly holds a proud and important place in regard to at least one of the earlier arrivals.

In the 170 years which have now passed, it is likely that there could be about forty thousand living descendants of those initial six, and including those who have lived and died during that time, the figure would probably be over 100,000.

The first to arrive (in 1817) was Frederick Bedwell, twenty years of age, unmarried, an officer in the Royal Navy, fresh from the Napoleonic and the American wars. He was one of two officers chosen to travel to New South Wales with Lieutenant Phillip Parker King (son of the prior Governor King), to undertake further naval exploration of our lengthy coastline, following in the steps of Matthew Flinders. Some years later, after a visit to England, Frederick Bedwell, who had retired from the Navy on half-pay in 1823, returned permanently to New South Wales, most likely in 1827, as a settler.

In 1820, the first of the couples reached Port Jackson, with their six children, after nearly five months on board HMS 'Dromedary'. Among its other passengers were three hundred and sixty-nine convicts, most of whom disembarked in Van Dieman's Land.

That family consisted of William Gordon Ward, a retired army officer aged about forty, his wife, Susannah Matilda, (in her early thirties), with five daughters and one son, ranging in age from only months to eight years. The youngest daughter, Maria, was unfortunately, while still young, to drown accidentally at Parramatta, of which more later. But meanwhile, William Ward, the father, his health failing, was not to survive for long in this new land, and his widow, Susannah, after a long period of discontent, stayed on and successfully reared the remainder of the family. This was a significant achievement for a lone woman in those difficult times, but she received surprising help from high places. One of her daughters was eventually to marry Frederick Bedwell, the couple settling finally on the Paterson River in New South Wales.

Lastly, of those arriving early, William Dun and his wife, Maria, disembarked from the vessel 'Mariner' with their two young daughters in late 1821. William and Maria were then aged thirty-two and twenty-one respectively, with their eldest daughter aged three; the younger girl had been born en-route, about two months before arrival in Port Jackson. Their first son, Charles Allan, who was born in Australia, became my great-grandfather.

It is said that William Dun was known to the retiring Governor Lachlan Macquarie, who was then at the end of his long and successful period of administration of the colony. William did have close relatives who were of high rank in the Honourable East India Company Service, and it may be assumed that therein lay the connection. In any case, William received a land grant almost immediately on arrival, and was soon to move with his family to a dwelling newly-built near the Paterson River, north of Maitland, on the initial grant of 1,200 acres. Part of that house is still occupied by descendants of William and Maria, through their daughter's marriage in 1844 to Charles Reynolds, who also purchased the landholding of his father-in-law.

In time, a continuing small wave of occupation followed the release of the Hunter Valley area for settlement, and Susannah Matilda with her unmarried daughters, and Frederick Bedwell with his wife, were to move to the Paterson River area, Frederick having married the second-eldest daughter, also named Susannah Matilda. Later, the second-eldest daughter of that marriage (Zorayda Anne) was to marry the eldest son (Charles Allan) of William Dun and Maria. Charles and Zorayda were my great-grandparents. They moved to Queensland in the early years of their marriage, with their two young daughters at the time, and eventually were among the earliest landholders in the Tewantin/Cootharaba district, about 100 kilometres north of Brisbane.

As part of the further migration to Australia following the finding of gold, other forbears arrived, principally John Cork from Kent, England, who came as a young, unmarried man (twenty-three years of age) in 1859. He soon married Charlotte Hedgland, who had arrived from Devon, England, in that same year. John Cork worked for some years

in New South Wales, and their fifth child, Elizabeth Ann, (who was to become my grandmother) was born at Duncan's Creek near Tamworth, N.S.W. in 1866. Soon the family moved north into the recently-separated State of Queensland, and after a possible short stay in Dalby, the family settled in Gympie, where gold was firing the imagination at the time. It was in Gympie that the last of the first family was born, and where John Cork lost his first wife.

Following Charlotte's unfortunate early death in 1875 after bearing nine children, John Cork married again to a later migrant from London, England, Charlotte Brown, who had arrived in 1874. They remained in Gympie where they reared the only surviving child (a male twin) of the second family, together with the still-young children of the first, in a well-ordered and contented environment.

This story will tell something of those ancestors, and the areas and times in which they lived, as it is known to us. History is mostly a story of the doings of people as influenced by their ideas and thoughts; but, those thoughts are seldom available to historians. In what follows, I have at times taken the liberty of ascribing some actions or opinions to one or other of those early settlers, which unfortunately can be no more than assumptions. It is hoped in this way to improve the readability and effectiveness of this chronicle - and at the same time to be reasonably close to the real but unknown feelings of those concerned.

The population in those early years was still very small. In the 1820s, New South Wales had a European-born population (with off-spring) of less than 35,000, the great majority of whom were males. Over half of the males and about one-fifth of the females were still convicts. At the time of the census of 1828, only a little over ten per cent of the total had arrived in the colony as free men or women, and, of course, of the others, there were those who were born in the colony.

Interestingly, there seems to be some evidence that, in regard to literacy, the locally-born population had a slightly better opportunity than had been available to those who were transported as convicts, with about two-thirds of the locally-born being able to sign their names.

There appear to be only two other Dun (one 'n') groupings in Australia, neither of which seem to be related to the Dun family which is the subject of this history. Those other groupings comprise, firstly, those descended from Thomas Dun who had arrived in Australia from Scotland in 1830 and settled in the Raymond Terrace area - by a strange coincidence, not far from Paterson where our William Dun had obtained land a few years earlier. Thomas married Mary Miller, and his descendants, among others, include some in the Nowra area, and others in the district near Grafton. Those of the other grouping first arrived in Australia much later, when Walker Dun with his wife and two children reached this country in 1909 from British East Africa. Walker Dun had migrated to New Zealand as a young child with his father, David, and the others of their large family, from Fifeshire in Scotland, in 1879. As an adult, Walker spent a short period in Chile, South America, and then, now married, moved to Africa for some years, before settling in Australia in the Cowra district of New South Wales. Some of his

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descendants still live in Cowra, and there are some in Victoria, elsewhere in New South Wales, and in other areas.

Following that brief introduction, it is now intended to tell the story of each of those ancestors, and their families, as it has become known to me.

PART A: DOWN TO THE SEA IN SHIPS

The Bedwell Family and Frederick's Place in History

*They that go down to the sea in ships,
That do business in great waters;
These see the work of the Lord,
And his wonders in the deep.*

*Psalm 107:23
The Holy Bible (Oxford, 1903)*

1 Setting the Scene_____

Before Going to the Great South Land

According to the family tree of the Bedwells, Frederick's earliest known ancestor, at this time, is Thomas Bedwell of Poulton in Gloucestershire, who was born about 1570. A grandson of that Thomas, also Thomas, who lived from 1656 to 1728, had been the Lord of the Manor at Poulton. One of his sons was John, Squire in Poulton and a mercer in Cirencester, and he named one of his sons Thomas. John's son, Thomas, married Elizabeth Weeks, who died aged twenty-nine in 1740, and was buried at Fairford, Gloucestershire, where her husband, Thomas, was also buried, in 1771. Their son, John Weeks Bedwell was born in 1740, the year of his mother's death, and also the year of the death of his sister, Elizabeth - possibly they were twins, with the mother dying in childbirth. John Weeks Bedwell, a Vicar of the Church of England, married Mary Secundus Cox, and one of their children, John, became Frederick's father.

Although there is no known connection at this stage, it is nevertheless of interest to note at least three references in 'The Gentleman's Magazine' to Bedwells who were churchmen. Firstly, in 1814, there is a reference to a Rev. John Bedwell who died at Adstock near Salisbury, aged 103, at which place he was instituted in 1741, and where "till within a few years past, (he) regularly and conscientiously performed the duties (of rector)." It mentioned that he could "read the smallest print without glasses." The next reference was in 1816, which told of a large number of clergymen of the Church of England (including a 'Mr. Bedwell') being employed in the translation of the Bible in the reign of James I. Lastly, in 1818, there is a mention of a William Bedwell, Vicar of Tottenham, and its historian, who was buried there in 1632. Future research may uncover some relationship with Frederick.¹

The Reverend John Weeks Bedwell, B.A., who was ordained in 1771 as Vicar of Hatherup, Gloucestershire, was an educated man, having graduated from Oriel College, Oxford, and he is no doubt, one to be remembered. Yet, he surely could not have

imagined the life of adventure which one of his grandsons would experience. The Reverend's eldest son, John (born 1770), one of six children, married Eleanor Buckle in 1797, and there were five children, with Frederick the eldest of three sons, the other two probably being twins. There is some confusion in the family records, as in some places, Frederick and one sister (Eleanor) are shown as being children of John Bedwell and Eleanor Teast - those two children were the eldest, and it has yet to be established whether John fathered children by two Eleanors, or whether Eleanor Buckle and Eleanor Teast were one and the same. Frederick was born in Gloucestershire, where he was baptised at Swindon on 30 November, 1796, the year prior to the death of his grandfather, the Vicar, who was then aged fifty-seven.

In 1810, before his fourteenth birthday, Frederick entered the Navy as a nominee of Lord Mountmorris (Viscount Valentia) - who is also said to have been Frederick's god-father, although there is no proof of this so far. Frederick served in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars, in addition to being engaged in action against the American forces on the mainland of North America in the war of 1812-1814.²

Digressing, it was interesting to read in historical notes accompanying a novel, 'Sharpe's Enemy' by Bernard Cornwell, that rockets were deployed in that American war by the British in the siege of Fort McHenry, and that it was the story of that siege which had been put to the music of a drinking song used by a certain London club, which is now the U.S. national anthem - actually the anthem mentions the rocket invention of Sir William Congreve in the line which refers to "the rockets' red glare."³ How that version of its origin relates to the official recognition in regard to the anthem is uncertain - according to a reference book published in U.S.A. in 1939, 'The Star-Spangled Banner' was written in 1814, the words by Francis Scott Key, and the music by Dr. Samuel Arnold. Apparently, it was not adopted as the U.S. national anthem until 1931. However, in that same reference book it states that the national anthem of Australia was a song named 'There is a Land Where Summer Skies', composed about 1870 by Carl Linger, words by C. J. Carleton. Has anyone heard of it?⁴

According to W. R. O'Bourne in 'A Naval Biographical Dictionary' (London 1849), Frederick Bedwell served thirteen years in the Navy on full pay, followed by twenty-four years on half pay, until 1846, when he would have been aged 50 years. He entered the service on 8 September, 1810, as a First Class Volunteer on board 'Woolwich' under Master-Commander Richard Turner, in the Mediterranean. Then, from December 1811 until May 1815, as a Midshipman, he served on Grampus 50, and Marlborough, Sceptre and Albion, all 74's, and he was "the constant companion of Sir Geo. Cockburn in all his operations at the defence of Cadiz, and at the Chesapeake." During the North American campaign, it is understood that Frederick took a prominent part in a land action against the rebels, whilst temporarily seconded to another command.⁵

After the Napoleonic Wars, he was Master's Mate on 'Northumberland' 74, again under the command of Sir George Cockburn, escorting Napoleon Bonaparte to exile at St.

Helena. Then followed a short attachment to the Weymouth Store-ship, under Master-Commander Richard Turner (who had been his first naval commander), and during that time, he had probably been trained in the recently-improved science of naval hydrography by Captain Thomas Hurd. From there, he was appointed to the surveying expedition to New South Wales under Lieutenant Phillip Parker King. Then followed a number of years on 'Mermaid' and 'Bathurst' in Australian waters, during which time Frederick's promotion to Lieutenant was belatedly confirmed.

It is rumoured in the family that during the journey to St. Helena escorting Napoleon, Frederick, then almost nineteen years of age, was one of the officers who, on occasions, would duel on deck with Napoleon, as a form of exercise during the voyage. There is in existence a button, said to have Napoleon's crest, which is supposed to have been given to Frederick Bedwell on one of those occasions.

Off to Sydney for Exploration

In 1816, the British authorities decided to arrange a naval expedition to operate in the waters around Australia, continuing the valuable survey work which had been carried out by Matthew Flinders at the start of the century.⁶ Lieutenant Phillip Parker King, son of the earlier Governor of New South Wales, Philip Gidley King, was chosen to lead the group, and he was allotted two young officers to accompany him, as Master's Mates. One of those officers was Frederick Bedwell, who was appointed as second-in-charge. The other officer was John Septimus Roe, with the same rank as Frederick Bedwell but junior to him. John Roe was later to settle in Western Australia where he held the appointment as the State's first Surveyor-General, a position which lasted over forty years, during which period he was at different times a Member of one or other of the Executive and Legislative Councils of that State. Another important appointment to the ship's complement was Mr. Allan Cunningham, a botanist, whose participation was arranged with Sir Joseph Banks - but he was to join the party in Sydney, where he was already at work.

In the letter of instruction to Lieut. King from the Admiralty dated 4 February, 1817, it was stated that to assist in the care of timekeepers and instruments, "my Lords have directed Messrs. Frederick Bedwell and John Septimus Roe, two young gentlemen who have been recommended to them as particularly fitted to be of use to you, and for whose appointment you have expressed your wishes, to accompany you and to be under your command." In those years, following the successful completion of the Napoleonic

Wars, a very large proportion of naval officers were on half-pay, and King and his men probably considered themselves fortunate to have been chosen for the survey work.

Those young officers, Bedwell and Roe, accompanied by Lieut. and Mrs. King, arrived initially in Port Jackson on 3 September, 1817 on the Transport 'Dick', after a voyage of nearly seven month's duration from Gravesend in England, with calls en-route at Cork and Rio de Janeiro. The ship carried some other free passengers, together with a detachment of the 48th Regiment; there were no convicts on that journey.

Although nothing has been found of any correspondence to or from Frederick Bedwell, John Roe was a keen writer, and fortunately many of his letters have survived; in view of the similarity of their experiences, in many of which they participated jointly during their service as part of the survey expedition, some of John Roe's comments will be included in this story, especially where they were both involved. The kind permission of members of the Roe family has been gratefully received for the use of some brief quotations from, and references to, details contained in those letters written by John Septimus Roe, which are held in the State Archives of Western Australia in Perth, and the help from the staff of the Archives is also acknowledged.

In a letter to his father dated 17 February, 1817, written on the 'Dick' while running down Queen's Channel on the day they sailed from England, John Roe said that "at present we have plenty of room in a cabin formed by an old sail nailed to the beams, (and) we had a very comfortable night with good bottled porter and three or four glasses of wine at dinner. We could I dare say drink more if we chose to sit longer." He said that Mr. King had promised to do all he could to procure a cabin for them, by re-allocating space allotted to the troops.

In a letter dated 21 February (while the 'Dick' was in the Downs), he said that he found Frederick Bedwell, who was about 20, to be a very good, worthy, young man, whose patron was "Earle Montmorris" (sic). Unfortunately, he (Bedwell) drew very little, so that "consequently the heaviest part of that work will fall to my labour." Although Frederick had applied to him for some instructions in that line, John Roe wrote "I really have so much to do for myself and had wasted so much of my time for others, that I could not positively undertake to teach him..... He appeared perfectly satisfied, and so am I."

Writing on 23 March from the Cove of Cork, he reported that the two of them had at last got a cabin between them, and they had just painted the sides and white-washed the top - it measured 8 feet by 6, with just room to hang two cots, which in bad weather would probably thump against the bulkheads. On 3 April, 1817, they sailed from the Cove of Cork.

Later in that letter, talking about the degree of comfort and the very good table, he said that they "blow out their jackets" with hot rolls and butter, cold meat, boiled eggs (stowed away in salt to preserve them), and tea or coffee.

Moored in Rio de Janeiro harbour on 5 June, John Roe said that they had been invited to dine on board 'Hydra' by the commander, a Lieutenant from Ascension Island, and an

old shipmate of Frederick Bedwell's; it was the occasion of the King's birthday. On a later day, they visited the town together, and he commented that the Royal Chapel had more the appearance of a theatre than a house of worship - and he suggested that the King of the country should go to England to "receive a lesson or two in civilization." He may have been right, but it was an unusual thing to say; except of course, the letter was private correspondence to his father.

Leaving Rio on 11 June, they arrived in Sydney on 3 September, 1817, and they set about obtaining a suitable vessel in which to perform their survey and exploratory duties around the coastline. At the time, there were only two likely vessels in the harbour, and although each was unsuitable for different reasons, King had apparently planned to accept Governor Macquarie's offer of the 'Lady Nelson', and make the best of it. Fortunately, soon after that, the 'Mermaid' arrived from India, a cutter of 84 ton, which was only twelve month's old. It was 56 feet in length, with a beam of 18 feet 6 inches, and when loaded, it drew only 9 feet. With some other alteration, it could be made to satisfy the requirements of the survey, and it was purchased by the Governor, on behalf of the Colonial Department (as had been arranged), for £2,000.

Preparation for Adventure

One could imagine the great interest which these young men would find in Sydney in those early days. What a tremendous excitement it would be to be there, in unusual circumstances in a strange land, preparing for the adventure to come. Again, we have John Roe to thank for the observations contained in his letters to his family, and we know that Frederick Bedwell shared very similar experiences. On 19 September 1817, he wrote that after living on board 'Dick' for as long as they could (in order to save expenses) - "decency would not admit of a longer stay" - they moved into lodgings while a house was being repaired, for their use, at Government expense. Partly due to the want of corn, and the flooding of the river, "everything is most confoundedly dear.." Pork was 13 pence per lb., beef 10 pence, butter 3 shillings and 6 pence, and candles 2 pence. They dined out as often as possible, and seldom refused any invitations. Frederick Bedwell had just returned from a visit of two days to Parramatta, at the invitation of "Mr. King's sister, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Hannibal McArthur." John Roe was to make a similar visit shortly. Also, they had been introduced to General Macquarie, the Governor, and "invited to go and see his seat at Parramatta, the first opportunity, and dine with him."

Regarding people in general "in this part of the world," Roe said that "a man may be talking to another, very respectably dressed and of genteel appearance.....(and).....finds to his surprise and mortification that his new acquaintance is a convict - what an acquisition!"

It was not until 21 December, 1817, that all was in readiness for the commencement of the first voyage, which was the beginning of over four years of naval survey and exploration for Frederick Bedwell and his fellow officers, including three lengthy journeys and one short, in the 'Mermaid', followed by a final major survey on the Australian coast in 'Bathurst', the vessel which replaced 'Mermaid', which was by then unseaworthy after its many months of hard work.

Before they sailed in December, and in between social engagements, it was necessary to finalise the crew, arrange the stores and provisions, and carefully plan how to achieve the requirements of the Admiralty, which were so extensive as to be almost impossible in the circumstances.

It was decided to carry a crew of nineteen, as follows:

Commander	1	Lieut. P.P.King
Master's Mates	2	Mr. F. Bedwell (second-in-charge) Mr. J.S. Roe
Botanical Collector	1	Mr. Allan Cunningham
Seamen	12	
Boys	2	

18 (before including Boongaree)

In addition, they included Boongaree, a Port Jackson native, who had sailed with Flinders in the "Investigator", and who had offered his services to this expedition. He was a well-known tribal chief, aged about 45 years, and he was, according to Lieut. King, sharp, intelligent and unassuming.

For the record, the surnames of the crew (apart from the officers) according to a list written in the inside back cover of one of John Roe's logbooks in the Battye Library in Perth, were:

Jackson	Quartermaster
Stephenson	Sailmaker

Miller		Boatswain
Grounds	}	
Firth	}	
Gruble	}	Able Seamen
Speed	}	
Bursef	}	
Woolford	}	
Ansell		Carpenter
Cobbey		Cook
Clarke		Steward
Hummond	}	
McLoughlan	}	Boys

According to an article by Alan Powell in the *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, although naval rates of pay at the time for officers were "hardly adequate", this was overcome to some extent by the special scale applicable to survey work.⁷ Of course, the duties could be arduous and full of risk.

On the other hand, it could not be surprising to find that it was not easy to sign-on the rest of the crew, especially considering the method of payment, involving some money in advance but then no further pay until the vessel was paid off, maybe months or even years later. On top of this, of course, the conditions were sometimes very poor, and the risks were tremendous. At times, some vacant places in ship's crews were finally filled by convicts, and although there is no evidence that this actually happened with 'Mermaid's' crew, there is every possibility that it did.

Although they did not know it then, their first voyage was in fact to last just over seven months, and they arranged to sail with supplies sufficient for nine months. As it happened, during the trip, their bread supplies were badly damaged by sea-water, and their water-supply was insufficient, partly because some containers which had been made in Sydney with staves of salt-provision casks, caused the water to be "bad and useless". In the circumstances of Sydney by then, provisioning should not have been a problem, although of course, packing in a way which would keep food and water in a usable state over that period would have required special attention. Apart from the food, and of course the containers for water, it was essential that sufficient items be carried to allow for the proper operation and maintenance of the vessel; time was to prove that for the conditions which would be encountered, spare anchors could prove invaluable.

Much thought must have gone into the planning of the voyage, and the numerous activities required in order to meet the instructions issued by the Admiralty on 4

February, 1817. The establishment of the expedition was for the prime purpose of exploring that part of the coast of New Holland which had not been surveyed or examined by Captain Flinders, whose career was cut short, in the words of Lieutenant King, as a result of the "disgraceful and unwarranted detention of this officer at the Mauritius." The whole of the northern, north-western and western shores remained to be explored.

The Admiralty had stated that the principal object was to examine the unexplored coasts from Arnhem Land, near the western entrance of the Gulf of Carpentaria, to the west and south as far as North West Cape, including Van Dieman's Bay and Rosemary Island, and the inlets behind, with the chief motive being to discover a river to lead to the interior navigation of the continent. Then, there were further detailed aims in a memo attached to a letter dated 8 February, 1817, from Earl Bathurst, Colonial Secretary, to Lieut. King - the letter itself was to advise of the appointment of Allan Cunningham to accompany the expedition, but the memo which was attached, listed several points upon which Earl Bathurst considered it "desirable to procure information." Those points may be summarised as follows, and the immensity of them is immediately obvious:

- Climate (heat, cold, moisture, winds, rain, periodic seasons, temperature - at two or three periods of the day;
- Direction of mountains (names, shape, if detached or ranges);
- Animals (birds, beasts, fishes), insects, reptiles etc.;
- Vegetables, especially if useful for medicine, dyeing, carpentry;
- Scented or ornamental woods;
- Hardwoods with specimens - quantities and facilities for transport;
- Minerals, metals, stones - how used, and valued;
- Details of tribes;
- Occupations and means of subsistence;
- Any articles growing, and use for export to Great Britain;
- What would natives need in exchange?
- State of arts or manufactures of various tribes;
- Vocabulary of languages of "every tribe you meet", and English translation.

**SUMMARY OF THEIR JOURNEYS RELATING TO THE EXPLORATION AND SURVEY WORK
AROUND THE COAST OF THE CONTINENT, AND TO AND FROM AUSTRALIA.**

1. To New South Wales:

17 Feb to 3 Sep 1817 'Dick' Gravesend (England) via Cork and Rio de Janiero to Sydney via Bass Strait.

2. On Australian coast:

(a) 22 Dec 1817 to 'Mermaid' Sydney via Bass Strait to
29 Jul 1818 north-west of continent (to Goulburn Islands in the north), then to Coepang (Timor), and return to Sydney via Bass Strait.

(b) 24 Dec 1818 to 'Mermaid' Sydney via Hobart Town to
14 Feb 1819 Macquarie harbour; then returned to Hobart Town and back to Sydney

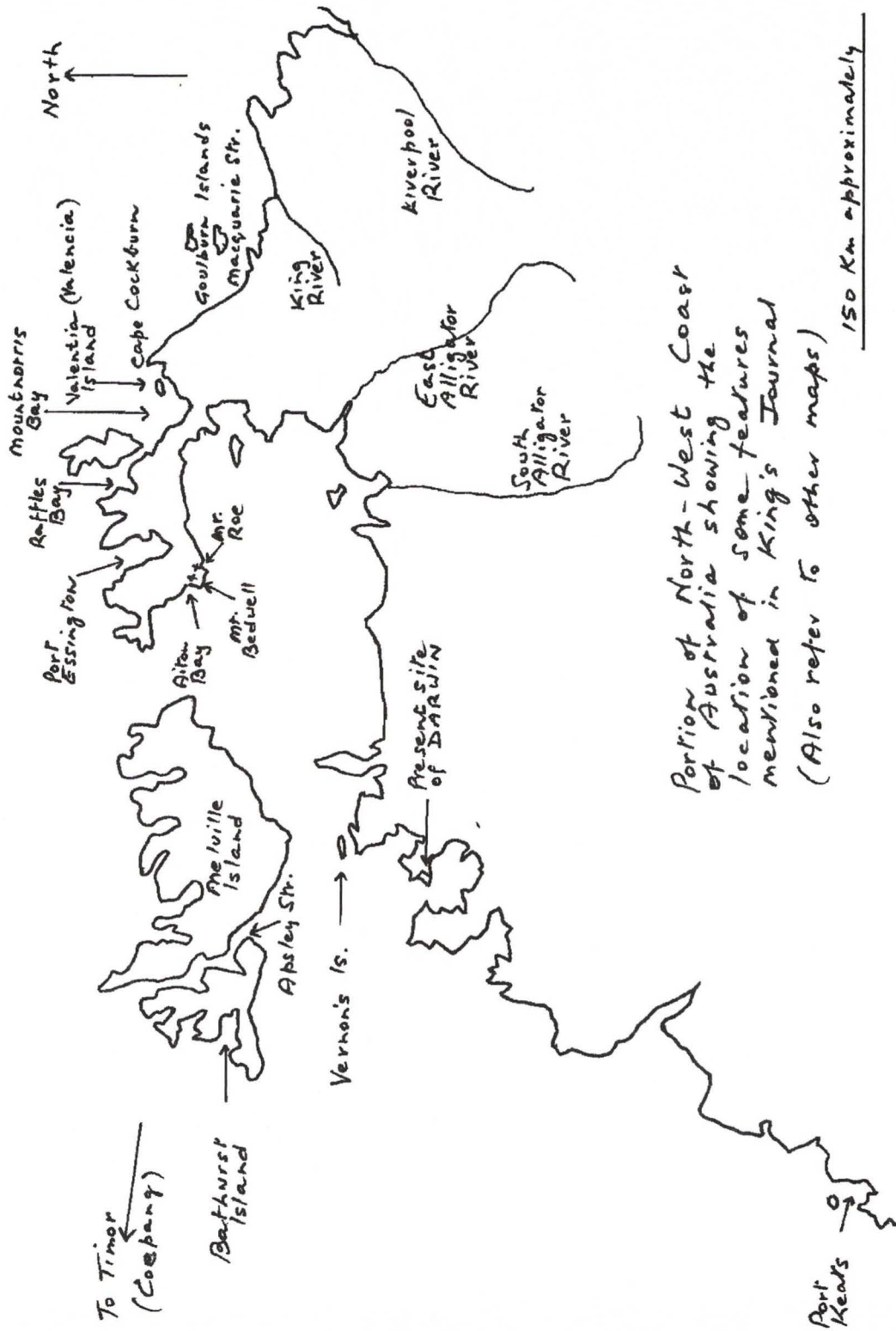
(c) 8 May 1819 to 'Mermaid' Sydney northwards through Torres
12 Jan 1820 Strait, around north-west of continent as far as Admiralty Gulf; then via Savu to Coepang (Timor), and home via Bass Strait

(d) 14 Jun 1820 (re- 'Mermaid' Sydney northwards through Torres
start 12 Jul) to Strait and around north-west of
9 Dec 1820 continent to York Sound and St. George's Basin; careened at Careening Bay and returned via Bass Strait to Sydney Cove.

(e) 26 May 1821 to 'Bathurst' Along north coast from Sydney
25 Apr 1822 (accompanied for varying times by 'Dick' and 'San Antonio'); then to north-west and down to Roebuck Bay before sailing to Port Louis, Mauritius. Then back to King George The Third Sound near the south-west of the continent. Sailed up the west coast to Cape Leveque before returning to Sydney via Bass Strait.

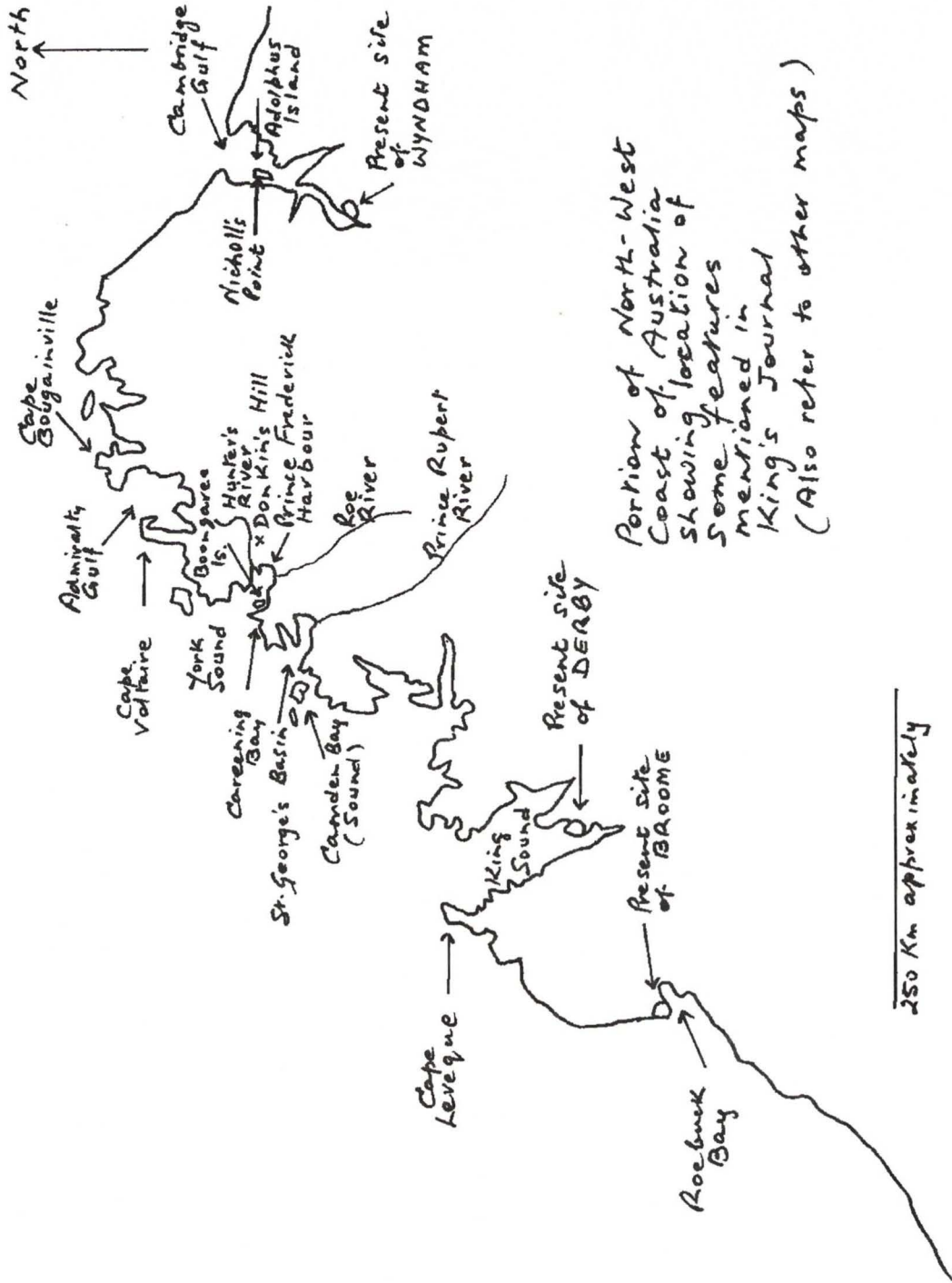
3. Return to England

25 Sep 1822 to 'Bathurst' From Sydney around Van Dieman's
23 Apr 1823 Land, via King George's Sound, Cape of Good Hope, St Helena, Ascension Island, Azores, then to Plymouth Sound, England.



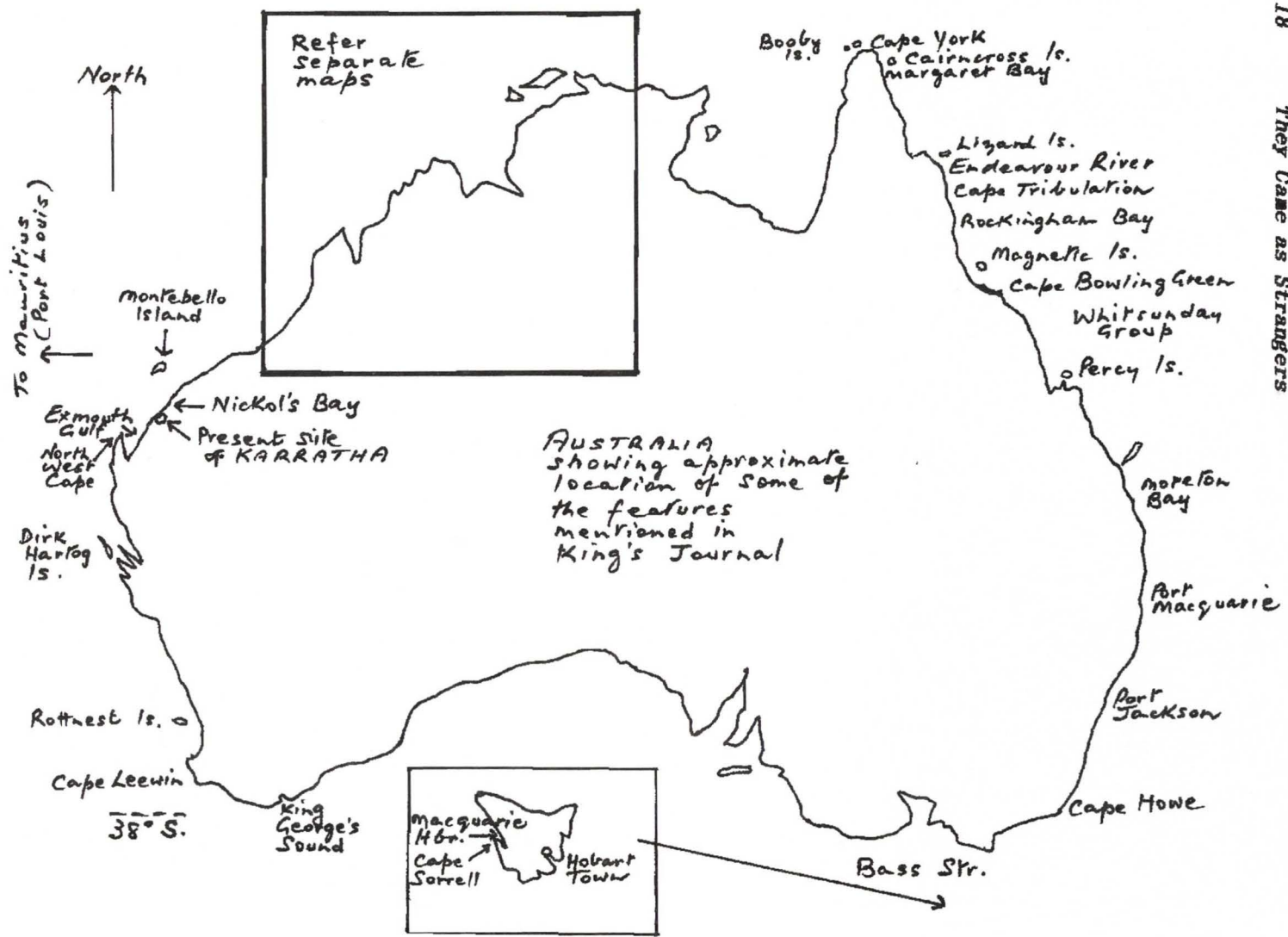
Portion of North - West Coast of Australia showing the location of some features mentioned in King's Journal (Also refer to other maps)

150 Km approximately



Portion of North-West Coast of Australia showing location of some features mentioned in King's Journal (Also refer to other maps)

250 Km approximately



II First and Second Voyages of Exploration_____

First Journey (South of Continent, then to North-West - Home via Timor)¹

And so, 21 December, 1817, arrived, and the start of their first adventure in the 'Mermaid'; but it was a false start, and bad weather forced a return to port that same day. However, they sailed on 22 December. It was a voyage which was to last until late July of the following year, and was to take them around the south of the continent, through Bass Strait, and up the western coast to the far north-west corner of Australia. Then, after a visit to Timor to replenish provisions and water, they returned to the Australian coast, which was sighted just south of Montebello Island. From there, it was a journey back to Port Jackson by re-tracing their forward route, reaching Sydney on 29 July, 1818. Although it may have been the accepted thing for sailors in those days, living conditions would have been crowded on the 'Mermaid', and a comment in a letter dated October, 25, 1817 from John Roe (Frederick Bedwell's shipmate), probably to his father in England, confirmed this; he said that they would all sleep in "standing bed places", and that our bones would be very sore for the first few months"; he also said that it would take some weeks before they would be so far accustomed to it to get any sleep, and that "I expected to be very sick indeed on board of her for a short time, but I must grin and bear it." He explained that the ship was "so small as to prevent the possibility of our being able to sleep in cots or hammocks." Such voyages would include many occasions involving great risk, and times of particular interest and satisfaction. In order to give some idea of what occurred, the story of those journeys (as recorded in King's Journal) will be provided in some detail, including descriptions of any happenings of special interest, especially those relating to Frederick Bedwell.

As they needed to survey the coastline between North West Cape and the north of Australia, it entailed a long voyage from Sydney before commencing their work, and they could have chosen to proceed from Sydney either to the north or to the south.

For their first voyage, the Bass Strait route was chosen so that they could later obtain the maximum advantage of the monsoon winds.

They proceeded around the coast, anchoring as necessary, and reached King George the Third Sound on 20 January, 1818; later, in Oyster Harbour, although unable to catch fish by line, due (it was claimed) to the presence of sharks, Boongaree obtained some by seine (a large fish net) and spear. On 10 February, the land south of North West Cape was sighted, and after losing an anchor some miles east of the Cape, they sailed all night to avoid a repetition. The vessel was unable to be anchored until sunset on the 12th, when a strong wind caused a fluke of another anchor to break; now, except for the small stream anchor, there was only one anchor left. They sailed deeper into the opening near the Cape, and on 15th, anchored for what was to be three days in a bay to be named Bay of Rest. During this time, Frederick Bedwell explored the eastern shore of the bay on one day, and on the next day, he examined the bottom of the bay, while John Roe walked over the sand ridges behind the beach. The crew were affected by the heat (105 degrees in the shade on land), and the flies. A number of the men bathed in the sea, causing two or three days "indisposition" for some, and, surprisingly, this was seldom afterwards permitted. They gave the name of Exmouth Gulf to the opening, after Viscount Exmouth.

On 24 February, they anchored to the east of Rocky Head, where Lt. King and John Roe climbed to obtain an extensive view. They saw natives paddling on logs of wood between islands, and Frederick Bedwell, with difficulty, brought one man on board, protesting. Forty of their tribe, mostly women and children, watched on shore, seemingly overcome with grief; and would it be any wonder? To those people, it could be likened to our feelings if one of us was taken prisoner onto a space-ship. The 'captive' quietened down when he saw Boongaree, and after rejecting biscuit, but enjoying sugar, he was put back on a log near the beach, with an axe and other items which he fancied. He was accepted cautiously on shore and interrogated; then his body was closely examined by his fellows, and all sat around for about thirty minutes to hear his tale. At that, they all rose, called out to the ship, and walked off leaving the presents behind. Later that afternoon, Frederick Bedwell and John Roe rowed near shore with further presents. During the night, the natives called out, and then left the island. In the daylight, their living area was inspected, and it was surprising to find that their water craft was merely an arrangement of two short logs, joined to increase its length, and paddled by hand - "the extreme case of the poverty of savage boat-building all round the world," as observed by Mr. King.

On 4 March, 1818, according to P. P. King, "we anchored in a bay which at John Roe's request was named Nickol's Bay." In a publication concerning J. S. Roe (by F. R. Mercer) it said that, on that first voyage, "Roe was given the honour of naming one bay, choosing to make it a point of remembrance of a man named Nichol who had been lost overboard."² There is no mention of that circumstance in King's Journal. However, on 27 and 28 September 1819, in the following year and in respect of the following journey, King stated in his Journal that William Nicholls, a seaman from Norfolk Island, who had been suffering from a "dropsical complaint" for nearly three

months, died from suffocation "having very imprudently laid down his head to leeward while we were under sail." He was interred next morning (28th) on shore, and the north-west point of Adolphus Island (in the north-west of the continent) was named after him in memorial, by Mr. King.

The request by John Roe for the naming of Nickol's Bay (which occurred during the first journey) probably relates to a statement in another letter to his father, a lengthy document dated 8 June, 1818, which was written whilst off Coepang, Timor. In this letter, John Roe said that Mr. King had kindly offered him the privilege of naming one bay, which he accordingly did by naming it after Mr. Nickols. He continued by saying that had it been large enough and of sufficient importance to have borne the name of his patron, Sir Richard Keats, he should have given that in preference; but being no more than six or seven miles wide, and deep, it would be offering no compliment to his rank in the Navy.

Who then was the Mr. Nickols for whom John Roe named a bay? Possibly John Roe's later letter of 5 August, 1818, gives the answer. That letter was written after the 'Mermaid' had returned to Sydney. In it, he expressed surprise and astonishment at the statement by Mr. Nickols (no doubt reported by his father in an earlier letter), regarding the £20 which "he (Mr. Nickols) was kind enough to lend me," and he disagreed with the indication by Mr. Nickols that the loan was "honoured by desire of my father."

There is no doubt that Nicholl's Point (on Adolphus Island) was named by Phillip Parker King in memory of the unfortunate seaman who had been buried there. But John Roe, during a later voyage, had named Nickol's Bay in honour of a family friend in England. Nickol's Bay is now known as Nickol Bay, and the present-day town of Karratha is at its southern most edge.

This Nickol's Bay affair is in itself a trifle, although it does provide an example of the difficulty of achieving accuracy in historical writing, even in regard to such a simple matter as that.

And now, we can continue the voyage where we left the 'Mermaid' in Nickol's Bay on 4 March, 1818. As the monsoon was weakening, they set out for the northern coastline, and in late March, they landed in a bay on Goulburn Island for water and wood, and found traces of Malay visits on the beach, as had Flinders. Some natives were causing trouble, and Frederick Bedwell was sent to capture their canoe as a reprisal for their theft of tools and flags. They retreated into the wood, and Frederick took their canoe on board his boat - it was of Malay origin, about 17 feet long. That night, the natives retaliated by cutting the moorings of the whaleboats, and recaptured their canoe - however, they were detected, and it was recovered. There was further minor friction on the next day, during which Frederick Bedwell was required to moor the whaleboat about 15 to 20 yards offshore, with ready "musquets", to guard the water party. However, having obtained the water, it was decided to go elsewhere for wood as fuel.

In the following weeks, a Malay fleet was sighted in Macquarie Strait. 'Mermaid' sailed past them, declining to stop as they seemed to indicate, because there were 15 proas, each of 25 to 40 ton, with at least 300 men in total. They were seen again on the next two days, their fleet then having increased to 21 proas, but they passed by without threat. Phillip King commented that although each of his men went ashore armed, it was fortunate that they were not often obliged to use their weapons, for most of the twelve firearms which they possessed were useless, notwithstanding their being the best procurable at Port Jackson when the vessel was equipped.

At this stage of the journey, although there was no mention in the Journal of any request by Frederick Bedwell, there is reference to three geographic features which were probably named by Frederick. They are firstly, Mountnorris Bay (Lord Mountnorris had nominated Frederick for the Navy), then there is Cape Cockburn, probably named in honour of Frederick's commanding officer for much of the Napoleonic Wars, and lastly, Valentia Island, no doubt for Viscount Valentia (Lord Mountnorris). As a matter of interest, 'Valentia' is spelt, apparently in error, on current official maps, as 'Valencia'.

Among other activities, as the voyage progressed, both Raffles Bay and Port Essington were named, there was another sighting of the Malays, and further trouble occurred with natives. On 25 April, King named two flat-topped hills, seen from Port Essington, as Mounts Bedwell and Roe, (because he said that they were conspicuous objects) and on that same day, two men from another fleet of proas came on board and stayed for three hours, showing great interest. King promised to give them some gunpowder on the next morning, but sailed away early to avoid them.

The flat-topped hills named after Bedwell and Roe are near the southern coast of the Coburg Peninsula, close to Aiton Bay, and are only about 150 metres in height - Two Hills Bay is on the coast between them.

During early May, they named the Alligator Rivers, and were careful to avoid the crocodiles, which they called alligators.

When ashore on Melville Island one day, King and his party were surprised by natives, and ran off leaving behind the insect net of Mr. Cunningham, and the theodolite. Mr. King had fired his fowling-piece just before at an iguana, and so they had no defence. Guarded by Frederick Bedwell with an armed party in the whaleboat, they endeavoured to negotiate for the return of the theodolite, but apart from exchanging some chisels and files for water and sago, there was no success. The natives left a woman alone in the water, apparently expecting the party to take the woman in exchange for the theodolite; Mr. King remarked in his Journal, in a rare show of humour, that she obviously had not been selected for her youth or beauty. They did not recover the stand.

Bathurst Island was named, as were some other features, and by the end of May, 1818, it was time to leave the coast; provisions and water were low, and there was need to

resort to Timor without delay. In the afternoon of 4 June, they anchored off the Dutch settlement of Coepang, 1/3 mile from Fort Concordia.

Difficulty was experienced in obtaining provisions or water from the Dutch Resident, but he provided two young buffaloes and some vegetables and lent money on a private bill. Chinese merchants formed the greater proportion of the population, and Chinese shops supplied vegetables and rice, but it was discovered later that they could have been obtained at half the price.

Although Coepang was described as a poor place, it was picturesque, and with a lively appearance, having stone houses roofed either with red tiles or thatch, and with shade from thick groves of trees including bread-fruit and hibiscus. It is a mountainous island, which was said to be rich in gold and silver, and superstition is said to have required one human sacrifice for every bottle of gold dust collected; this practice was apparently rigidly enforced by the chiefs in the mountains.

Timor had been visited in 1699 by William Dampier, and it had changed little since his account. It had also been visited before King by Lieut. (later Admiral) Bligh, in addition to Captain Flinders and Commodore Baudin.

A rajah, who was the principal of a fleet of Malay proas in the roads, gave King a detailed account of their regular visits to New Holland, and of the manner in which they cured trepang, together with information regarding other products of interest to them, and of their usual sea routes when they visited Australia.

According to one of John Roe's letters, written in Port Jackson on 21 January 1820, news had been received of a report of the supposed sinking of the 'Mermaid' some time previously, when it was said to have been lost with all hands. Mr. King sent a letter to the Admiralty to contradict this. The understanding was that the rumour had been spread by a man who had previously commanded the ship, and who had been seeking revenge for having lost employment.

The party sailed from Timor on 14 June, and sighted Australia to the south of Montebello Island. The crew were badly affected by dysentery, and a jolly boat was lost in a severe gale; meanwhile, the weather was very cold. On 24 July, they entered Bass Strait, and unfortunately, it was here that George Speed died, explained by Mr. King as being due to "excessive indulgence in vegetables and fruits from Timor." After a difficult return journey from Timor, due to the weather, they entered the Heads at 8 p.m. on 29 July 1818, and anchored in Sydney Cove, being seven months away, and having successfully completed their first voyage. Except for one man who needed some time in hospital, all of the returning crew were in good health.

Some Signs of Friction

However, despite the obvious success of the voyage, comments in one of John Roe's letters to his father (dated 8 June, 1818, and written while moored at Coepang) indicated that there was some form of resentment, probably due to the slight, yet definite, seniority of Frederick Bedwell, but apparently centred on duties which it was considered were being avoided by Frederick. There seems little doubt that John Roe was unhappy, driven as he seemed to be by an extreme desire to succeed, and striving to achieve some form of perfection. That would of course make him a very hard and conscientious worker, and with his valuable skills, success must follow, even though it might not always bring contentment.

As examples of those feelings, John Roe wrote, in his letter of 8 June, that " ... I was enabled to render more assistance to Lt. King than my companion, Mr. Bedwell, and in fact the whole of the duty which should have been equally divided between two, fell upon the shoulders of one only. I was sometimes more than he could well sustain.....So far, with the approbation of my superior officer, I should have been perfectly contented, but a sort of jealousy was awakened in the breast of a second person, who unjustly supposed me instead of himself, to be the cause of his not securing so much attention as an equality of services would have entitled him to, and which he thinks is due to his acquaintance with a certain noble personage in England; it is therefore sometimes squally with thunder and lightning, the clouds being attracted by the high land, yet they produce serene weather afterwards, and everything goes on with its accustomed smoothness till the clouds again begin to gather."

That thought was repeated, this time briefly, in a letter of 7 December, which was written later in Sydney. He said "I have in fact not a moment to look around me, placed (as I before hinted) in a situation to do the greater part of another's duty in addition to my own, but without complaining."

It is possible that he was talking about the work of sketching the landforms for the official report following the completion of the journey; Frederick did seem to be less skilled in that direction, but it could also be that Frederick Bedwell was better utilised in matters concerned with the operation of the vessel - and also in dealings with the natives and the crew. In such a small group of officers, surely Phillip King would be aware of any problem involving shirking of duty, and would have corrected it quickly; apart from that, those comments were written during and after the first of the voyages, yet King retained Bedwell as his second-in-command for in excess of three further years.

The Second Voyage (Van Dieman's Land)³

For the period up to December, 1818, they were busy with charts of the journey just completed, and re-equipping the vessel, and as they were not planning to depart on their next coastal survey until the time for the westerly monsoon (well into 1819), King advised the Governor that they intended to survey the entrance of Macquarie Harbour, lately discovered on the west of Van Diemen's Land. They sailed from Sydney Cove on 24 December, 1818, and cleared the heads on Christmas Day - King apparently enjoyed Christmas at sea! They took Mr. Justice Field of the Supreme Court as a passenger, having offered him a return passage to Hobart Town, where he was to hold court. After crossing the entrance to Bass Strait in a heavy gale, they anchored off Hobart Town on 2 January, remaining there until the 10th. Two days later, they named the west head of Macquarie Harbour as Cape Sorell, in honour of the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, and anchored after dark off the bar. Next morning, 'Mermaid' was lightened, and warped over the bar to avoid delay, striking twice lightly, and then anchoring between the bar and the harbour entrance. Soundings had been taken throughout. During the next three days, they entered and moved up the harbour, meeting the vessel 'Sophia' on its way back to Hobart Town. King named the channel after 'Sophia's' Captain Kelly, who had discovered Macquarie Harbour. Over the next week, they further examined the harbour and found huon pine interspersed with many other species, which were examined and listed carefully by Mr. Cunningham. During their stay at Macquarie Harbour, there was some peaceful contact with parties of natives.

They left the harbour on 26 January, 1819, with some grounding as they crossed the bar, and they entered the Derwent and anchored at Hobart Town early on the 30th. After another week (apparently R. & R.), they sailed from Hobart Town, with their passenger, the Judge, on 7 February, arriving in Sydney Cove at 9 p.m. on the 14th.

In a recent 'Sydney Morning Herald', there is an article relating to a book printed in that same year, 1819, written by Barron Field, the Judge. 'First Fruits of Australian Poetry', which had been privately distributed, may be the earliest creative work of New South Wales; it was suggested that, unfortunately, the quality of its content was lacking.⁴

The unusual continuation of heavy rains until mid-March prevented the progress of preparations for their second coastal voyage; during that time, there were three floods on the Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers which had considerably damaged the ripening crops.

Life in Sydney

This delay allowed time for the adventurers to take advantage of a little more of the society life in Sydney, although, from one letter, John Roe seemed to be tiring of it. On 19 April, 1819, he wrote that he was quite tired of a place "torn by dissention," and he was happy with the thought of speedily getting out of the reach of it for at least a few months to come. He said that they dined frequently at the mess of the 48th Regiment, and also at Government House.

In his letter, it was pointed out that robberies and murders were getting very frequent, and that seldom a market day passed, without three or four being executed for those crimes. He stated that either Frederick Bedwell or he was on board 'Mermaid' each night to guard the vessel, and that the two of them agreed tolerably well, "considering the variety and wish of one to top the officer, and the determined resolution of the other not to submit to imposition!!"

John Roe's next letter was written on 25 April, 1819, from No. 1 Cambridge Street, and he said that they were at last in their Government house, and although much exposed to the risk of house-breaking, they were prepared and keep a good look-out, and would handle anyone pretty roughly. Besides the three of them (probably Cunningham, Bedwell and Roe, with Mr. King spending his time with his wife at Parramatta), there were three servants living in the house, and a man in the kitchen, whose wife they had engaged as cook. It was quite an establishment, although not wind or water proof; and, there was a garden which grew, among other things, strawberries, figs, and grapes.

He said that the natives frequented the town daily in great numbers, bringing fish and other things, in exchange mainly for bread, tobacco and spirits, "the latter of which they are uncommonly partial to, and are soon quite intoxicated with a very small quantity." The women walked around with the greatest unconcern and simplicity with no clothes on whatever, "and without even so much as to cover the spot where Eve placed the fig leaf;" on the other hand, the men would wear clothes, but in a most ridiculous way.

Describing one of their normal days on shore, he said that they would breakfast at 8 o'clock, after which they would wind and manoeuvre three out of the eight timekeepers belonging to others, which had been placed in their care. By 9 o'clock, they commenced observations of the sun in order to find the rates of the watches. After about half-an-hour, he would amuse himself either by calculating and working the observations, or by drawing. At noon, there were more observations, and the other chronometers would be wound up and compared; that would take two hours, when it would be time for the afternoon observations of the sun to correspond with those in the forenoon. After that, they would walk until 4 o'clock, then dine, before

resuming their walk until 7 o'clock, "when tea and scandal broth is drank." He said that the remainder of the evening would be spent in working the observations taken during the day, following which, there may be time to write or read until midnight.

III The Third and Fourth Journeys

Start of the Third Journey - Northwards¹

Eventually they sailed on 8 May, 1819, on their third voyage (counting the voyage to Macquarie Harbour) with Lieutenant Oxley, the Surveyor-General, accompanying them as far as Port Macquarie in the colonial brig, 'Lady Nelson'. Apparently, according to John Roe, their total complement had been increased to 22 (instead of 19), and that Boongaree was not going with them, as he was of "comparatively little use." Interestingly, in King's Journal relating to their voyage in the 'Bathurst' which commenced in mid-1821, it stated that Bundell took the place of Boongaree, who had volunteered, but was reluctant to go.²

On 11 May, the two vessels were anchored at Port Macquarie within a few yards of the southern shore, secured to trees near the beach, and close to a fresh water stream. Over the next few days, Frederick Bedwell was left in charge of 'Mermaid', while Oxley, King, Roe and Cunningham, accompanied by some sailors, rowed up-river, exploring the country nearby, which had been visited by Lieutenant Oxley previously. All were back on board by sunset on 13 May, and then they spent a week laying down and making soundings of the port and the bar. On 21 May, both vessels left the harbour, Lieutenant Oxley returning to Port Jackson, while the 'Mermaid' sailed north.

By 25 May, they were abreast of Cape Moreton, and after anchoring en-route to repair some damage caused in a storm, they passed Port Bowen on 1 June, and two days later, they anchored to the west of the small Pine Islet, where they filled the water casks, repaired the small whaleboat, altered a tent, and cut some wood. King notes that "the

birthday of the late venerable and good King was passed on this island." Since George III did not die until 1820 (after the time in question), he may have been referring to the fact that his son, who was to become George IV, had taken over as Prince Regent in 1812, following the incapacity of his father due to mental illness.

After some exploration around the Whitsunday Passage while experiencing unexpected problems with the seas, by 12 June the 'Mermaid' was steering towards Mount Upstart (just to the south-east of the mouth of what is now known as the Burdekin River). Mr. King suspected the existence of a river on both sides of Mt. Upstart, or that Mt. Upstart may be an island with the bay behind being the mouth of a considerable stream. It could have been the inland river which they were hoping to find - but, unfortunately, that part of the coastline was not within the instructions laid down by the Admiralty!

During 12 June, 1819, they sailed from a position off Mt. Upstart to near Cape Bowling Green, across the seas which are off what is now Alva (Lynch's) Beach, near Ayr. By coincidence, it was just one century later, to the day, that I was born in Ayr, on 12 June, 1919.

On 14 June, on the recommendation of Frederick Bedwell, they landed in Cleveland Bay to obtain wood and water, and two days later, Frederick sounded across the bay towards Magnetic Island, and between the island and the main, finding what appeared to be a good and clear passage, and an excellent anchorage all over the bay.

It is interesting that King reported the finding of a fresh, green 'cocoa-nut' lately topped for milk, stating in his Journal that hitherto no cocoa-nut trees had been found on this continent.

Little evidence was seen of native inhabitants, although they thought that they would be watching from cover. Slightly further north, there were some native huts and canoes. The huts were snug habitations, circular, twigs in the ground and arched over, with ends entwined to support each other; they were covered with thatch of dried grass and reeds, and sufficiently large for two people. There was some hair in one, recently clipped from a head or beard, probably with a sharp-edged shell.

On 20 June, in Rockingham Bay, natives approached and asked for food. They relished the biscuit given to them, unlike all other natives in Australia. Other contacts with the Aborigines in these parts were also friendly, and King's Journal gives a lengthy and interesting description of their experiences in their meetings, and of their living conditions.

On 23 June, water casks were again filled, this time on Fitzroy Island, and two days later, while steering around Cape Tribulation, a boat which was being towed was broken and lost in heavy seas. On the 26th, Frederick Bedwell examined the opening called Blomfield's Rivulet. The bay was called Shelter Bay, but was changed to Weary Bay (as named by Captain Cook).

Seeking shelter to effect repairs, they anchored on the 27th, just south of the entrance to the Endeavour River, and warped in early the next morning. By midday, they were

secured to the shore, probably where Captain Cook landed forty-nine years previously. The natives were not war-like, and Frederick obtained a shield, crescent-shaped with black stripes, made from the coral tree. One incident occurred when a sailor tried to comb the hair of one of the native boys - the natives became enraged, and Frederick Bedwell had to send the offending sailor away, as the natives had armed themselves with stones.

On another occasion, the natives became angry when one of the sailors, with a fair skin, refused to take off more than his shirt. They fixed spears in their throwing-sticks, but 'musquets' were fired over their heads to disperse them. It was necessary for Frederick and John Roe and six men to go to warn Mr. Cunningham, who was investigating the trees and vegetation about two miles off.

A boat was erected from the frame which had been brought from Sydney, the river was examined, some peach and apricot stones were sown, and on 12 July, it was time to leave; two days later, Frederick Bedwell was one of a party which went on shore to examine a wrecked ship, the 'Frederick', which left Port Jackson early in the previous year. No useful articles were found, but there was evidence that some of the crew had been on the beach for a time.

On 24 July, 1819, after leaving Margaret Bay, 'Mermaid' hit bottom, and was striking violently whenever the swell passed by; fortunately, they were soon in deeper water, but due to the later need to anchor in an exposed position, the anchor ring was broken and the anchor lost. Then, on the next day, off Good's Island, an anchor arm broke; the anchor was ill-shaped and badly wrought in Port Jackson. King points out the coincidence that, having lost two anchors last year at North West Cape, they had now in this year, lost two anchors rounding North East Cape!! In both cases, that left only one bower anchor to carry on the survey. One would have thought that, having experienced the losses during the last journey, King would have arranged for double the initial supply this time.

Illness en-route - Then Home via Timor

Phillip King commented that the dampness of the vessel below had occasioned much sickness until they reached the better climate, and therefore he needed to spend much time with invalids; sailors were obliged to trust to his ignorance. He feared that instead of curing, he might destroy the patient. Often, he could think of little else.

Proceeding along the northern coastline, they anchored at times, and eventually, on 5 August, they anchored four miles within Entrance Island, and King, Bedwell and Cunningham took a boat up-river, where they were initially menaced by natives who moved off when the 'musquets' were shown. Later, they left the boat, and walked upstream, without interference from the natives, and they did not see any 'alligators' - however, mosquitoes were troublesome, especially when trying to sleep, even within two feet of a smoking fire. They walked a further six miles upstream, and finally returned to the cutter ('Mermaid') by 6 p.m. on 6 August, exhausted and sunburned. That watercourse was named as the Liverpool River.

At Goulburn Island on 9th August, Frederick took a watering-party to the shore, but water was less plentiful than in the prior year. Natives threw stones from a nearby cliff, and after Frederick's party fired over their heads from the boat moored off shore, the natives retreated. Only about 60 to 100 gallons of water was available daily from a soak-hole in the sand, which was seriously affected by high tides in the morning. On their visit in the prior year, the water was available directly from the stream. The anger of the local inhabitants can easily be understood.

Frederick Bedwell discovered the partial remains in the sand of a human body, probably a Malay, whose bones had been dug up, and apparently some of them taken away by animals, or by natives as trophies.

On the 18th, they sailed, passing Port Essington on the next day, and over a week moved down the west side of Bathurst Island, making land near Vernon's Island on the following day. Since Goulburn Island, the weather had been damp and hazy, and unfavourable to the sick. Frederick Bedwell was confined with a serious attack of dysentery, occasioned (according to King) by exposure to the sun while superintending the shore party at Goulburn Island! Well, it might have been good enough for a worker's compensation claim, but that explanation would hardly satisfy the A.M.A! Could Frederick have been affected also by malaria, following the lengthy land excursion along the Liverpool River earlier that month? In any case, Frederick was down, and this was to be a very serious illness. Mr. King also reported that the greater part of the crew were affected by ophthalmia, "probably due to excessive glare and the reflection of the sun's rays from the calm, glassy surface of the sea."

For the next two weeks, they moved to the south-west, charting and taking soundings, observing natives at times, and naming various features; in fact, it was then that John Roe found something of sufficient importance to name after his patron, Admiral Sir Richard G. Keats, and so Port Keats was named.

It was discovered that rats had gnawed holes in most water-casks, and that the sails were similarly damaged, while the food in casks was affected by both weevils and rats.

For a few more days, they sailed and sounded, at times being unable to see the shore, and often forced to sail in hazardous conditions, always conscious that only one anchor remained. They hoped that it would not be necessary to go to Timor, but lack of water was worrying. Mr. King relented, and allowed his people to bathe near Adolphus Island, where there did not appear to be any sharks, but soon after they left

the water, an 'alligator' swam past - this gave hope for a nearby river, and fresh water. Mr. King and Mr. Cunningham went in a whaleboat to explore the river, but when sixty miles from the sea, the water was still salt, and no fresh water was found, despite evidence of past torrents from a mass of hills which they named Mt. Cockburn, after Vice-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, G.C.B., one of the Lord Commanders of the Navy. You will remember that this was the commander under whom Frederick served during most of his war service. At this time, the death of William Nicholls occurred, as mentioned previously, and he was buried on Adolphus Island, the north-west point being named after him.

Near the end of September, 1819, they weighed anchor, named an "extraordinary" inlet as Cambridge Gulf, and spent some nights at sea. They were "very weak-handed," with three men ill, besides Frederick Bedwell, who was still an invalid. They were under-weight day and night, with only one spare man on the watch to relieve the mast-head look-out, the lead and the helm, and there was great reason to fear fatigue. Mr. King thought them fortunate that, although never free of sickness since Port Jackson, and considering the violence of the diseases of some, particularly Mr. Bedwell and Mr. Cunningham, they had lost only one man, and in that case, "from a complaint which even medical assistance might not have cured."

There is no suggestion in the Journal that Phillip Parker King sought any special help from divine guidance (and maybe it was such a matter of second nature to him as to not need a mention); nevertheless, in trying to understand him as a person, it is interesting to read the comment by the late Professor Manning Clark in 'A History of Australia' Volume III (page 247) in relation to King's later activities as manager of the Australian Agricultural Company. He wrote that "King was always most anxious to persuade others to the prayer and self-denial he found so beneficial to his body as well as his soul."³ One would be forgiven for suggesting that, in the light of his astounding successes in the face of such hardships during the journeys of exploration in 'Mermaid' and later 'Bathurst', he had more than good luck on his side.

A further two weeks of surveying followed, fortunately without great incident, although it was necessary at Encounter Cove to fire over the heads of natives who were showing aggression following the landing of a party from 'Mermaid' on a nearby shore. King and his men were still uneasy because of their one remaining anchor, and with only sufficient water for two weeks. Some of the crew were affected by scurvy, and it was decided to go to Timor.

With worsening weather, progress was slow and it took three days to clear the islands and shoals; meanwhile, Admiralty Gulf was named, and the positions of at least forty islands or islets were charted. Finally, they left the coast on 16 October, 1819, and on the 24th, they anchored in Zeba Bay on the island of Savu, which was closer than Timor, and during Cook's visit, it had a Dutch Resident. When they anchored, muskets were fired from the beach, but King went ashore with Bedwell (apparently now recovered), and Cunningham, and they were taken to a hut where there was an assembly of from fifteen to twenty persons, with no Dutch among them; one of the assembly was Rajah Amadima, who had been referred to by Baudin. All but water was plentiful, but

their price was in rupees (of which King had none), and gunpowder (which King had no desire to trade). The party returned to the 'Mermaid' with the gift of a little water, and the islanders expected them to come back later in order to barter; however, King determined to sail at daybreak.

They now had two choices, either to divert to Coepang, or go on to Madura or Sourabaya. On a reduced ration, they could make their water last for fifteen days, and in view of the danger of pirates in the Straits, they decided to sail to Timor (Coepang).

Commenting in his journal on their short time ashore at Savu, King said that the women lacked decency, being naked to the hips, and wearing a wrapper of blue cotton, exposing their knees! The men chewed the 'piper-betel' covered with shell-lime, which they would spit after a time into the hand of an attendant slave, who would then chew it some more. He noted that they had a small-sized breed of horse, and that pigs, sheep and poultry were plentiful.

En-route to Timor, they discovered that one water cask was bad, having been made in Port Jackson from staves of old salt provision barrels. Thus, they lost two more days of water, but fortunately, collected some from the rain.

By 1 November, they were off Coepang, and by the 8th, they had completed their wood, water and food provisioning. Limes had been scarce, and oranges and some vegetables were not in season. While there, they learned about the journeys of de Freycinet in 'L'Uranie', and also that the Master and four of the crew of 'Frederick' had arrived at Coepang in the vessel which was accompanying her at the time of the accident; nothing was known of the fate of twenty-three men who left the wreck in a longboat, at the time when the Master's boat set out with only four or five crew.

'Mermaid' sailed at sunset on 9 November, 1819, and by the 22nd, had carried down to 38 degrees latitude. They sailed along the south of the Australian continent, making land when approaching Bass Strait, which they entered on 2 January, 1820, encountering very bad weather. Port Jackson was reached on the morning of 12 January, after an absence of thirty-five weeks and four days. Among other achievements on that journey, they had laid down an infinitely-preferable route to Torres Strait, compared with navigation outside of the reefs; however, they had not been authorised to examine in detail the bottom of the bays and openings on the eastern coast.

Sydney Interlude - Time for Repairs, and Louisa

On 21 January, 1820, shortly after returning from their third voyage, John Roe wrote again to his father, expressing sympathy for Frederick Bedwell in relation to the illness which affected him during the time away. He said that he suffered dreadfully in a long attack of "that formidable disease, the dysentery, which laid him on his beam ends for upwards of two months, and for some time left us in doubt as to whether he would ever rise from his bed again, but he is now perfectly recovered." He then spoke of the effect on himself, stating that then the duty fell "trebly heavy" upon his shoulders, and once again, he referred to their differences, but said that they agree together as well as can be expected, "considering his presumption and my pride." Referring to their social activities, he mentioned an invitation to dine at Government House in a few days, and that they had dined with the Judge Advocate (Mr. Wylde), with the Supreme Judge (Mr. B. Field), and several times at the mess of 48th Regiment - in addition, they were under engagement to dine with the Lieutenant-Governor (Colonel J. Erskine).

At the time of writing, Frederick had been absent for two days on an excursion up the country with a surgeon in the Navy, who was an old shipmate of his, and another gentleman who wished to see the country in the vicinity of the Blue Mountains.

Writing later, on 5 May 1820, John Roe told about some interesting strangers among them, the crew of visiting Russian ships, some members of which spoke tolerably-good English. He and Frederick Bedwell dined frequently with the officers on each of the ships. He commented especially on their practice of having the meat cut up on a side table, then handed around for everyone to help themselves, followed by other servants with vegetables.

There were other reports concerning Russian ships, and it may be assumed that John Roe was referring to the vessels 'Blagonamerenny' and 'Otkrytie' which were engaged on exploration, and a little later, to 'Vostok' and 'Mirnyi', on scientific discovery.⁴

By this time, John Roe seemed to have become concerned at the possibility that his father could, unthinkingly, pass on to an officer of the Admiralty (with whom his father was acquainted), some of the comments in his letters - no doubt, his father had given the impression that he was pleased to talk about the great work being done in Australia, and the enormous difficulties encountered at times; and, this, of course, would be a natural thing to do. However, John Roe recognised the dangers. In his letter of 5 May 1820, he especially warned his father that he should be extremely careful in keeping from the sight of Mr. D. (Admiralty), anything "that may in the smallest degree operate to the prejudice of my messmate Bedwell, who notwithstanding the many squalls which pass over our heads, I shall ever be friendly to on account of the service we have seen together, and that which we have yet to experience."

Following their return from the last voyage, they were to spend about six months in Sydney, before they set out on the next survey. During this period, although, understandably, little information seems to be available about it, Frederick was friendly

with Louisa Cilcot (or Calcot), an unmarried woman, who had a sister named Harriet. On 29 December, 1820, soon after the "Mermaid" returned from its next survey (to be described later), Eliza, the daughter of Frederick and Louisa was born. On 22 April, 1821, a notice appeared in the press which confirmed the birth and the names of the parents.⁵

Although not checked, I have been told that a Richard Callcott (spelt with a double 'l' and a double 't'), who had arrived as a convict on 'Hillsborough' in 1799, and whose wife was Catherine White, had two daughters, Louisa (born 6 June, 1802 and died 8 April, 1869), and Harriet; that information could relate to Eliza's mother and family. The only other information which I have concerning either Eliza or her mother in those earlier years is that in the 1828 Census there is an Eliza Bedwell, shown as aged 8, who at the time was resident at the school of Mrs. Lore Lovedale, and in 1829, a Deed of Trust was executed whereby Louisa Cilcot (or Calcott) transferred her interests in a property in Harrington Street, Sydney, to Frederick Bedwell and John Blaxland, as Trustees for Eliza.⁶ This will be mentioned again later.

'Mermaid' needed considerable repair (including coppering) before she would be ready for another hard journey, and she was careened on the east side of Sydney Cove while the crew lived on a hired hulk in the harbour. In a letter home dated 21 January 1820, John Roe said that they lived at this time on a brig called 'Queen Charlotte' - probably this was a reference to the officers. After coppering and caulking, the opportunity was taken to immerse 'Mermaid' for several days hoping to destroy the rats and cockroaches, which had worried them previously; however, as it turned out later, they were not long at sea on their next journey, before the cockroaches appeared in great numbers, their eggs being apparently "impervious to sea-water."

After stores were returned to the ship and the rigging fitted, members of the crew were paid their standard wages, and all but two took the opportunity to obtain their discharge; and who could blame them? This delayed their departure for about a month while a new crew was completed, but, in the meantime, they obtained a ship's surgeon, James Hunter, arrived recently on a convict ship. Following an earlier request by King, a medical man had been appointed previously, but the initial appointee was found to be mentally deranged and had to be sent back to England. It was then decided to accept a young man recommended by the Governor, but as mentioned above, James Hunter, a naval man, became available, and the appointment was finalised.

Fourth Journey to North - Careened; Need for New Ship⁷

On 14 June, they sailed north, but were buffeted by a gale, and on the 21st, they lost their bowsprit, and decided to return to Port Jackson. Continuing bad weather took

them far south, off Jervis Bay, when they had expected to be near Port Stephens, but they eventually reached Sydney on 24 June.

On 12 July, 1820, they started again in fine weather with a fair wind, and after communicating with a whaler off Moreton Bay, they anchored south of Port Bowen, where 'Mermaid' was swept on a sandbank and damaged during two-and-one-half hours before refloating, in which time, she was striking continually. A few days were spent there, and it was decided that the vessel was fit for the survey to continue. While at the port, there was communication with the natives, mostly friendly, and on one occasion, King and his party demonstrated their superiority in weapons by shooting at a target on a tree with great success, which the natives could not match with their spears. But, this angered the natives, which worsened when they were shown their savage, "hideous countenances" (King's description) in a mirror. They ordered King's party away, and they left without incident.

On 25 July, they were between Mount Upstart and Cape Bowling Green, and noticed a similar in-draught in the sea as on their last visit. By the 27th, they had passed Cape Tribulation, and sailed over the bar into the Endeavour River, securing to the beach at the same spot as before. They burnt off some of the grass, erected tents, and found some water, but it was brackish and of lesser quantity than previously, useful only for washing and cooking. Frederick Bedwell sought turtles on Turtle Reef without success, but whales were plentiful and endangered his boat. On the 30th, King and Roe were taking observations when they saw some natives nearby, and Frederick Bedwell was sent to keep them amused while the observations were completed.

On 2 August, Frederick Bedwell and the surgeon made an examination of the inlets in the mangroves at the back of the harbour, and in all, while 'Mermaid' remained there, the land was examined for about five or six miles around. Unfortunately, little progress was made in recording the native vocabulary, so as to compare it with that reported by Captain Cook.

After sailing on 5 August, they anchored at, and explored, Lizard Island, and then were delayed by bad weather, sailing again on 8 August, and anchoring under Cape Flinders. Next day, they again visited the wreck of the 'Frederick', and noticed that several spars had been removed since their last visit. They took some iron-work and some teak planks, which were to be useful later.

After some difficulties with reefs, they anchored under Sunday Island on the 13th, and the next day moved to Cairncross Island, where the vessel started to show the first ill-effects from the grounding at Port Bowen; under strain, the cutter was making two-and-one half inches of water each hour.

On the 15th, they rounded Cape York, and the next day anchored off Booby Island, where they procured turtles and eggs.

After crossing the Gulf of Carpentaria, they anchored in South-West Bay on Goulburn Island on 21 August, and found water to be scarce. Remembering past experiences, they took great care to guard against the natives. John Roe went to shoot birds, and

wandered further than was prudent, where he was attacked, but escaped without injury. Mr. King went ashore intending to find and punish those natives who were responsible, but could not find them! Then, that night, he went with John Roe to search for the spears which had been thrown, and the cartridges which had been lost, but again without success. They consoled themselves with the hope that the natives might injure themselves by having the cartridges too close to a fire!

They left the bay on 25 August, and after being greatly impeded by calm and light winds, they reached near Cape Bougainville on 3 September. Then, two days later, they anchored at sunset, south of Cape Voltaire

During the next week, they examined around the islands, sounded the strait, and explored various openings in the bays, and a river. They named Donkin's Hill after the inventor of the preserved meats on which they dined; they had recently used a case which had been packed in 1814 which was equally as good as one packed some years later. This was the first time that the meat had been used, and it answered every expectation, including the prevention of that "excessive and distressing thirst." More water was found, and this important river was named Hunter, after the ship's doctor. They also named Roe River after John Roe's father, rector of Newbury. When exploring the river, Roe and his companions had been alarmed by what seemed to be the noise of 'alligators' rushing past in the night on their way to the water, but it was thought later that the noises were caused by rocks or chunks of earth falling and rolling into the river.

On 19 September, after moving anchorage in order to make it easier to obtain water from near Hunter's River, they left the harbour which they named Prince Frederic, and York Sound. The vessel was still leaking, especially with a fresh sea-breeze, so they sought a suitable place to beach the cutter, and ascertain the full extent of the damage caused near Port Bowen. On 21 September, they anchored near a sandy beach in a bay at the bottom of the port. It was necessary to land everything, before laying 'Mermaid' on the ground, and as there were signs of natives, every precaution was taken. Most crew spent the first night on board - only part of the stores had been landed, with the masts and sails - and in the night they were alarmed by a nearby fire; however, it turned out to be a blaze from a smouldering log, flaring in the breeze.

More stores were landed on the next day, and they found excellent water nearby. When 'Mermaid' was grounded, they found the after-part of the keel was rent for two feet, and other signs of weakening; nevertheless, they decided that they were capable of effecting the repairs, so that they could continue the survey as planned. A deep hole was dug in the sand to allow the carpenter to work under the vessel, but of course, it had to be re-dug after each high tide. Unfortunately, some repairs could not be made, due to the lack of suitable nails to replace decaying spikes under the copper; extra caulking was necessary as a temporary measure. The iron-work and teak planks taken from the wrecked 'Frederick' were useful in effecting the repairs.

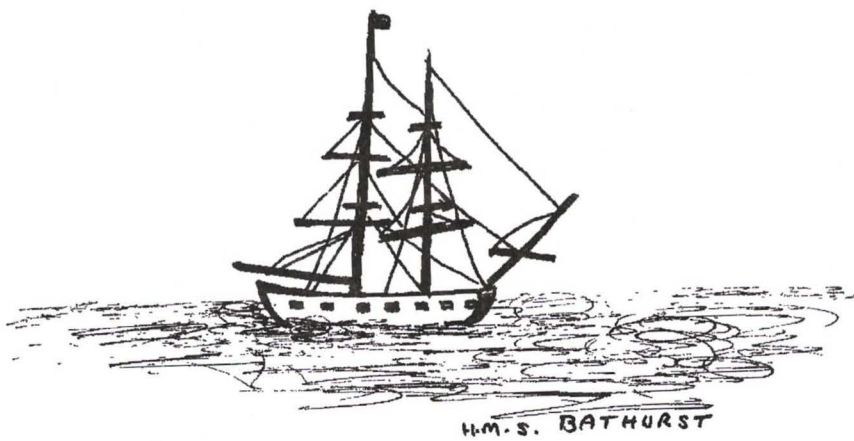
On 30 September, all repairs possible had been completed, but it was not until 5 October that 'Mermaid' could be re-floated, and by the 8th, the vessel had been re-fitted,

the stores embarked, and they prepared to sail, leaving the anchorage the next day, naming the area as Careening Bay. By good fortune, no natives had appeared during their stay.

By 10 October, they had reached St. George's Basin, and during the next two days had explored and named the Prince Regent River, encountering many "alligators, mosquitoes and sandflies."

Many of the crew had sores on their feet and legs, and suffered from ophthalmia; in addition the rainy season was approaching, so they determined to quit the coast. They weighed on the 13th, and when the cutter was found to be leaking, they decided to return to Port Jackson, with great regret. On 28 November, they entered "Bass's Strait", were off Mt. Dromedary on 2 December, with the weather threatening, and by 4 December, it needed "a brave man and a good seaman at the helm (to) obey King's orders with alacrity" to avoid disaster. Lightning showed them to be near to rocks between the heads of Botany Bay, and they anchored awaiting daylight and better weather, but it was not until 9 December, 1820, that they reached their anchorage in Sydney Cove. King's Journal shows that they had been absent for twenty-five weeks and three days, but that was calculated to include the initial period before their re-start from Sydney in July, 1820. It was certainly a lengthy voyage and a period of great risk, especially considering the damage to the ship, so early on the journey.

In view of the still-worsening condition of the 'Mermaid', despite the recent repairs at Careening Bay, it was unlikely that the vessel would withstand a further expedition. A survey by a carpenter from 'Dromedary' (which was in the harbour) confirmed the urgent need for considerable repair, which would have taken a good deal of time. Fortunately, a suitable replacement was in the harbour, a brig ('Haldane') of 170 ton, teak, lately repaired in Calcutta. The vessel was purchased, and the name changed at Governor Macquarie's suggestion, to 'Bathurst'. It had an establishment of thirty-two, to include a surgeon (Andrew Montgomery), and a midshipman (Percival Baskerville); in addition, compared with 'Mermaid', there were ten extra able seamen, and three extra boys, and of course, as before, a steward, a boatswain's mate, a carpenter's mate, a sailmaker and a cook; on the other hand, there was no quartermaster, and possibly those duties would be covered by the midshipman. On this occasion, Boongaree again seemed reluctant to go, so Bundell was taken in his place, making a total complement of thirty-three - but this was to increase, unexpectedly.



IV 'Bathurst' Replaces 'Mermaid'

Fifth Journey ('Bathurst') - To North, Home via Mauritius¹

When they sailed, heading north, on 26 May, 1821, they were accompanied by the merchant ship 'Dick' bound for Batavia. Interestingly, 'Mermaid', thoroughly repaired, had already sailed for Port Macquarie, but ran onto rocks; however, she was freed, again repaired, and since then, up to the time of the publishing of King's Journal, had been in serviceable use in the colony. Actually, Oxley visited Moreton Bay in 'Mermaid' in 1823, when he surveyed the Brisbane River, and prior to that, a vessel named 'Mermaid' accompanied the schooner 'Prince Regent', built as a present from the British King to the Hawaiian King, to Hawaii. In the Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society,² Thomas Dunbabin stated that the Hawaiian King in giving thanks for the present, placed all the islands which had been conquered by his father, "under the protection of Your Most Excellent Majesty", and he said that "we wish the Protestant religion of your Majesty's dominion to be practised here." In Historical Records of Australia, Volume XVI page 31, a report by Governor Darling to Under-Secretary Hay (dated 19 January 1831) included a cutter named 'Mermaid' as one of those wrecked in Torres Strait 'since settlements on the northern coast have been abandoned'.³

But, King and his men were now sailing in 'Bathurst', and three days after sailing, a girl of fourteen was discovered in the hold, hidden there by the boatswain; she was in a poor state, seasick and dirty, but allowed to remain when the boatswain consented to share his rations with her. This seems to have been a poor decision by King, although

any alternative would have had its own difficulties. Interestingly, there appears to be no further report on the matter, neither in King's Journal, nor in Roe's letters - the girl was not mentioned again.

On 10 June, near the Percy Islands, they met with the brig 'San Antonio' on its way to the Moluccas and Singapore, and that vessel then sailed on ahead. However, after passing Cape Bowling Green and off Palm Island, the 'Bathurst' again came across 'San Antonio', aground, but not damaged. When the vessel was re-floated, they wisely decided to follow 'Bathurst', at least until they had passed the reefs, and were through Torres Strait.

Near the south of Lizard Island, some natives were encountered, who were friendly, and Bundell, as usual, took his clothes off and gave them greater confidence. A few days later, King sent a party to collect spars and planks from the wreck of 'Frederick' (also examined on previous voyages); during that day, Frederick Bedwell went with fresh hands to relieve the shore party, and later, some natives approached in a threatening manner, but there was no serious trouble. Before long, they were offering the shore party a young woman of the tribe, using most significant signs, while she also offered appropriate gestures. The crew continued with their work around the wreck, leaving Frederick Bedwell to maintain a guard. Eventually, some sailors from 'Dick' and 'San Antonio' fired shots over the natives' heads, but fortunately, there were no serious consequences..

Meanwhile, Mr. Cunningham had observed an unusual cavern in nearby hills, including "upon the roof and sides...some curious drawings executed upon a ground of red ochre and delineated by dots of white earth which had been worked into a paste. They represented tolerable figures of sharks, porpoises, turtles, lizards, trepang, starfish, clubs, canoes, water-gourds and probably kangaroos and dogs.....The first specimen of Australian taste in the fine arts that we have detected," reported King.

On 27 June, when preparing to anchor off Cairncross Island, King's Journal states that Mr. Roe was holding by the stay-sail halliards, whilst the sail was hauled down, and he was 'precipitated' from fifty feet and fell senseless on deck. The surgeon and a passenger from 'Dick' came aboard to assist Dr. Montgomery, but he had been injured less than expected, since his fall had been broken twice.

That night, a cable parted in heavy weather, and as 'Dick' was too close, Frederick Bedwell offered to go aboard 'Dick' to alert the captain. Although a boat was lowered, the seas prevented the boat from pulling ahead, so they returned to 'Bathurst'. Then a chain cable parted, and it was necessary to sail throughout the night. A few days later, Cape York was passed, and on 5 July, Goulburn Island was sighted. The prior watering-place on the island was parched, but a small quantity of usable water was found on Sims Island, nearby.

On 8 July, 'San Antonio' departed, heading north-west; 'Dick' sailed westward with 'Bathurst' until in sight of Cape Van Diemen, when 'Dick' continued en-route to England, via Batavia, taking letters. In one letter, King advised the Admiralty of his intention, at end August, of sailing to Mauritius to replace anchors and cable, prior to

the examination of the west coast. Is it possible that, in such circumstances, naval commanders do not bother to carry ample reserves of anchors and associated equipment, so that they could have a good reason to add some interesting diversion to their routine! If not, it would seem to be a case of extreme inefficiency to sail on such surveys of largely-unknown coasts without adequate spares.

On 23 July, 1821, they anchored about a half-mile from Careening Bay, last year's encampment site, and they were pleased to recognise old things from that visit, even the nail on which they had suspended their thermometer! But, this year, there was no water, and next day they moved to St. George's Basin, where it was abundant in a cascade on the Prince Regent's River. At that time, Mr. Cunningham was confined by illness, and Mr. Roe was still recovering from his accident.

On 6 August, they left the basin, and next day, Mr. King went ashore with a party which included the surgeon, and the midshipman, together with Frederick Bedwell, to meet a small group of natives who had waved to them from shore, including one woman. Bundall, as usual, took off his clothes and made signs of friendship - the mind boggles! They exchanged gifts, but later showed some anger, and as King and the others turned to go, spears were thrown, wounding Surgeon Montgomery in the back; fortunately, he was soon to be out of danger. On the following day, three more natives appeared (a man, a woman and a child) and Mr. King decided to "punish these wretches," sending Frederick Bedwell to secure their catamaran on the beach, and despatching another boat towards the natives. 'Musquets' were fired over their heads, and one fell wounded, claimed, by Mr. King, to be the same one who had wounded Mr. Montgomery! - but, eventually he got away. Frederick meanwhile, had acquired two cataramans, and the total of items confiscated by the party included spears, water-baskets, tomahawks, spear throwing-sticks, and fish lines, together with an iron hoop which they had left at Careening Bay in the prior year; in addition there was a bundle of spear heads of stone, sharp with serrated edges, and carefully 'packed', being separated by strips of bark, with the sharp edges protected by a covering of fur. King reported that they were tall and robust people, with perfect teeth, and quite naked, and although the natives tried to make further contact on the next day, it was decided to ignore them.

Over the next week, sailing and charting were difficult, and they were surprised by the slowness of the flood tide, yet the great distance which it ebbed, and the very large fall - in Camden Bay it fell thirty-seven feet. The tides showed great strength, and sometimes the ship was at their mercy.

By 20 August, they were fatigued with one-quarter of the watch ill, and Allan Cunningham was still sick. For four days, they had been charting islands - about eighty, and that was only half of those which were there. During that time, there was not a single spot where they could anchor without great risk of loss of their only remaining anchor. In order to minimise sickness, preserved meat was issued twice weekly instead of salt provisions, together with usual proportions of lemon juice and sugar; apart from a few exceptions, there had been no scurvy.

Although they saw no natives, there were many fires on shore, so the land appeared to be very populous.

King took the opportunity to name various features in memory of Dampier, including Roebuck Bay after Dampier's ship, and by 26 August with water nearly expended and their provisions in a bad state, King resolved to leave the Australian coast, and set course for Mauritius, which they saw after twenty-five days; they anchored at the entrance of Port Louis on 26 September. They entered the harbour the next day, and Captain Moresby of H.M.S. 'Menai', which was in port, arranged for carpenters and caulkers, and advertised for the supply of items not in store.

King's Journal gives a description of Port Louis, including its buildings, roads, crops and climate, and mentions that fresh beef and vegetables were delivered daily to the ship. He says that Flinders had been well-regarded by the inhabitants, but that may have been because the Governor at the time was so unpopular. He also reported a story that Flinders was offered a chance to escape, but "Flinders could not conduct himself in a way so disgraceful to the character of a British officer."

The repairs took a month, and they eventually sailed on 15 November, making a "quick passage to the coast of New Holland," completing wood and water at King George's Sound on 23 December, 1821, in preparation for the commencement of the examination of the western coast. This was nearly four months after they had left the coast to sail to Mauritius. They decided to use Oyster Harbour, as they did in 'Mermaid', and they had significant communication with the natives, some coming on board; the last one was finally persuaded to leave "after feeding plentifully on biscuit, yams, pudding, tea and grog," and being shaved, clothed and christened 'Jack'. "He was proud, but in our eyes he cut a sorry figure standing amongst his companions," said the Journal. "He was sulky and separated from his group - maybe the grog was affecting him." They were allowed on board each afternoon, and Jack was always there, and seemed very sad when it came time to go ashore.

It is interesting to note that although King's expeditions were actually in progress on a number of Christmas Days, there was no mention in his Journal of any festivities, nor of it being Christmas Day, at any time.

The celebrations associated with Christmas Day, as we now know them, are said to have been a development of the mid-nineteenth century, although that does not seem to accord with the stories by Charles Dickens. However, on a related matter, it is believed that the British Post Office popularised Christmas cards in 1843. Certainly, Christmas festivities during those early nineteenth century years are referred to in other histories of Australia.

On 30 December, they decided to commence their survey of the west coast, and Jack, the Aborigine, was given the opportunity to accompany them. He agreed, and Frederick Bedwell took a boat to the beach to bring him on board for the departure. To keep Jack's companions in a good humour, Frederick purchased as many spears as were available. Jack's friends did not seem to care that he was going. Frederick brought Jack on board, but soon the breeze freshened, and Jack became seasick - and decided

not to go. So Frederick took him back to shore, where he remained apart from the others. The crew had acquired in all about 100 spears, 30 throwing sticks, 40 hammers, 150 knives, and a few hand clubs - for the price each of a part of a biscuit. The greater number of the items purchased had been made only for sale, according to Mr. King. Wind and weather delayed their departure, but they moved on 3 January, 1822, to Seal Island, and then on 6 January, they left the Sound, although, due to bad weather, they didn't sight Cape Leewin, even from the mast, until four days later. On the 13th, they landed at Rottneest Island, and the next day, they walked to the salt water lakes. An anchor fluke was damaged on the following morning.

For some days, they sailed north, keeping a few miles from the coast, and on 21 January, they landed on Dirk Hartog Island, and found that the memorials which had been placed there by earlier explorers, had been removed; they erected a further memorial. They sailed on, in increasing temperatures, naming various features on the way. On 8 February, they passed round Cape Leveque, and there they had a lucky escape from being wrecked on rocks, as a result of the sudden dropping of the wind, and the fast sweep of the tide; but, they were saved by a resurgence of the breeze, which fell again soon after to dead calm. Fortunately, by then the danger had passed, and the tide was gradually slowing.

During the examination of the west coast, there is little mention of Frederick Bedwell in the Journal, and the various parties which left 'Bathurst' to check distant parts of the coast were usually led by one or other of the other officers. It can be only conjecture of course, but on that coast, where the wind and tide continually put the vessel at risk, and at a time when anchors were at a premium, it is not surprising that Mr. King would want his most capable sailor to look after the ship.

Provisions by now had been greatly reduced, and by 15 February, there was only enough to allow another ten to twelve days surveying without risk, before it would be necessary to depart for Port Jackson. However, the weather was not good enough, so it was determined to cease the survey. The tide and weather still delayed their departure, but on the 20th, while the bad weather persisted, they set out. In mid-March, on the way home, they shot an albatross, 9' 9" (about three metres) across its wings! Apparently, they didn't consider it bad luck, but what would Coleridge have to say about it; he may have been writing 'The Ancient Mariner' at about that time. Anyway, they discovered soon afterwards that their water casks had been badly damaged by rats, and on 28 March, it was necessary to make a considerable reduction in their water allowance.

Off Cape Howe, they received news of Sydney from a trading brig bound for Van Diemen's Land, and learned of Mr. King's promotion to Commander, and of the confirmation of Frederick Bedwell's rank as Lieutenant. The Journal also refers to the promotion to Lieutenant of John Roe, in a very praiseworthy manner, but there appears to have been some uncertainty about the actual facts, and this will be discussed in more detail later.

Their arrival at Port Jackson was further delayed by bad weather, and by the time they had arrived in port, they had expended all bread, and were reduced to a very small proportion of water. They reached Sydney on 25 April, 1822, after an absence, according to the Journal, of 344 days - obviously, their mathematics was not very good, because in fact, they were away for 334 days; or was it just a printing error? Whichever way you look at it, it was a very long time, and probably some days just seemed like two. Their journey was lengthened considerably by nearly four months spent as a result of the detour to Mauritius. And, you may well ask, where was the young girl in all this time? Might she have teamed up with a crew member of 'Dick' or 'San Antonio' before those ships sailed away?

In a postscript to a prior letter to his father as far back as 5 May, 1820, John Roe had said that Mr. King was determined not to make a further voyage after that which was then in preparation, even if that one did not complete their examination. As we have seen, they not only completed that voyage, but in fact, another very lengthy one in 'Bathurst' - and anyone could agree that they had done enough. However, to make it more certain now, after returning this time in April, 1822, and in view of the considerable repairs necessary (and the lack of seasoned wood), - and despite the orders from the Admiralty to return only after the survey work was completed - Mr. King made the point that the monsoons would delay another voyage until February, 1823, and he "deemed it advantageous for the public service to return without making another voyage."

Return to England in 'Bathurst'

With a pregnant Mrs. King and their three young sons as passengers, they sailed for England in 'Bathurst' on 25 September, 1822, intending to go north through Torres Strait, then via Mauritius, but a hard gale changed their plans and they chose to go south, uncertain whether to sail around Van Diemen's Land and to the west, or to the south of New Zealand and round Cape Horn. They did in fact go south around Van Diemen's Land, to the west, anchoring in King George's Sound, where they met some old friends among the natives - but not Jack; they also saw an American sealing schooner. They sailed for the Cape of Good Hope on 1 December, reaching there on 14 January, 1823, and after departure on 9 February, visited St. Helena, Ascension Island and the Azores (where they met two French men-of-war, with which they then sailed).

It was suggested by the late Cecily Joan Mitchell in her book 'Hunter's River', that Frederick Bedwell planted the first willows on the banks of the Paterson, having taken slips from trees growing over Napoleon's grave on St. Helena. If that was so, it may have been on this trip that Frederick obtained them, but since he was then on his way back to England, without definite future plans, he could not have intended them for planting on the banks of the Paterson - his association with that area was to come later.

They were in sight of the Lizard Lights on 22 April, and anchored in Plymouth Sound on 23 April, 1823, after more than six years since departing in 'Dick'. It had been a lengthy tour of duty, full of interest and with considerable risk, during which much useful work was accomplished of great value to those who were seeking to develop the continent of Australia, then consisting of isolated settlements covering only a small part of the country.

As a minor point of interest, it was in that same year (1823) that a Rugby schoolboy named William Webb Ellis is said to first picked up a football and ran with it; it is claimed (some say erroneously) that Rugby football originated from that incident.

In a biography of Frederick Bedwell compiled by his grand-son, Mervyn Dickson, dated 1957, it was stated that Frederick took a kangaroo as a gift for Viscount Valentia, and it was the first such animal to reach England alive.⁴ He may have taken a kangaroo, and that statement may be according to family legend, but I understand that the first live animal was carried to England by 'Supply', one of the vessels of the First Fleet, on its return voyage to England in 1791/2, and it was taken as a present from Governor Phillip to King George III.

As an indication of the degree of detail in King's reports covering the Australian coastal surveys, it is interesting to consider the comments in the Journal in relation to the third voyage describing that part of the coastline which is near the present town of Ayr, in North Queensland, where I was born, and spent a large part of my earlier life. In an appendix to the Journal, the following appears, under 'Sailing Directions':

Cape Bowling Green is very low and projects for a considerable distance into the sea; ... the mountainous ranges are at least thirty miles in the rear, and were it not for Mts. Upstart and Eliot (sic), both of which are very visible, and serve as an excellent guide, this part of the coast would be very dangerous to approach, particularly in the night when these marks cannot be seen, when great attention must be paid to the lead. A ship passing this projection should not come into shoaler water than eleven fathoms; and in directing a course from abreast of Mount Upstart, should be steered sufficiently to the northward to provide against the current, which sets into the bay on the western side of the mount. On approaching the cape, if the soundings indicate a less depth than eleven fathoms, the vessel should be hauled more off, because she is then either a parallel with or to the southward of the cape.

In the 1930s, I spent two week-ends camping at Cape Bowling Green, with a long-time friend named George Young; we were then both school-boys. Since the passages of 'Mermaid' in those early years, the Cape had a manually-operated light for a time, followed by an automatic light-house to warn vessels of some of the dangers reported

by King, and the light was automatic when George and I visited the area. Since then, more modern methods are used to guide shipping; in fact, by coincidence, the actual light-house from Cape Bowling Green was dismantled and transported only recently to Sydney where it is now a striking addition to the National Maritime Museum at Darling Harbour.

In 1933, as George and I camped, the atmosphere at night was heightened by the eerie clanking of old galvanised iron which was hanging from the ruin of a hut apparently used by the earlier lighthouse keepers, and also from the sighing of the wind in the spindly branches of the she-oaks (casuarinas) which spread over and around the one lonely grave, and almost hid the light-house structure from the nearby beach. During one visit, we found excitement in watching a strange vessel in Bowling Green Bay, which our school-boy minds suggested may have been one of many Japanese sampans, whose crew, it was then claimed, sometimes examined our coastline in those pre-war years.

Competition between the Lieutenants

Before leaving that period of Frederick Bedwell's life which had been devoted to naval service, something further should be said about his rank in the Navy, and the evidence which suggests that there was a high degree of competition between John Roe and Frederick Bedwell, probably arising from John Roe's initial lack of seniority.

One can be reasonably certain that Lieutenant King would not have persisted with Frederick Bedwell as his First Officer for as many years, and in such trying circumstances, unless he valued his skill and experience; he had numerous opportunities to make a change if he so wished. On the other hand, John Roe was obviously very good at charting and sketching, and possibly navigating, and Mr. King would value those essential abilities, too. Together, they made a good team: one, Frederick who was a master-sailor, and the other, John Roe with charting, drawing and navigating abilities of a high order. Yet, some ill-feeling persisted.

Apparently, Frederick Bedwell had passed the required examinations for promotion to Lieutenant over twelve months before they sailed from England on the 'Dick' in 1817, as stated in John Roe's letter dated 21 January, 1820, when he also pointed out that despite that, "Bedwell....still retained no higher rank in the service than myself." In the journal of Allan Cunningham, quoted in "Early Explorers in Australia" (Lee), he always

refers to Frederick Bedwell as First Officer, and describes John Roe as the second officer.⁵

A day or two after 15 April, 1822, when 'Bathurst' was nearing Sydney on their return journey after visiting Mauritius and their final examination of the south-west coast of Australia, they received word of Phillip King's promotion, and of Frederick Bedwell's confirmation as Lieutenant, both to date from 7 July, 1821.

King's Journal states, at that same time, that John Roe had been promoted to Lieutenant, also. However, in a document dated 25 April, 1822 located with copies of John Roe's letters in the Battye Library in Perth, there is a copy of a memo, apparently written by John Roe himself in order to place the matter on record, which states that on 25 April, (after they had returned to Port Jackson), he was "ordered to act as Lieutenant", and that although his commission was "made out" on the same day as the others (i.e. 7 July, 1821), he could not be so appointed according to Regulations, since there was no Passing Certificate.

In those same papers at the Library, there is a copy of an examination certificate for John Roe dated 25 April, 1822, and this was signed by the examining officers, including Frederick Bedwell, who is described as being First Lieutenant H.M. Sloop 'Bathurst'.

In 'Not an Idle Man' which is a biography of John Septimus Roe by J. L. Burton Jackson,⁶ there are comments which suggest that John Roe retained a somewhat difficult attitude for many years, although it must be said that the biography was overwhelmingly favourable. However, the Biography says that in a letter to his father in the late 1820s, John Roe wrote in the most unfavourable terms about Captain James Stirling, R.N., who was to command the new settlement on the Swan River, where he was to be appointed. He said that "Captain James Stirling seems to be manoeuvring exclusively for his own benefit;"⁷ and there was more in that vein. Later in the biography, it was stated that "Roe.....rather jealously guarded his rank, and was quick to act whenever there was a suggestion of anyone usurping his authority (whether) inadvertent or deliberate."⁸

But, this story is about earlier times. It would be understandable that two young, proud men, engaged in duties of such great danger and difficulty so far from their homeland, family and friends for so many years, and thrown together in such close association, would experience periods of dissatisfaction, not only with the service, but with their superiors and also with each other. That would be only human.

Yet, despite it all, those young naval officers (in their early twenties) achieved a success, in conjunction with Phillip Parker King and the others in the crews, which sets them above the ordinary, and stamps them as real heroes of our land.

FAMILY OF FREDERICK BEDMELL AND SUSANNAH MATILDA

FREDERICK BEDMELL married 7 Feb 1832 **SUSANNAH MATILDA WARD**

Born 5 Nov 1796 Gloucest. England
Died 1 May 1853 Paterson NSW.

Born 4 Jan 1812 Cintra Portugal
Died 30 May 1854 Paterson NSW.

MATILDA Unmarried

Born 22 Nov 1832
Died 3 May 1853 Paterson NSW.

FREDERICK Unmarried

Born 1834
Died 25 Sep 1921

ZORAYDA ANNE * marr. 31 Dec 1857 ... **CHARLES ALLAN DUN**

Born 1 Mar 1836 Paterson NSW.
Died 18 Mar 1924 Tewantin Qld.

Born 8 Nov 1823
Died 4 Apr 1908

CLARA GEORGINA marr. 1863 ... **JOHN MALBON THOMPSON**

Born 1838
Died 24 Oct 1864 Ipswich Q'ld.

Born
Died

ELIZABETH marr. 1878 ... **ALEXANDER WAUGH MCDUGALL**

Born 12 Dec 1839
Died

Born
Died

CRAWFORD ROBERT marr. 1865 ... **JOANNA HENDERSON MARTIN**

Born 26 Jan 1842
Died 13 Dec 1886 Richmond NSW.

Born
Died

(Continued)

FAMILY OF FREDERICK BEDWELL AND SUSANNAH MATILDA (CONT.)

SARAH ALICE marr. 27 Apr 1864 ... RICHARD WINDEYER THOMPSON

Born 1844 Born
Died c. Dec 1915 Sydney NSW. Died

CHARLES WILLIAM marr. 1877 ... EVALINA HENRIETTA SMITH

Born 3 Dec 1845 Born
Died 3 Jan 1918 Died

EDWARD ALBERT Unmarried

Born 1847
Died 19 Nov 1927

CAROLINE ELEANOR Unmarried

Born 17 Dec 1849
Died

EMILY SUSANNAH marr. 11 Jan 1872 ... ALBERT W. TRILBY SIMPSON

Born 1851 Born
Died Died

FREDERICA MATILDA marr. WILLIAM MCINTYRE DICKSON

Born 16 Dec 1853 Paterson NSW. Born
Died Died

* Refer to separate details of family

Left:

*John Bedwell
(father of Frederick)
Born 21 Mar 1770
Died*

Below left:

*Susannah Matilda Bedwell
(nee Ward)
Born 4 Jan 1812
Died 30 May 1854*

Below right:

*Frederick Bedwell, R.N.
Born 5 Nov 1796
Died 1 May 1853*

A



p. 52

John Bedwell

Left (as top)

B



p. 52

Susannah Merinda Bedwell

(Below left)

©



p. 52

Frederick Bedwell

(Below right)

**Brief Notes Regarding the Children of
William Gordon Ward and Susannah Matilda**

Elizabeth

Born Oporto, Portugal, in 1810; understood to have died in 1880. Married Frederick Garling, Junior, (born 1806) in 1829. Frederick had joined the Customs Department about two years prior to his marriage, and was promoted later to a position as surveyor and inspector of warehouses. Frederick died in 1873. There were eleven children, seven sons and four daughters.

Susannah Matilda

(refer separately to the family tree and the text)

Born Cintra, Portugal, on 4 Jan 1812; died Paterson, 30 May 1854. Married Frederick Bedwell on 7 February 1832 in Sydney. There were twelve children of the marriage.

William Thomas Hawkshaw

Born in 1815; died in November 1836 en-route to Canton on ship 'Children'. William was only twenty-one years of age when he died, and had not married. He was the only son.

Emma

Born in 1817; time of death is not known. Married George Nicholas Lailey of Hinton, N.S.W., on 3 Feb 1841. None of their children married.

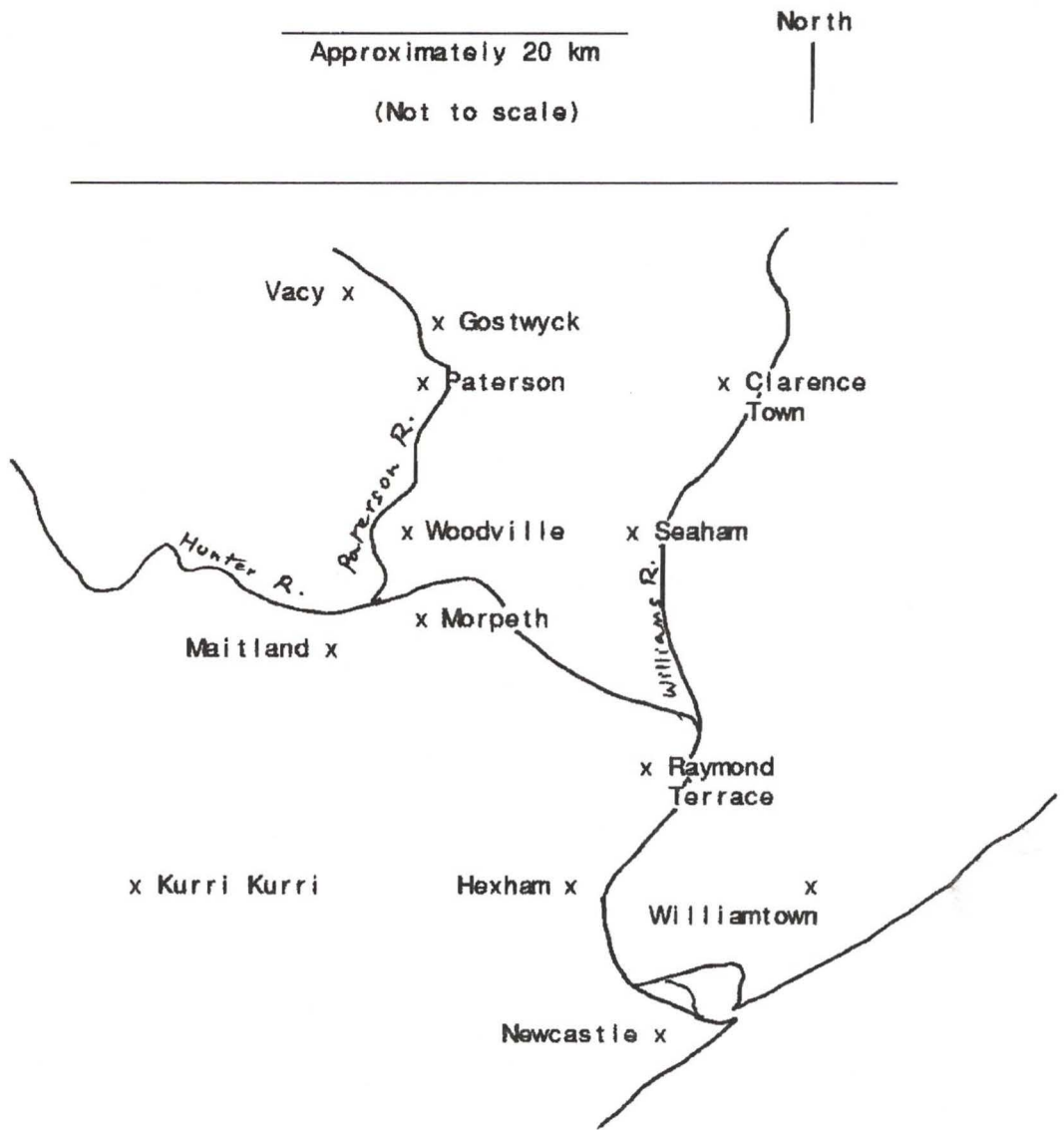
Sarah Maitland

Born in 1818; date of death unknown. Married Crawford Logan Brown of 'Cairnsmore' Dungog, on 6 Oct 1838. There were no children.

Maria Eleanor Villiers

Born in early 1819; accidentally drowned at Parramatta in April 1823. Maria would have been a baby when the family set out for New South Wales.

PATERSON IN THE LOWER HUNTER VALLEY



V From the Sea to the Land

Frederick Settles in New South Wales

That said, it is now time to return to Frederick Bedwell in England in 1823, just back from his six year naval expedition to Australia. He was then aged twenty-six, with half of those years in the Navy, and although we do not have documentary evidence, it appears obvious that he thought that it was time to get on with the next stage of life. By then, he had been transferred in the Navy to half-pay.

It is understood that his first choice was to settle in Canada; possibly, there were some unpopular acquaintances in New South Wales, maybe he did not approve of the convict system, or he could merely have been seeking further excitement in new places: in any case, he apparently obtained permission to go to Canada, and did in fact spend some time there - but again, unfortunately, no information is available about that period.

In time, he decided that Canada was really less attractive than Australia, and it is understood that the weather was a factor in his decision. Frederick probably returned to Sydney in 1827, but no record of that movement is available at this stage.

In the Biography compiled by his grand-son, Mervyn Dickson,¹ it stated that while in England, he wrote on 3 August, 1826 to Sir Thomas Brisbane (the recently-retired Governor of New South Wales), applying for a land grant; in fact, that letter may have been a request for the ex-Governor's support of his proposed application. In any case, Brisbane forwarded the letter to Earl Bathurst, with his recommendation.

Dickson's Biography also records a reference in the Mitchell Library to a list of farms to be measured, dated 1824, which includes 1280 acres in the name of F. Bedwell at

Wybong, eight miles to the south-east of Oxley's Peak in the Liverpool Range.² The Biography also refers to another manuscript concerning land applications, which includes a reference to 640 acres on the Williams River, applied for by F. Bedwell; no date is given in the Biography.³

The date of the Wybong land reference is surprising, in view of the application in 1826 mentioned above; however, Frederick may have sought and received a land grant prior to that. In fact, he did receive land at Wybong Creek at some time, because in 1836, he and his wife, Susannah, leased 1280 acres named 'Swyndon' at Wybong Creek to Archibald Bell, who, according to G. Nesta Griffiths in 'Some Northern Homes', sought, with Captain Pike, to obtain good country where Denman is now, and he selected two properties on Wybong Creek.⁴ One of those was probably the leased land.

On Frederick's return to Sydney, he appears initially to have stayed close to the sea. There are references to Captain Bedwell, Master of the government barque, 'Lucy Ann', on various journeys between Moreton Bay, Port Macquarie and Port Jackson in 1828⁵ - probably Frederick Bedwell; and he is reported as being engaged in commercial undertakings including a dock enterprise, management of sea traffic between Port Jackson and Newcastle, and employment in a ship's store.⁶

At some stage during those early years, he had an address in Windmill Street,⁷ and it could be assumed that this eligible, retired naval officer would have been socially involved with the young, unmarried women of the town, of which there were only few. In fact, there were considerably-less than one thousand of such women in their late teens or twenties. Adopting the curious age statistic of the 1828 Census, there were only one thousand four hundred females over the age of twelve in Sydney and district in that year; and the census summary makes the interesting disclosure that "there were no pagans among them." For that matter, for what it is worth, there were none recorded among any of the other inhabitants, either!

In a selection of letters of Harriet King, wife of P. P. King, which was published under the title 'The Admiral's Wife' (compiled by D. B. Walsh), there is a mention in a letter dated 3 November, 1828, that Frederick Bedwell is to marry one of the Miss Bells of Richmond.⁸ It is likely that the comment referred to Frances Bell, the daughter of Archibald Bell, a lieutenant of the 102 Regiment, who had arrived in 1807 - he seems to have been the man who had pioneered the Bell's Line of Road over the Blue Mountains in 1823. The Archibald Bell who leased the land at Wybong Creek in 1836 was one of his sons. Apparently, however, that engagement of Frederick's did not proceed.

Frederick and Susannah Matilda (junior) - Life at Paterson

You will remember that in late 1820, Eliza Bedwell was born, the daughter of Frederick Bedwell and Louisa Cilcot (or Calcott). Following his return from England, Frederick

arranged for a Deed of Trust to be drawn up by solicitor Frederick Garling, senior, whose son incidentally, was later to become Frederick's brother-in-law. Under the deed, Louisa conveyed her claim to a property in Harrington Street to Frederick Bedwell and John Blaxland, as trustees for Eliza. The trust was to be administered entirely for the benefit of the child, and the title to the property was to pass to Eliza upon her attaining the age of twenty-one years.⁹ As mentioned earlier, little else is known of Eliza's future; she did become the wife of Henry Maitland Pearce, but there were no children.

It is interesting to speculate on the circumstances which led to the establishment of that trust for the benefit of the child, Eliza. It is unlikely that Louisa would have set up the trust unless there were special circumstances. One possibility could be that Frederick had purchased the property for Louisa after the child was born in 1820, intending it to be of assistance in rearing Eliza. Then, on Frederick's return in say 1827, enquiries may have shown that there was a need for a trust to ensure that the property would be preserved for Eliza's benefit; for instance, Louisa may have been intending to marry, which could have resulted in her husband becoming the owner of the property; or, alternatively, Louisa may by then have been in failing health. Further research in time may provide clarification.

At least on two occasions in 1831, Frederick was obliged as a citizen of the colony to carry out the duties of Special Juror, one case being that of McLaren v. King - the details of the action are not available to me. At the time of the second case in September, his address was shown as Windmill Row.¹⁰

During the late 1820s, Susannah Matilda Ward (of whom more later) lived in Sydney with her four daughters, aged from eleven to nineteen years.

The eldest girl, Elizabeth, married Frederick Garling, junior, in 1829, and her next sister, Susannah Matilda (named for her mother), was then seventeen.

Nothing is known of the courtship, but when young Susannah was just twenty, she married Frederick Bedwell in Sydney, at St. James Church. The church had been consecrated by Rev. Samuel Marsden just eight years earlier, when the building (which had started out to be a court house) was completed. Susannah and Frederick were married on 7 February, 1832, by Rev. Richard Hill, under Special License. Official witnesses at the ceremony included Doctor William Bland of Pitt Street (who had cared for Susannah Matilda's only son, William, during the early, difficult years), Sophia Garling (probably the bride's sister-in-law), and Emma and Sarah Maitland Ward, the two younger sisters of the bride. The notice of the wedding in the 'Sydney Herald' on the 13th February stated that Susannah Matilda Ward, the bride, was the daughter of the late Lieutenant Ward, 1st Regiment of Royals, and the niece of the late General Hawkshaw of H.E.I.C.

Frederick and Susannah were later to settle on the Paterson River in the Hunter Valley, on a property which they named 'Valentia', no doubt in honour of Frederick's sponsor for the Navy. That property was a part of a larger area on the Paterson originally granted to Susannah, senior, and that portion was the area given to her daughter,

Susannah (Frederick's wife); other portions went to the other surviving children. The interesting but complex story in regard to the land grants to Susannah Matilda Ward will be covered in the section dealing specifically with her.

Frederick was involved in further land transactions also. The Historical Records of Australia (series 1, volume 17, page 1) mentions a despatch from the Under Secretary of State to Governor Darling, dated 10 June 1833, containing an introduction for Frederick Bedwell, lieut., R.N.¹¹ The despatch itself is not published in the Historical Records, and the document has not yet been sought in the Archives. That despatch is also referred to in Mervyn Dickson's Biography. However, there appears to be some mystery here; Governor Darling was in office from 19 December 1825 until 21 October 1831, and Frederick, despite his apparent unwillingness to push himself forward, would certainly have been known to the Governor at least in the latter half of those years. So, why would there be an official despatch of introduction to Governor Darling nearly two years after the Governor's term had expired?

As mentioned earlier, in 1836 Frederick and his wife, Susannah, leased their property at Wybong Creek to Alexander Bell, junior. Could the mystery despatch addressed to Governor Darling have arisen from a belated enquiry by Darling into the validity of Frederick's claim to land at Wybong Creek, and could the date discrepancy be simply due to an administrative delay in replying? In Dickson's Biography, he implied that Frederick Bedwell had actually worked that property, claiming that he left it as a result of the great hostility of the natives, and their killing of both sheep and even shepherds on some occasions.¹² There seems to be little doubt from the comments of W. Allan Wood in his excellent book, 'Dawn in the Valley', that the Kamilaroy, the predominant tribe in that area, were very warlike,¹³ but there is no evidence available either that Frederick lived in the area, or that he had either sheep or shepherds there.

In regard to recorded dates in respect of land grants or purchases in those early times, W. Allan Wood pointed out that often a date related to the date of the authorisation of an application, or even a promise, and they were usually subject to conditions. The actual date of the grant or purchase could be very much later, and in some cases, did not in fact proceed to finality, at all.¹⁴

In any case, Frederick did in fact settle on the Paterson. In different Directories printed during those years, his address was shown variously as just 'Cintra' (the name given to the original grant on the Paterson, of which 'Valentia' was a part), and in another, as both 'Manning Wharf, Darling Harbour' and 'Cintra'.¹⁵

Unless, as is unlikely, he was well-provided with funds, Frederick could have been fortunate in not going onto the land until later in the 1830's; that is, if there is any 'right time' to go on the land, except with ample reserves.. The Hunter Valley, like much of the rest of the country, suffered severe drought in years just prior to 1830, and then, as so often happens, there were disastrous floods in both 1830 and 1831. Those years caused serious losses, and marked the beginning of the end for many on the land, despite a short-lived boom in the wool industry in the early 1830's. However, drought again struck in the mid-1830s with wheat crop failures; then, in the early 1840s, the

colony suffered a severe depression. Frederick did survive, fortunately, and his mother-in-law may have provided assistance.

Following his marriage and the move to the Paterson, Frederick Bedwell appeared to be content to live the life of a quiet countryman, caring for his family, and farming the land. This seems strange after the obvious excitement and adventure of his younger years, although illness may have been the reason in view of his relatively early and apparently sudden death on 1 May 1853 aged fifty-six years. His lengthy bout of fever and dysentery in the second half of 1819, during one of the voyages of the 'Mermaid', may have had serious and long-lasting consequences. No record is available of any later communications with any of the fellow officers who were with him on those lengthy sea voyages, and, apart from some land transactions, the only records of any later activity, apart from producing a very, large family, involve brief mention in newspapers, minor official records, and probably any related documents.

Those matters included:

An application for three convicts at Hunter River in 1833;¹⁶ in 1836, he was Secretary/member of the Paterson Church Committee;¹⁷ strangely, in 1843, Frederick was fined £5 due to his absence from a jury panel at the Maitland Assizes;¹⁸ but, in 1844, he was one of the official party welcoming the Governor and Lady Gipps at Paterson, where the Vice-Regal party proceeded "through the beautiful estate of Tocal, and breakfasted at the Paterson Hotel." After breakfast, the Governor visited the Scotch Church, the unfinished Episcopalian Church, the school house, and the court house and lock-up. It was reported that the Governor was "much pleased with the appearance of the children attending school in the kirk."¹⁹ Then, in 1845, Frederick is recorded as being a Justice of the Peace.²⁰

There were numerous land transactions, details of which were kindly provided to me by the late Liliias Humphreys, who was a woman of great knowledge and understanding of history, and to whom I am heavily indebted for much of the information concerning Frederick Bedwell and the Ward family.

There was a lease in 1839 from Frederick to James Lord of a public house on High Road, Paterson, including extra land from 'Cintra'; and another lease from Frederick and Susannah in 1840 of two roods to the Bishop of Australia. Other leases included a building on High Street in 1841 to George Wilkinson and George Armstrong, and an inn and land on 'Cintra' from Frederick to Edmund Long - this latter lease had not been registered when Frederick died in 1853, and his wife, Susannah, executed a replacement lease just before she also died in 1854.

Frederick was also shown as owning three town sites in Paterson itself. According to Mitchell's 'Hunter's River', two had a frontage to the west side of Queens Street, and the other was on the south-east corner of King and Duke Streets. It was suggested in the book that he probably intended to build cottages for investment, as in 1836, he commissioned John Verge to provide designs and plans.²¹ This would seem to have been aiming high; John Verge had arrived in Sydney in 1828, and with his partner had designed many of the villas of Woolloomooloo Hill, of which Elizabeth Bay House is

one of the remaining examples. Of his rural architecture, Denham Court and Camden Park are two of his finest. Anyway, the buildings did not proceed apparently, and it could be assumed that with the worsening economy, investment plans were deferred.

Over twenty-two years of marriage, until her untimely death on 30 May, 1854, aged forty-two, Frederick's wife, Susannah Matilda, bore him twelve children (four boys and eight girls); there is also a claim that there was another son, (Phillip Parker), who died when very young, possibly named for his commanding officer on the surveys. The youngest child, a daughter, Frederica Matilda, was born about six months after the death of her father, who had died on 1 May, 1853. No details are available about the cause of Frederick's death, and it is interesting to note that their eldest child, Matilda, (said to have been crippled in some way since childhood), died only two days after her father; Matilda was then aged just twenty. Again, no details are available regarding the cause of her death, and as no coroner's report is recorded, it is unlikely that either of the deaths resulted from accidents. However, considering the lack of medical knowledge at the time, their distant location, and the prevalence of infectious diseases, double deaths may not have been so unusual. Father and daughter were buried on the same day in the same grave in the grounds of St. Paul's Church, Paterson.

Sadly, the mother, Susannah Matilda Bedwell, died in May of the following year, leaving as orphans the remaining eleven children ranging in ages from six months to the late teens. In the family, it is believed that those children were cared for by their grandmother, Susannah Matilda, senior, and by her daughter and son-in-law, the Garlings, who assisted while at the same time looking after their own family of eleven children.

The last will and testament of Susannah was signed on 13 May, 1854, a little over two weeks before her death.²² The fact that she signed as 'S. M. Bedell' in error, probably suggests that she was extremely weak at the time. She left her estate to be shared equally between all of her children living at the time of her death, with a special proviso in the event of any who died before coming into the inheritance. The amount was to be paid at age twenty-one, or on prior marriage. Frederick Garling and Gilbert Cory were appointed under the will as trustees and executors, and also as guardians of the children. At the granting of probate, the value of the 'goods' involved was shown as \$310; no doubt, that did not include real estate.

As pointed out previously, it has been claimed that Frederick Bedwell had been promoted posthumously to the rank of Lieutenant-Commander. Apparently, the story is that in a letter written in the 1920s by Frederick's son, Edward Albert, then in his mid-seventies, he stated that his mother had received a letter from the Admiralty in London, addressed to Frederick, which arrived about six weeks after his death. That letter enclosed papers for signature by Frederick in regard to his promotion - unfortunately, it was too late. It is understood that the family was granted a pension. However, whether the promotion had occurred, with the completion of the papers merely a formality, or whether the higher rank could not be effected without the completion of the papers is not known. Further research will clarify this.

The second daughter, Zorayda Anne Bedwell, was eighteen when her mother died, and it could be expected that much of the work of raising the family would fall to her, in the earlier years. However, in less than four years, Zorayda was to marry Charles Allan Dun. More will be said about Zorayda and Charles in a later section.

Fortunately, the two next-oldest daughters (Clara Georgina and Elizabeth) were not to marry for quite some time. Clara married J. M. Thompson of East Maitland in 1863, and Elizabeth didn't marry until 1878, to Alexander Waugh McDougall. Meanwhile, of the other girls, Sarah Alice married Richard Windeyer Thompson of West Maitland (the brother of J. M. Thompson) in 1864, while the two youngest daughters married in the early 1870s, (Emily Susannah to A. W. Simpson of Armidale, and Frederica Matilda to William McIntyre Dickson, the father of Mervyn Dickson of Rockhampton, Queensland, author of the Biography.) One girl, Caroline Eleanor did not marry.

Only two of the sons married, Crawford Robert to Joanna Henderson Martin, fathering fifteen children (and dying aged only forty-four), and Charles William who married Evelina Henrietta Smith, and became a solicitor and the Mayor of Tamworth, with a family of eight children. The other two boys, Frederick, the eldest son, and Edward Albert both lived into their eighties, but neither married. Frederick apparently lived in 'Valentia Lodge' until 1884, by which time the property had been reduced to only a little over nine acres. At about that time, Gilbert Cory, the remaining executor of Susannah Bedwell's will, sold the property to Joseph Green Smith, the grandfather of A.J.C. Smith, referred to previously.

There have been occasions when it has been thought that another naval officer in Australia, Edward Parker Bedwell, was related to Frederick. Research has proven otherwise; certainly they were neither brothers nor first cousins.

Another rumour had Frederick Bedwell involved in some naval expedition which involved action in New Zealand against the Maoris; no evidence is available to support this.

Some of the possessions of Frederick Bedwell, R.N., have survived. After enquiries some years ago, the late Ruth Nielen, another Bedwell descendant, stated that she had received an old 'bound scrap book' on loan from one of the many other descendants; it appeared to be a book which had been kept by Frederick himself. Included were a few small paintings, an old photograph, together with a small, faded photo of Frederick. There is a lot of uncertainty regarding the source of such items, and even the identity of some of the photographs is doubtful.

At about that same time, the Museum of Rural Life at Glenbawn Dam, near Scone in New South Wales, had on display a small number of earlier possessions of Frederick's, including his wax seals and the dress dagger which he had apparently received on graduation from the Naval Academy at Dudley, Portsmouth, England. There was also a small painting dated 1840 of the home of Frederick and Susannah at 'Valentia'.

Mervyn Dickson's Biography referred to 'heirlooms' in his possession or with other Bedwell descendants, including a photograph and a watercolour, some books,

Frederick's dress sword, the Bedwell seal, and a copy of the family coat-of-arms. There is a possibility that some of the items listed by Mervyn Dickson found their way eventually to the Museum near Scone.

Then, in the Mitchell Library in Sydney, there is a portrait of Frederick as a very young man, and one of his wife, Susannah, as a young woman; in addition, there is a copy of a portrait of Frederick's father.

Frederick Bedwell had a life of which anyone could be proud; for much of it, there was great excitement in which he showed commendable courage and skill, and he clearly proved himself also to be a caring family man. In the annals of Australia's explorers, he has received little or no recognition. Future years will hopefully bring a greater appreciation of the important part which Frederick played in the development of this country, as a member of a brave and capable team.

It is now time to tell the amazing story of the Wards, particularly of Susannah Matilda Ward, one of whose daughters (also Susannah Matilda) was Frederick's wife.

**PART B: WITH OFFICIAL SANCTION
(AND MORE)!**

The Amazing Career of Susannah Matilda Ward in the New Land

*Everything passes and vanishes;
Everything leaves its trace;
And often you see in a footstep
What you could not see in a face.*

William Allingham (1824 - 1889)

FAMILY OF WILLIAM GORDON WARD AND SUSANNAH MATILDA

(No definite information is currently available about the earlier families of either William Gordon Ward or Susannah Matilda Baldwin)

WILLIAM GORDON WARD .. married SUSANNAH MATILDA BALDWIN
 * Also note second marriage

Born	England	Born	England
Died	Sep 1820 Sydney NSW.	Died	4 Jun 1862 Paterson NSW.

ELIZABETH . marr. 1829 . FREDERICK GARLING (Junior)

Born	1810 Oporto Portugal	Born	1806
Died	1880	Died	1873

SUSANNAH MATILDA . marr. 7 Feb 1832 . FREDERICK BEDWELL **

Born	4 Jan 1812 Cintra Portugal	Born	5 Nov 1796 Glouc. Eng
Died	30 May 1854 Paterson NSW.	Died	1 May 1853 Paterson NSW.

WILLIAM THOMAS HAWKSHAW .. Unmarried

Born	1815
Died	Nov 1836 Java en-route Far East

EMMA . marr. 3 Feb 1841 . GEORGE NICHOLAS LAILEY

Born	1817	Born
Died		Died

SARAH MAITLAND . marr. 6 Oct 1838 . CRAWFORD LOGAN BROWN

Born	1818	Born
Died		Died

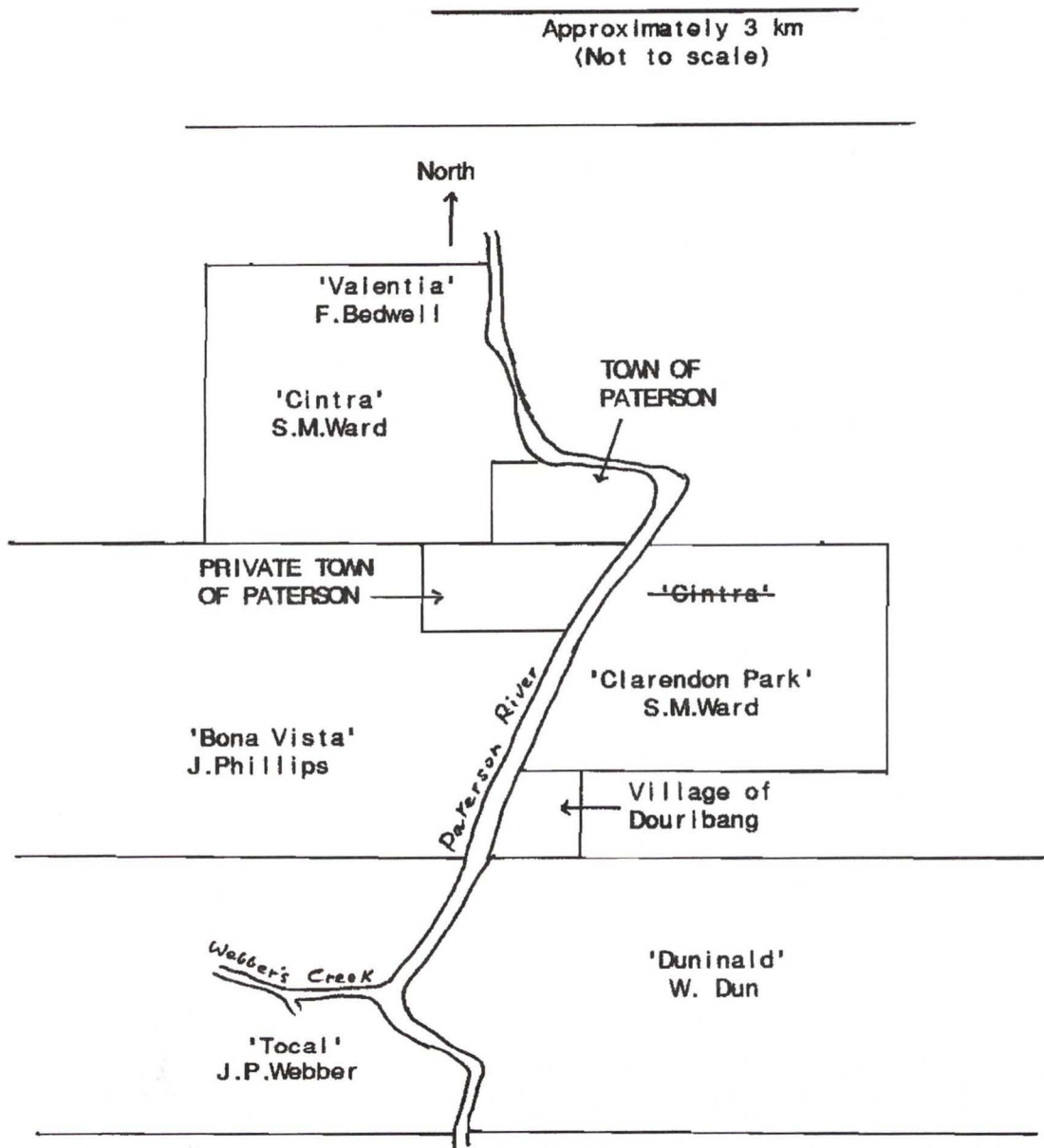
MARIA ELEANOR VILLIERS .. Died young

Born	1819
Died	Apr 1823 Parramatta NSW

** Refer to separate details of family

* Note: On 9 Aug 1841, Susannah Matilda senior married Robert Studdert (who was born in Ireland in 1819, and died in NSW on 27 May 1879).

**ROUGH PLAN OF PORTION OF PATERSON RIVER AREA
SHOWING SOME RELEVANT PROPERTIES AS GRANTED**



1 Some Early Hardships _____

Difficult Times in the Colony Compared with Earlier Days

William Gordon Ward with his wife Susannah Matilda (nee Baldwin), and their family of six young children (five girls and a boy, aged between about one and nine years) arrived in Port Jackson on 28 January, 1820. Their ship was 'Dromedary', one of His Majesty's store ships of 1100 tons, with a crew of 115 men, and among the officers, there was a Surgeon Superintendent. The journey had taken a little over four months from England, including a short stay at Hobart Town. There, Captain Richard Skinner, R.N., had orders to disembark most of the convicts which he had carried from England, and only twenty-two of the total of 369 male convict passengers remained on board; according to the Historical Records of Australia, most of those going to Sydney had been assigned to settlers. Initially, the intention had been to deliver all but 200 to Sydney, but that was changed, with the Governor's later approval.¹

The vessel carried a guard of fifty-seven soldiers of the 69th and 84th Regiments, under a captain and an ensign, and there seemed to be only one other passenger, apart from the Wards; he was Lieutenant John McArthur, R.N.

Interestingly, 'Dromedary' reached Port Jackson just sixteen days after 'Mermaid' arrived back from a voyage of exploration, both vessels sailing along the south of the continent. En-route to Sydney, 'Dromedary' had called at Hobart. There is a lot of ocean, and the chance of a meeting would be slight; however, if they had sailed a little further north before reaching Van Dieman's Land, and if King had sailed a little further south than the 38 degrees recorded in his Journal, the larger, faster vessel may have overtaken 'Mermaid' south of the Bight. But, even if they had seen each other,

Frederick Bedwell could not have guessed that the young girl, Susannah Matilda, on 'Dromedary', who was celebrating her eighth birthday at about that time, would become his future wife.

The family's plan to move to New South Wales seems to have been arranged quickly. On 5 July, 1819 (according to information received from a reliable source, but not yet checked), William Gordon Ward wrote from 33 Ely Place, Lambeth, seeking a land grant in New South Wales, and requesting that it be larger than normal, mentioning that there were six children in the family. In the application, William said that his 'friend', the Honourable Mrs. Villiers, had brought him to His Lordship's attention, a reference to Earl Bathurst. So far there have been two versions of the application, one that it was written to Under-Secretary Goulburn, and the other directly to Earl Bathurst. If the latter is correct, it would provide further evidence of the influential position of William and his wife, Susannah.

The Hon. Mrs. Villiers (pronounced 'Villers') referred to above would be the wife of John Charles Villiers, who had been the Comptroller of the Royal Household in the late 1780s, and who was to become the 3rd Earl of Clarendon in 1824 on the death of his older, unmarried brother.² John Charles Villiers (the 3rd Earl) was the person who ensured that Susannah Matilda, with her family, was to be well looked after in Australia, following the early death of her husband.

William's application was approved within three days,³ and the family was on board the ship which departed on 11 September, just a little over two months after the initial application.

Despite the possibility of influence, the eventual land recommendation for William was of only the normal acreage.

It is difficult to discover much concerning William Ward's earlier life, or of Susannah's, for that matter. William had been in the army, and in various later family marriage notices etc. in Sydney, after his death, he was referred to as "the late Lt. Ward, 1st Regiment of Royals." That Regiment is more correctly known as 'The First, or the Royal, Regiment of Dragoons', whose battle honours, among many others, included the Peninsular Wars (1809-1814) and Waterloo (1815). It is said that in his land application, William mentioned that he held a commission in the 1st Regiment, and that he had been twenty-five years in various army departments; this would suggest that he probably was in administrative postings. It is understood, again without checking, that the Army Lists show a reference to a W. G. Ward who was recorded for 'army rank' on 3 March, 1808, and for 'regimental rank' on 9 March, 1809 - but that of course would not reconcile with the reference to 'twenty-five years' service. Certainly, on 2 October 1828, when writing to Mr Twiss, Under-Secretary for State in London (seeking special assistance for Susannah Matilda), the Earl of Clarendon said that William Gordon Ward, "had been in the Commissariat of the Army".⁴

There seems no doubt that William and Susannah were in Portugal during at least part of the Peninsular War against Napoleon's forces. Their first two children were born in Portugal, Elizabeth in 1811 at Oporto, now known as Porto, and Susannah Matilda (to

become Frederick Bedwell's wife) in Cintra, now spelt Sintra, a town near the coast, west of Lisbon, in 1812.

After landing in Portugal in 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington, soon drove Napoleon's troops from the country, but Napoleon fought back, clearing all British from Spain by the end of that same year. Then, in 1809, Napoleon neglected that area, and by 1814, the Peninsular War was over, providing Napoleon with another disaster to go with his Russian debacle.

It could be assumed that with two young children, Susannah would have returned to England from Portugal, leaving William to continue in his army appointment. The next child, William Thomas Hawkshaw, the only son, was born in 1815, the year of Waterloo. He was named for his father, but his other given names, Thomas Hawkshaw, were those of Major-General Hawkshaw of the H.E.I.C.S, who was the uncle of Susannah, and with whom both Susannah and her sister, Jane, are reputed to have spent some of their early lives, following the death of their parents. That story has not been able to be confirmed.

Actually, there is little that can be confirmed about the early lives of those Baldwin girls, Susannah Matilda and Jane, the older sister; in fact, there is a claim that there was another sister, Caroline, but even less is known about her.

Cecily Joan Mitchell, in her book 'Hunter's River', refers to the attendance of Susannah Matilda at the ball given by the Duke and Duchess of Richmond in Brussels on the eve of what was to be the battle of Waterloo.⁵ There is no confirmation of any relationship between the Richmonds and Susannah, but it is interesting to note that the fifth child of the Wards, born in 1819, was named Sarah Maitland, possibly after the daughter of the Duke and Duchess. In 'Limestone and Lemon Wine', Stories by Thomas Shapcott, it is stated that the Richmond's daughter, Lady Sarah, met her husband-to-be, Peregrine Maitland, at the Ball. He was made Knight Commander of the Bath, and Major General of the First Infantry Brigade, at Waterloo. Later, according to the background data in the story, Lady Sarah ran away to marry him, but then obtained her parents' consent. Sir Peregrine Maitland became Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada for the period 1818 to 1828.⁶ Considering that Susannah Matilda named her daughter as Sarah Maitland at about the start of that time, it could be a reasonable assumption that she was well-acquainted with the Richmonds - even if she was not at the Ball.

Searching the voluminous marriage and birth records seeking definite answers, having so little to start with, is a big task. The marriage and christening records in the International Genealogical Index show a Baldwin family in the Wellington district of Herefordshire, where a John Baldwin (born 1737) married in 1763 to Sarah Clark. They had two daughters, Jane and Susannah. Jane was not born until 1780 - or, at least, that was when she was christened - and Susannah was christened three years later in 1783. A gap of seventeen years before the first child is a long time, but, even then, the parents would still have been relatively young. Could they have been the girls we are seeking, and if so, where do the Hawkshaws come into it - and more interestingly,

what is the reason for their later association with many persons of high rank, and the preferential treatment which Susannah received in Australia?

There is of course the obligatory rumour of a very close relationship with Royalty - actually, with the Prince Regent (later King George IV), no less! Then, there are other stories; but in fact, at present, Susannah's genealogy is uncertain.

Exploits of Sister Jane in London

Susannah's sister, Jane, seemed to lead a fast life in London from the time of her late teens, and although it is not essential to this family history, an outline of some of the apparent happenings could add background to the general story as it would have affected young Susannah during her teen-age development. The matters which will be mentioned have been told by others, so that it is not possible to vouch for their accuracy; nevertheless, the sources would appear to be beyond question, and relate to available records.

A woman named Jane Baldwin had a child who was baptised in 1802, under the surname 'Goster'; that was similar to a name which was to be used later by Susannah's sister, Jane, as will be explained. That child was named Frederick Goster, and was shown as the son of John Nicholas Goster of St. Marylebone. It is said that the child's mother, Jane, was the daughter of William and Sabina Baldwin, and she had been christened at Westminster in St. Martins in the Field, on 8 February, 1779.

Then, in 1810, during a substantial personal association between Jane (Susannah's sister) and William Fitzhardinge, (who was the eldest son of Frederick Augustus Fitzhardinge, the 5th Earl of Berkely), Jane had a son, William George Augustus Fitzhardinge, who was eventually to come to New South Wales, and who will appear again in this story.

As if that was not enough, our Jane, then, in 1813 (just three years later) contracted a runaway marriage with Lieutenant the Honourable Augustus Edward Stanhope (aged 19), the seventh son of the 3rd Earl of Harrington. Jane was said to be fifteen or sixteen years older than young Stanhope. The marriage was soon broken up by the Earl, who eventually brought a nullity suit, which, after dragging on from 1819 to 1822, led to its annulment in the Consistory Court. Some weeks after the marriage, the young man had returned to his regiment in France as aide-de-comp to Lieutenant General Lord Combermere. Later, it is understood that he was involved in a regimental problem,

when he 'resigned' his commission, and moved to Scandinavia, where he died in his late thirties.

The nullity case was reported in 'The Times' in London in 1822, when it was dealt with by the Court, and although neither of the parties were called to give evidence, the facts seem most interesting. Apparently, in arranging the marriage in Hampstead, Stanhope had used a false name and claimed residence in the area in order to avoid the need for a special license as a non-resident - and of course, he was a minor. For the wedding ceremony, they both disguised themselves, Jane as a maid, and Augustus as a stable hand or groom. He claimed that both his parents were deceased, and that he was of age.⁷

In the court it was disclosed that Jane had been living in a highly fashionable manner, under the name of Mrs. Goswell - note the name 'Goster' mentioned previously. In the Court, it was asserted that 'of the female party in the cause', very little could be known either of her family or situation in life.

It seems significant, also, that no action was taken against either of the couple on counts of obvious perjury.

There is an unsubstantiated story that Jane later married a wealthy Hamburg merchant, with some consular appointment; but, enough of Jane - what of Susannah Matilda, and the great adventure in Australia, which was just commencing for her?

A Continuation of Hard Times, but Help from High Places

In a little over six months after their arrival in Sydney, William Gordon Ward was dead. There is a recorded burial at St. Phillip's, Sydney, under the name of William Walter Ward, at about the right time, which may be that of William Gordon Ward. There is no official record of the reason for death, although it is understood that Jane's son, when he came to Australia some years later, (and after he had a serious disagreement with Susannah, his aunt), claimed that William had died from 'dissipation' - that suggested that the death was the result of wasteful living, probably including excessive alcohol! Of course, young William Fitzhardinge had an axe to grind, and may have made unfounded statements, or may have been led to believe rumours which were without basis.

In a personal opinion by the late Lilius Humphreys, it was stated that there is a belief that William's health was gravely impaired by war injuries, so that he appeared to be

incapable of attending to business affairs, or of considering the welfare of the family. She said that Susannah had spoken of his 'dissolution' at that time, so that he may have been finding solace in drink.

Although definitely not attributed to Lilius, one might add that in our more-enlightened times, William Ward would probably be on a full T.P.I. pension, and could even be president of some local R.S.L.

Susannah now found herself in this strange, undeveloped land, with six young children, and with no husband for support. Certainly, in those early months after arriving, William had been in poor shape, whatever the reason. So much so, that Susannah felt it necessary on 14 August, to write to Governor Macquarie to point out that as her husband was still affording no support, the family was in a destitute situation, and she sought a land grant for the use of herself and children; she feared that if the previously-promised land grant was made to her husband, it would afford no benefit at all for the children. She also advised the Governor that the two cows previously provided by his order were now dry, and she requested replacements as milk was a most important food for her children.⁸

Next day, the Governor arranged for the Colonial Secretary to reply to Susannah notifying her of the Governor's agreement to her request, and advising that he would also grant the land to her in trust for the children, subject to legal approval.⁹

On 10 October, Susannah wrote again to inform the Governor that her husband had died, leaving her destitute. She was anxious to return to England, where her friends and connections, as known to the Governor, could assist her in rearing her young family properly. She continued with an appeal for a free passage for herself and the children in 'Dromedary' or a similar ship that may be departing early for England. She then told the Governor that she would still wish to receive the promised land grant, and that she would authorise an agent to manage the land for the benefit of herself and the children.¹⁰

In referring to Susannah's choice of 'Dromedary', the late Lilius Humphreys stated that, on the Ward's journey out, their names did not appear on the passenger list, and it is claimed that this was because they had travelled as the private guests of the captain of the ship.

The Secretary to the Governor replied to Susannah dated 27 November, advising that His Excellency would extend those indulgences, as had been originally promised, to be held in trust for the family, being one thousand acres of land, and five government men for six months; in addition, considering the distress involved, he had directed that six cows be issued from the Government herds on a credit of three years, to be paid for in kind. He stressed that the Governor intended that those indulgences be granted in Susannah's name for the benefit of the children. Further, the Governor would recommend to Captain Skinner that the family be given a free passage to England on board 'Dromedary' under his command.¹¹

The above letter was addressed to Susannah at North Shore, care of John Piper, Esq.

As it turned out, Captain Skinner was unable to provide a passage to England as recommended, because all available cabin space had been taken over, and actually refitted (1), for the return accommodation of Commissioner Bigge, and his Secretary, Thomas Hobbes Scott. Secretaries were in favour, even then! Bigge came to New South Wales to enquire into the proper conduct of government activities; it seems to have been a matter into which someone else should enquire, that so much should now be spent on his comfort.

It may be of interest to add that Bigge's secretary, Thomas Hobbes Scott, was also his brother-in-law - could it have been an early case of 'jobs for the boys'? On his return to England, he became a clergyman, and he came back to Australia in 1824 (until 1829) as an archdeacon of the Anglican Church.¹²

A Position at the Female Orphan School

By good fortune, just at that time, the Female Orphan School at Mount Arthur, Parramatta (now Rydalmere) needed staff, and two senior positions were to be filled, that of Supervisor and the Matron. Governor Macquarie appointed Susannah to both positions, with both salaries, and quarters were made available at the school for her and her five daughters.¹³ Dr. William Bland befriended her son, William, and took him into his home where he was cared for until he was a young man.

Although Governor Macquarie treated Susannah extremely well in regard to the appointment at the school, a previous Matron had also received great kindness and consideration from that Governor. According to a publication of the Society of Women Writers in 1980 entitled 'Lives Obscurely Great' (edited by Patricia Thompson and Susan Yorke), a husband and wife team, Thomas and Mary Collicott, were appointed respectively as Master and Matron from 1 January, 1819, at the Female Orphan School; in addition, their two eldest daughters were appointed as Assistant Matrons. Thomas had been convicted of forgery at the Old Bailey, and his wife, Mary, who had been the widow of a Doctor Allen (previously physician to the Prince Regent), used influential friends to arrange, with her children, to go to New South Wales, where Thomas had been transported for life. Governor Macquarie had promised to assist them in various ways, including a free pardon as soon as possible for the husband, and a land grant for the son when he came of age; and then there were the

school jobs.¹⁴ Maybe Commissioner Bigge came out to New South Wales to investigate the high level of kindness shown by the Governor.

Tragedy at the School - and Dissatisfaction with Officials

Susannah had been granted an annual salary of £100, to be paid from the Treasury. However, she experienced some early problems in that regard, and on 9 February, 1822, she wrote to Governor Brisbane explaining the effect of her salary being withheld, and asking for his intercession.¹⁵ Apparently, the matter was cleared up, but there is no copy of the reply.

While at the Female Orphan School, Susannah was to suffer another blow, when her youngest child, Maria Eleanor Villiers Ward, aged only four years, was to drown accidentally in the river by the school. On 13 April, 1823, in the words of the Coroner's Inquiry next day, the young girl "fell accidentally, casually, and by misfortune into the river, and then and there suffocated and drowned, of which suffocation and drowning, she, the said Maria E. V. Ward then and there instantly died, and so the jurors aforesaid do say." John Eyre was the Coroner, and there were twelve jurors, including one woman - two of the male jurors signed by mark.¹⁶

The evidence included a statement by Master Phillips, aged five, son of Mrs. Phillips, (apparently not the Phillips' family of Paterson) saying that he and Maria were at the water's edge together, and Maria walked upon a log partly in the water, and fell off. He then came to the house and gave information about it. In other evidence, John Doyle explained that between 12 and 1 o'clock, the cook called with a frightful voice that one of the children had fallen into the water. John Doyle immediately began a search, and in fifteen minutes the child was recovered by a man named Higgins, and conveyed to the house. Dr. McLeod was sent for, and instantly attended, but it was in vain.

The child had been named Maria Eleanor Villiers Ward, no doubt after the wife of John Charles Villiers, who was also Maria Eleanor. John Charles Villiers became the 3rd Earl of Clarendon in 1824.

Susannah's position at the School was to finish at the end of that year, and it is interesting to look at the conditions applying at the school just a few years earlier, to obtain further background; it could be expected that somewhat similar conditions still applied when Susannah was Matron. Looking again at 'Lives Obscurely Great' which was referred to earlier, it was stated that in 1819, the building accommodated 200 girls of all ages, with girls being apprenticed out by ages 12 or 13. They were given enough education to fit them for domestic service, and enough religion hopefully to preserve

their virtue. There were no comforts except for fires in winter, and from the kitchen, they normally would receive bread and milk, ox-head soup and 'pease.' Actually, there seemed to be plenty of milk, as they had their own large dairy herd. A few girls married from the school, but most went into domestic service after a recommendation from the Matron. Any girl who was raised in the Orphan School was entitled to a dowry of one cow as a marriage portion.¹⁷

Considering the privileged upbringing of Susannah, as probably occurred, her years at the School must have been very difficult, but it did provide an income, and accomodation for herself and daughters during a very hard time in her life. There is no further reference to any desire to return to England, so that she eventually preferred to take a chance in New South Wales, rather than return to whatever life could be re-made in London. Her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was twelve when Susannah's appointment at the School ended, and Susannah may have thought that the future in the colony for the girls could be preferable, to that in England.

Susannah retired as Matron effective 1 January, 1824, when the Committee was also disbanded by General Order from the Colonial Secretary's Office. It stated that such institutions were to be modelled upon new principles, following the arrival from England of Mrs. Sweetman. The Committee resolved "to obey the sudden, unexpected order with reluctance and sorrow ... (and) they would have happily executed any new principles." It was interesting to note that Susannah was required to replace kitchen articles worn out during her residence at the school.¹⁸

From the date of her forced retirement, Susannah apparently was required to pay rent until she returned to Sydney. At least, on 24 February she wrote to Major Goulburn requesting that the large government boat be made available, on any day before the end of the month, to transport her baggage from the school to the cottage in the North Shore, so as to avoid the expense of lodging.¹⁹ Luckily, it was a leap year (if they were recognised then), so that the Major would have one more day (no more than five in all) to satisfy the request for a boat before the month end.

Although Susannah left the School early in the year, there was apparently some unfinished business, again showing how she would leave no stone unturned to improve the position for herself and the family. She wrote on 9 February, 1824, pointing that she had as yet no reply to her claim for rations which had not been provided for the period from 20 November, 1823 to the end of her appointment on 1 January, 1824.²⁰ The introductory letter for the Sweetmans, from the Colonial Secretary, was dated 17 November - apparently although Susannah was still responsible for the school until 1 January, someone had tried to deny her the proper entitlements of the position from that earlier date. In addition, she claimed that her salary had been paid only to 24 December, even though her appointment did not cease until 1 January; one week remained to be paid. Probably, the bureaucrats in the Governor's service were resentful of Susannah's persistence in claiming her rights, and also, jealous of her seeming influence; but, who could rightly criticise her for demanding that she received whatever was her entitlement? There is no evidence of the reply to those requests for rations and

salary which had been wrongly denied her, but it may be assumed that the position was corrected.

She did, however, appear to harbour some resentment because the position had been taken from her, and on 11 September, 1824, she wrote to Governor Brisbane, thanking him for his kind offer as a consequence of her supersession, to do all in his power to assist her further. She said that since she was removed as a result of an appointment made in England, and in view of the good work which she had done at the School, she would appreciate any indulgences which could be extended.²¹ It seems that she notified Earl Clarendon in London of the happening, because as late as 26 August, 1829, Governor Darling found it necessary to write to Twiss in London, replying to his letter which had enclosed an extract from a communication from Lord Clarendon in respect of Mrs. Ward,²² assuring Twiss that Susannah's interests were being fully attended to, regarding the land granted to her children. He further advised that Lord Clarendon must have received incorrect information concerning her alleged supersession at the school by a clergyman from England.²³

The truth of the matter in relation to the sudden loss of her position is not readily apparent to us at this stage. She definitely was not superseded by a clergyman, although it is possible that Thomas Hobbes Scott (Secretary to Commissioner Bigge) - and soon to be a clergyman - may have contributed to her loss of the job. Bigge and Scott had arrived in Sydney to commence the investigation of the colony's affairs in September 1819 - Susannah with her husband and family arrived four months later, and it was during the next eight or nine months that Susannah was most dissatisfied; William Gordon Ward, her husband, died in September, and by the start of the next year (1821), Susannah had received her appointment from Governor Macquarie as Matron of the Female Orphan School.

Bigge and Scott arrived back in London by mid-1822, and Bigge's reports were issued over the next seven months, the last in January, 1823. It was only two months after that when a letter was sent from Downing Street, London, to Mrs. Sweetman on the Isle of Wight, informing her of her appointment to take up the job as Matron in New South Wales, with an assistant job for her husband, and indicating that travel arrangements would be made by the next suitable convict ship.²⁴

It seems that Susannah received her first official notification of the proposed change when Mr. and Mrs. Sweetman arrived on her doorstep at the school with a letter from the Colonial Secretary dated 17 November, 1823, saying that she had arrived from England to fill the appointment at the school.²⁵

Although that was the end of the job as Matron, the period of three years spent at Parramatta, mainly due to the kindness of Governor Macquarie, provided Susannah and her young family with a breathing space to enable them to settle down in their new life.

Marking Time in the Town

The next reference in the records is in the 1828 Census; during the intervening years, Susannah had moved to Pitt Street, and the census shows the mother and four daughters, by then aged between nine and seventeen years. William, the son, was simply shown as 'Master Ward' at the residence of Dr. Bland, also in Pitt Street.

In the following year, the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Frederick Garling, junior, of the Customs Department, but remembered today as an outstanding marine artist. They had seven sons and four daughters.

In some records, it is stated that in 1832, Susannah married Henry Nowland of Page's River. That is not correct; Henry Nowland did marry the widow of a Lieutenant Ward, but the prior husband in that case had been a different Lieutenant Ward; he had been an officer in the 4th Regiment of Royal Marines.

Susannah, however, did re-marry many years later, as will be further mentioned in this story.

II Land is the Key

Susannah's Land-holdings

During her time at the Orphan School, Susannah continued to press for her land grant claims to be settled to her satisfaction, although she changed her mind at times in regard to the favoured locations.

There is a copy of a Memorial from Susannah to the Governor in 1822, in which she outlined the circumstances which led to the promise of land by the prior Governor, Lachlan Macquarie, and she asked Governor Brisbane to make an additional grant, because, due to circumstances beyond her control, she found herself in a dependent state, with a large, young family which was poorly provided for.¹

As a matter of incidental interest, that Memorial was signed 'Susanna Matilda Ward' ('Susannah' without the 'h'); Lilius Humphreys had pointed out that she normally used 'Susannah', and at times signed as 'Susan'. Adding further confusion, it is thought that some of her family called her 'Sara', and that is how her name was recorded in Ireland by the family of her second husband, Robert Studdert.

As is so often the case where there is a remaining record of those early days, it is more likely to be of official letters and documents than personal items, and this is unfortunate. However, something is better than nothing, and in the case of Susannah, there are numerous official letters still held. Most of these relate to her arrangements in regard to land grants, and it will be seen that she was untiring in her efforts to ensure ample property for her family. In the later years, she no doubt had the help of her son-in-law,

Frederick Garling, and his father (a lawyer) in her quest, but in the earlier years, she must have been largely on her own.

You will remember that Macquarie had promised 1000 acres. The first of that land was chosen in the area then known as Seven Hills, now Castle Hill. On 5 April, 1822, she wrote to John Oxley, Surveyor-General, informing him that, with the assistance of a friend, she had selected an area at Seven Hills, and that if he agreed now to measure the 500 acres concerned, she would arrange for her friend to accompany the surveyor to point out the spot.² That grant proceeded, and the property was named "Wardington Grove."

To assist in making the land transactions easier to understand, the net effect of the mass of correspondence and various negotiations which will be mentioned, may be summarised as follows:

- (a) Governor Macquarie agreed to grant 1000 acres to William Gordon Ward;
- (b) Due to her husband's indisposition, Susannah Matilda asked that the grant be given to her in trust for the children - and the Governor agreed;
- (c) The initial 500 acres (part of the 1000 acres) was taken at Seven Hills, now known as Castle Hill, and named 'Wardington Grove';
- (d) Susannah was slow in deciding where to take the balance of the 1000 acres;
- (e) Meanwhile, she applied for extra land in her own name;
- (f) The 'Cintra' grant of 640 acres was allowed to Susannah on the western bank of the Paterson River adjoining Phillip's property;
- (g) Susannah requested the remaining 500 acres of the original grant to be measured on the opposite bank of the Paterson;
- (h) After some uncertainty by the Governor and the Surveyor-General, that 500 acre grant was approved, and the property was named 'Clarendon Park'
- (i) In order to allow a suitable area for a township and for a store, with her approval, Susannah was given a Sydney allotment of her choice, in exchange for 90 acres of the 640 acres ('Cintra') granted on the Paterson;
- (j) It would seem logical that if the 640 acres (later reduced to 550) on the western bank of the Paterson had been granted to Susannah in her own right, then the remaining 500 acres granted on the other bank would have been the balance of the initial 1000, in trust for the children. Yet, there were occasions when Susannah

seemed to suggest otherwise - although it may not have been significant, she did in fact live at 'Clarendon Park', on the eastern side of the river. As it turned out, that may have had little or no effect, but in a reference to an equity case later, it will be suggested that it was important.

In the year after selecting 'Wardington Grove', the A.D.C. to Governor Brisbane wrote on 5 March, 1823, advising Susannah that the Governor had ordered the allocation of one square mile (640 acres) to her, adjoining the property of Mr. Phillips; that would be referring to Captain James Phillips, whose property was on the Paterson.³ It is claimed that the Wards and the Phillips families were friendly during the time of the Napoleonic wars. Later, the location of that grant was clarified, when on 19 March, 1825, William Lithgow wrote to Susannah, advising her that the particular land which she had in mind was already appropriated for either a township or a church reserve.⁴ Accordingly, her land was measured so as to be clear of the appropriated area, but it was still to adjoin the Phillips grant, and on the north of that estate. This matter will be mentioned again later.

Following the termination of her appointment at the Orphan School, Susannah would have had more time to follow up her land claims. After deciding to seek land for herself at a location on the Paterson near her friends, James Phillips and his wife, she was disappointed to learn that the land requested had already been appropriated for a township or for a church reserve, as previously mentioned. Although we know that the Governor arranged a substitute block, near the Phillips' property but clear of the appropriated land, nevertheless, in the meantime, Susannah had applied for a grant in lieu in the Illawarra district, known as Five Islands. That of course did not proceed in the circumstances.

Then, on 8 February, 1828, Susannah wrote to John Oxley apparently for him to arrange to measure the remaining 500 acres of the original grant, on the Paterson.⁵ He replied promptly, pointing out that Susannah was already in possession of 500 acres at Seven Hills plus 640 acres on the Paterson, which, in his opinion apparently, was in lieu of the balance of 500 acres of the original grant.⁶ There was a policy then that sections of 640 acres (one square mile) must not be split, and this could have been the reason why Oxley thought that the 640 acres on the Paterson completed the original grant. Possibly, Susannah was unsure of the position, but believed that the 640 acres had been quite apart from the original approval of 1000 acres, and had been in response to her later application for a grant for herself. She proved to be correct, in that extra land was in fact granted, but it remains unclear as to which grant was that given to her in her own name.

To clarify their own records, at least concerning the conditions which were to apply to those land grants in respect of which arrangements were extending over so many years, The Assistant Colonial Secretary asked the A.D.C. to the Governor whether the original conditions would still apply, namely the quit rent, the rations, cows and government men.⁷ In reply, the A.D.C. advised that only the original rent would apply. Actually, that may have been an incorrect decision, since the letter from the Governor's Secretary to Susannah setting out the initial conditions included all of the indulgences covering the

total of 1000 acres.⁸ It would depend upon how the specified time limits should apply in the circumstances of the lengthy delay awaiting Susannah's choice of locations, and of course, which grant was which. How Susannah dealt with the question of conditions is uncertain, but she would probably have received the full allowances in regard to the Seven Hills land, at least.

On 17 April, 1828, Susannah wrote to Governor Darling, referring to advice from the Acting Surveyor-General's letter that he was not authorised to measure the residue of 500 acres, and Susannah asked the Governor to return certain letters which she had left with him at his request about a year earlier; she wished to use them in her claim.⁹ Apparently, the letters were not returned, and in the meanwhile, T. R. Mitchell, Acting Surveyor-General, wrote to Susannah, referring to John Oxley's letter of 9 February, 1828, (which advised that there was no residual of 500 acres to be measured), and stating that the whole matter was now for the Governor to decide.¹⁰

There is a note written by Governor Darling on the back of that letter, stating that the 500 acres is authorised to be allotted if possible on land adjoining the "original 500 acres."¹¹ The reference to that original was probably an error by the Governor; 640 acres had already been granted on the Paterson, not 500. It did appear that Susannah was winning!

There was a further, relevant letter from Susannah to the Colonial Secretary, dated 18 June, 1828, in which she requested a copy of her letter to Governor Brisbane dated November, 1825, which specified the spot selected on the 'Hunter' River, so that measurement could proceed.¹² And, there was a memo from the Governor to the Colonial Secretary's office advising that there had been a search but the letter was not found, and suggesting that it was probably with other records.¹³

Apparently, Susannah made her point, because in July, 1828,¹⁴ she was requested to identify the land which she wished to have granted, and there is a note in the official files that on 28 October, 1828, possession was given of an additional grant of 500 acres, subject to quit rent, but also subject to pending claims by two other colonists, where a decision had yet to be made.¹⁵ A grant of 500 acres eventually became Susannah's, being on the eastern side of the Paterson River, and named 'Clarendon Estate', no doubt, after Lord Clarendon, one of Susannah's protectors, who was mentioned earlier.

But, there was more trouble for Susannah in regard to her land on the Paterson. Some of the earlier settlers were displeased that she had land reserved for her on the western side of the river (adjoining the Phillips estate), claiming that part of that land provided the best place for a township, and for a store which would give protection for the property of the settlers who were above the position where the river ceased to be navigable. George Townshend of 'Trevallyn' in the Gresford area, on behalf of the group, wrote to the Colonial Secretary on 4 November, 1828, pointing out the problem, and explaining that although the land was reserved for Susannah, nothing had yet been done.¹⁶

The late Lilius Humphreys, also a descendant of Susannah, commented some years ago, in regard to this matter that it is amazing how the settlers had done nothing about an

official wharf (even though they were almost certainly using that area for a similar purpose, as a matter of convenience), until it had been allocated to a virtual stranger, who was actually a woman!:

On 15 December, 1828, the Surveyor-General informed Mr. Townshend that the land was held by Mrs. Ward for the benefit of her children, and although he agreed with the need for a village and wharf, the section with the mile frontage to the river must remain with Mrs. Ward.¹⁷ The Surveyor-General was probably wrong again, as that land was the 640 acre grant which seemed to have been allotted to Susannah in her own right. In any case, the effect was probably unchanged.

On 2 January, 1829, George Townshend replied, stating that the settlers had not known of the grant to Mrs. Ward, and that he was authorised by all concerned to withdraw their claim. However, Townshend suggested that if the Governor would offer Susannah an equivalent property elsewhere, she might agree to relinquish sufficient for their purposes.¹⁸

There was no progress, although the settlers themselves had attempted to negotiate with Susannah. Twelve settlers or their tenants or agents signed a letter to the Colonial Secretary on 12 September, 1829, stressing the urgent need for a store, and requesting the most serious consideration by His Excellency.¹⁹

Apparently, there was an official letter to Susannah, because there is a copy of her reply dated 26 October, 1829, (thought to be written in the hand of Frederick Garling, Susannah's son-in-law, but signed by her) in which she said she would be willing to surrender her grant for a price which realistically took into account the fact that the area was now almost certainly to become the site of the township.²⁰ Clearly, Susannah did not miss the opportunity of capitalising on the suddenly-increasing value of part of her land - and why not?

It is interesting to note that the letter from Susannah concluded with a statement that her own grant was on the bank of the river opposite to the former allotment. Obviously, Susannah was now of the opinion that the first two allotments of 500 and 640 acres (at Seven Hills and on the west bank of the Paterson, respectively) were in trust for the children, representing the eventual outcome of the initial promise of 1000 acres, while the final 500 acres ('Clarendon Park') on the eastern side of the river, was her own; and it was at 'Clarendon Park' where she lived until the final years, before moving into the town.

Darling was confused, probably with reason. In a note to his letter, he assumed that the settlers' wishes could be met without interfering with Mrs. Ward's land.²¹ This, of course, was not so, when it is realised that 'Mrs. Ward's land' also included the grant held in trust for the children on the western side of the river - which is where the settlers wished to put their store, etc.

In his reply to that note, Surveyor-General Mitchell referred to the west bank of the river as the 'right' bank, and vice-versa.²² Obviously, a designation as either 'right' or 'left' could depend upon the direction in which one was facing at the time, and it may have

been the standard practice, at least in those days, for all references to right or left to be on the basis of an observer facing in the direction in which a river is flowing, or would flow. Clearly, as a river winds in various directions, some such rule would seem to be essential rather than using an 'east' or 'west' description. Maybe there would be some difficulty with outback rivers in Australia which are often not flowing - and especially so if an early explorer thought that, when they did, they flowed into an inland sea! - but, of course, there would be other indications of the direction of flow to guide the explorer.

On 30 January, 1830, Susannah wrote to the Colonial Secretary, seeking a reply to her earlier letter which related to the proposed exchange of land in order to satisfy the settlers. She exerted pressure by saying that she had an opportunity of letting the land in question to advantage, but was awaiting the reply from the Governor.²³

Surveyor-General Mitchell noted on 1 March, 1830 that the land needed to satisfy the settlers' requirements contained 90 acres, and he marked it on an accompanying sketch; he said that Mrs. Ward was prepared to surrender the land for its equivalent in exchange.²⁴

Apparently, that information was conveyed to Susannah, who replied on 18 March, pointing out that she had not previously stated the type of equivalent required in exchange, but that she would prefer cash. Her terms, which she claimed to be very low, required a payment of £500 sterling for the 90 acres, or, alternatively, for the whole of the grant except for 40 acres of her choosing, a payment of £800 sterling.²⁵ An interesting note appears on the front of that letter, over the initials of R. Darling, the Governor; it said that no such arrangement could be entered into, and that the affair was now at an end.²⁶ As we know, it wasn't - and Susannah did eventually take land in exchange, as we shall see.

There were other communications over the next few months, and eventually at the end of June, 1830, Susannah agreed to an exchange of her 90 acres on the Paterson (which she stipulated must not include more than half of the water frontage), for an allotment described as being at the north end of Prince's Street, Sydney, next to Mr. T. H. James' cottages, with a frontage in Prince's Street of 200 feet, and being 150 feet deep with 200 feet in the street leading to the quarries.²⁷ There were administrative delays which prevented Susannah from taking possession, and on 3 September, she wrote advising the Colonial Secretary that people were moving stone from the allotment, and requesting that she be allowed to take possession promptly.²⁸ A memo in the file shows that possession of the 34 square perches was not given until 27 January, 1831, almost five months after Susannah's request for urgency.²⁹

In a letter to Colonial Secretary McLeay from Susannah written on 19 September, 1831, from her address in Upper Pitt Street, Susannah corrected an error in her Christian name as published in the Sydney Gazette on the 15th of that month, where it was shown as 'Susanna Maria Ward'.³⁰ Strangely, Susannah's letter explained that it should have been 'Matilda' and not 'Maria', although she not only failed to show 'Susannah' with an 'h', but in fact, in spelling her name twice in full, on each occasion showed it as 'Susanna'. It

may have been an error on her part, although that would seem particularly unlikely in such circumstances, where she was writing for the express purpose of correcting an error in her name. Although the letter appeared to have been signed by her, it was not in her writing, and may have been prepared for her signature by her son-in-law, Frederick Garling, junior.

In this history, whilst noting the area of doubt, her name will continue to be spelt as 'Susannah'. In fact, in reply to a letter sent in 1835 from the Colonial Secretary's office to Susannah requesting details of her full name and the names of her Paterson properties, Susannah provided the data, as follows:³¹

Ward	(as 'surname')
Susannah Matilda	(as 'all Christian names')
Cintra	(as 'intended name of the property')
Clarendon Park, Paterson	(as 'present residence').

The abovementioned letter from the Colonial Secretary's office referred to two grants, 500 acres in the Parish of Butterwick (which would be the land on the eastern side of the Paterson), and 550 acres in the Parish of Middlehope. The latter would be the land on the western side, being the remainder of the 640 acres grant after the transfer of 90 acres in exchange, at the request of the Governor. However, the completed document shows only one name, 'Cintra'; possibly, there were two completed documents, one for each property, but only one has survived. There seems little doubt that Susannah gave the name 'Cintra' to the land on the western side of the river, part of which property became 'Valentia', owned and occupied by Frederick and Susannah Bedwell.

This has been a long and complicated series of explanations of some of the land transactions in which Susannah was involved, but it gives an idea of her fighting spirit, her ability, and her determination to stand up for herself and her family in an Australia which, in those days particularly, was a land controlled mainly by and for men. There were other letters, but those already mentioned give the necessary understanding of her struggle.

There is one other letter, however, which may be useful to round out the picture. It relates to a challenge by Susannah against the Collector of Inland Revenue. The Revenue Collector had called with an assessment, which Susannah disputed. After visiting the Revenue office with no success, Susannah wrote on 28 April, 1837, from her property at Clarendon Park, on the Paterson, to the Colonial Secretary.³² She pointed out that they had made an error in stating that the land in question, in respect of which the quit rent had been assessed, had been a grant from Governor Darling instead of the late Governor Macquarie, and that she was subject only to the quit rent existing at the time of the grant, namely two shillings per 100 acres, and the grant was unaffected by any conditions which may have been added since. She referred the Colonial Secretary to the books of the office of the Collector of Inland Revenue, and said that she

had found a record of a letter there, from the Colonial Secretary dated 24 June, 1829, which supported her case.

A note on the back of the letter to the Colonial Treasurer supported the claim by Susannah, stating that although Darling had, in 1828, confirmed the additional grant subject to quit rent, in accordance with the letter of possession at the time, nevertheless, by a subsequent decision, Darling authorised the 500 acres to be given under the conditions in force at the time of the original promise by Macquarie. The note then attempted to cast some of the blame for the official error onto Susannah, by suggesting that she should have pointed out the error previously.³³

III The Family Develops

Marriages and Family Matters

Meanwhile, as Susannah busied herself improving the asset level of the family, the children were growing up. Sadly, her only son, William Thomas Hawkshaw, was to die away from Australia, in Java, whilst en-route to Canton as a passenger on the brig 'Children'. He was aged 21 years at the time, but the purpose of his journey is not known.

His death was reported in the Sydney Morning Herald on 10 November, 1836, as resulting from fever.

In the year of that death, there was a wedding of consequence to this story, some months prior to William's departure. On 7 February, 1836, Susannah Matilda (junior) and Frederick Bedwell were married in Sydney. Susannah was aged twenty, while Frederick was fifteen years her senior.

Of the four surviving children, two were now married (including Susannah), and the other two daughters were married during the next few years. Sarah Maitland, aged about twenty, was married on 6 October, 1838, to Crawford Logan Brown of Cairnsmore, Dungog - there were no children of that marriage. The other daughter, Emma, aged twenty-four, married George Nicholas Lailey of Hinton on 3 February, 1841. They later returned to England and settled in Cheltenham; George Lailey is said

to have been the manager of the new railway station there. None of their children married.

Re-Marriage of Susannah (Senior) - and the Missing Will

In the same year in which Emma married, Susannah senior must have surprised many people by re-marrying; at Clarendon Park, on 9 August, 1841, Susannah married Robert Studdert, then aged about twenty-two, and holding the appointment as the Clerk of Petty Sessions at Paterson. According to 'Hunter's River' (Cecily Joan Mitchell), Robert Studdert was the fourth son of Thomas Studdert of Bunratty Castle, County Clare, Ireland, and he was the owner of a property near 'Duninald', not far from 'Clarendon Park'.¹ In hindsight, that marriage can be seen (possibly) as a mistake, as will be related later - but we can all know what is right at a distance!

Some years prior to her re-marriage, Susannah was involved in a dispute with her nephew, William George Augustus Fitzhardinge, the son of Susannah's sister, Jane, as referred to previously. William Fitzhardinge had moved to New South Wales, and had sought an opportunity on the land. His search led him to Susannah Matilda Ward, an aunt of whom he was apparently previously unaware. Susannah agreed to lease portion of 'Clarendon Park' jointly to him and his friend, and according to Lilius Humphreys, he claimed later that there was a disagreement with Susannah relating to her refusal of permission for him to take charge of the convicts who were allotted with the land. It is said that when they argued over this matter, Susannah tore up the document evidencing the lease. William Fitzhardinge appealed to Governor Gipps in a lengthy Memorial for action to be taken against Susannah - but the Governor decided that it was a family matter, and therefore, not one for his decision.² That was the end of the Fitzhardinge appeal.

When she re-married, Susannah was aged about fifty-four, and it would be another twenty years before her death. But little is known about her activities in those years, other than the obvious work involved in assisting in caring for the numerous Bedwell orphans from 1854. There seems no doubt that her health failed in the later years, and it is understood that Susannah eventually moved, as an invalid, into the township of Paterson.

The late Lilius Humphreys stated that Susannah was deserted by her younger husband, Studdert, and that, in time, she lost her sight. That may have been the reason for her

moving into the village in later life. By the mid-1850's, three of her six children had died, and the remaining daughters had married and lived in other localities. One of the older grand-daughters, Zorayda Anne Bedwell, still lived in the Paterson area, but was soon to marry Charles Allan Dun, before moving to Queensland; the Dun property, 'Duninald', was by then in financial difficulties.

Susannah Matilda Studdert died on 4 June, 1862, her death being shown as due to a gradual decline. She was buried on 5 June in St. Paul's Churchyard at Paterson, a quiet resting place, after an eventful and successful life. Her grave adjoins that of the three Bedwells, father, mother and eldest daughter, who had died in the 1850s.

Despite Susannah's voluminous correspondence with officialdom, as still on file in the N.S.W. Archives, there seems to be no record of other personal letters; and this is strange - and disappointing. A direct written enquiry to the then Earl of Clarendon in London in 1980 produced a prompt and polite reply, expressing interest in his forbear's concern with Mrs. Ward, but he was unable to find any information which would be of assistance in our research.

Another surprising fact is that the records show that Susannah did not leave a will. For a person who was so accustomed to business dealings, especially with land, and with such a good understanding of legalities, it seems to be almost an unacceptable version of events. The existence or otherwise of a will, after a death, can still be a matter of uncertainty, even to-day.

In any case, officially, Susannah died intestate, and this created a difficulty in regard to 'Clarendon Park'. According to the late Lilius Humphreys, the property thus came into the possession of Robert Studdert (who by then had added responsibilities, having soon re-married after Susannah's death). But, the property was not to remain that way.

Three of the daughters had received a share of land; Elizabeth had the Seven Hills property, Susannah Matilda junior had obtained the northern portion of 'Cintra' on the Paterson, and the southern part went to Emma. Probably, Susannah intended 'Clarendon Park' for the other daughter, who had survived to adulthood, Sarah Maitland, wife of Crawford Brown; but, however it came about, Studdert had it, instead. W

Sarah Alice Bedwell, one of the grand-daughters of Susannah senior, had married a solicitor, Richard Windeyer Thompson (later to be M.L.A.), and on behalf of the family, he took action in the courts which, in 1884, after a successful equity case against the Executor of the Estate of Robert Studdert, gave possession of 'Clarendon Park' to Sarah Maitland Brown, the daughter of Susannah senior, who had not received her share. So, Sarah, the remaining daughter, had gained her rights, and as the Browns had no children, Sarah willed the property to her niece, Sarah Alice Bedwell, whose husband had won the case in the court for them.³

Without knowing much about such intricate matters of law, or of that case in particular, it is difficult to comment on the points which may have been raised in the equity hearing. At a later date, further research may clarify this. But, even now, it may be reasonable to assume that the decision could have hinged upon whether that property

had been in fact held by Susannah in her own right, or alternatively, as trustee for the children. If the latter, maybe the property should never have devolved upon Studdert at the time of Susannah's death, even if there was no will. Much could have depended upon the previously-reported indecision in regard to the purpose of the respective grants - either as part of the original approval by Governor Macquarie for the benefit of the children, or as a direct grant to Susannah.

Assuming that the equity case did revolve around such points, then consider the possible consequences if Susannah had accepted that 'Cintra' was the property held in her own right, and that she had transferred part to the Bedwells (to be named 'Valentia'), and had lived on the remaining portion, just north of the present town area. Digressing, one would think that it would have been much more convenient than living at 'Clarendon Park' across the river - of course, there would be the 'hurly-burly' of the growing town, but that would be offset by the pleasure of the nearness of the grand-children, and the shops! W

But, if she had lived there, and recognised it as her own property, and had married Studdert and died in similar circumstances, the property would have gone to Studdert, and it would have been highly unlikely that an equity case could have recovered it for the family. In that hypothetical case, the 'Cintra' property would almost certainly have remained in the Studdert family.

Could it be that Susannah had foreseen the possibility of the loss of the property on her death, and had arranged matters accordingly, as a protection?

At present, there are (to the writer's knowledge), no known descendants of the Bedwells or the Wards still at Paterson. The 'Clarendon Park' buildings have disappeared without trace, as seemingly, has the name in that area. Part of 'Cintra' is owned by the Fry family, who purchased it many years ago. Lilius Humphreys had told of "a glorious old oak tree on 'Cintra', visible from the road, which had been planted by Susannah Matilda Ward". Of 'Valentia', there is still a residence on the small knoll, but that building was erected for A. J. Smith, the father of the present owner. The property is still called 'Valentia'.

Despite the changes over time, Paterson will always retain a part of those early settlers. In fact, it was interesting to talk to Lilius Humphreys, whose research along with that of her daughter, Jennifer, has provided valuable information about those people in those times. Among many interesting comments, I remember the pleasure with which Lilius recalled the story of how the daughters and grand-daughters of Emily Susannah Bedwell (second youngest daughter of the Bedwell family) used to love to hear about Emily's coming-out party at Stradbroke House, with the guests dancing on the black-and-white tiled floor of the entrance hall.

No doubt, there would have been many great occasions during those 'roaring days', and like much of Australia's history, and history everywhere, they were real people who lived those times, and it is a privilege to attempt to think their thoughts, and to plan their plans, and so in a small way, to breathe life into the proud stories of their days.

PART C: MAY WE GO TO NEW SOUTH WALES?

William Dun and Maria, and the Hardships of Australia

*But the sad river, the silted river,
under its dark banks the river flows on,
the wind still blows and the river still flows.
And the great broken tree, the dying pepperina,
clutches in its hands the fragments of a song.*

**Judith Wright, from *Old House in A Human Pattern - Selected Poems*
(reprinted 1990); used with kind permission of Harper Collins Publishers
Australia**

FAMILY OF ALEXANDER DUN AND ELIZABETH

ALEXANDER DUN .. marr. 11 Oct 1754 .. *ELIZABETH RANKINE*
Dundee, Scotland

Born c. 1722
Died 10 Nov 1784

Born c. 1734
Died 30 Mar 1798

WILLIAM ... marr. 13 Jul 1782 .. *FRANCES RENWICK*

Born 24 Sep 1755
Died Sep 1815 Batavia, East Ind.

Born
Died 6 Oct 1832 Dundee Scot.

FRANCES

Born c. 1757
Died

ELIZABETH (Twin)

Born 11 May 1759
Died

ANN (Twin) ... marr. 29 Jan 1779 .. *ROBERT HENDERSON*

Born 11 May 1759
Died 31 Mar 1809 Dundee Scotland

ALEXANDER

Born 2 May 1771
Died

DUN DESCENT LINE

Showing Relevant Descendants in each Generation, and to Whom Married

<u>Descendant</u>	<u>Date of Marriage</u>	<u>To Whom Married</u>
ALEXANDER	.... 11 Oct 1754	ELIZABETH RANKINE
Born		Born
Died 10 Nov 1784		Died 30 Mar 1798
<hr/>		
WILLIAM	.... 13 Jul 1782	FRANCES RENWICK
Born 24 Sep 1755		Born
Died Sep 1815 Batavia E. Indies		Died 6 Oct 1832 Dundee Scot.

Children of William and Frances:

* CHARLES DENIS	.... 9 Jul 1822	ADRIA SNOW
Born 8 Apr 1787 London England		Born
Died		Died
* WILLIAM	.... 17 Jul 1817	MARIA BURDETT
Born 25 Aug 1789 London England		Born
Died 23 Jun 1876 Ipswich Q'ld.		Died 27 Jun 1878 Ipswich Qld
MARGARET FRANCES	.....	Unmarried
Born 13 Jan 1792		
Died 20 Aug 1813 Dudhope Scotland		

* Refer to separate details of family

FAMILY OF CHARLES DENIS DUN AND ADRIA

CHARLES DENIS DUN .. married 9 Jul 1822 .. **ADRIA SNOW**
Madras, India

Born 8 Apr 1787 London England
Died 16 Aug 1864 Bath England

Born 25 Nov 1805
Died 9 Oct 1876

ADRIA EMMA ... marr. 7 Sep 1844 .. **JOHN COUSSMAKER HEATH**

Born 1823
Died

Born c. 1810
Died

ELIZA ... marr. 6 Apr 1850..

Born 11 Aug 1824
Died 20 May 1889

EDMOND TUDOR BODHAM

Born
Died

CHARLES WILLIAM .. marr. 9 Nov 1852..

Born 20 Feb 1826
Died 3 Apr 1919

EMMA CURREY

Born 17 Dec 1830
Died 2 Aug 1922

EDWARD WINTERTON . marr. 12 Apr 1856..

Born 24 Sep 1827
Died 15 Mar 1889

CATHERINE ANN IRELAND

Born 6 May 1837
Died 5 Oct 1905

PERCY HENDERSON .. marr. 2 Jan 1855 .(1) **CATHERINE BREILLAT**
 marr. 12 Jun 1867 .(2) **KATHERINE ELIZA JEAN DUNCAN**

Born 17 Sep 1829
Died 3 Mar 1898

(1) *Born 10 Aug 1830; Died 12 Feb 1860 India*

(2) *Born 30 Jun 1834; Died 10 Sep 1914*

LOUISA

Died young

Born 1831
Died 1832

1 Early Days

The Family in Scotland and England - and India

William Dun, his wife, Maria, and the children, were the last of the earlier family members to come to Australia. A letter, which was written by Henry Goulburn from Downing Street to Governor Macquarie in Sydney dated 15 September, 1820, was apparently given to William Dun to take with him as an authority.¹ That letter leaves no doubt as to the granting of permission for William to proceed to the settlement, but it is interesting to note that there does not seem to have been any application as such. In fact, in William Dun's letter of 29 August, 1820, to Lord Bathurst, written from 12 Marchmont Street, Burton Crescent, London, he simply made the announcement that he was soon to depart for New South Wales with his family, and with a capital of fifteen hundred pounds, he requested a grant of land, providing the name of Potter McQueen, M.P., as a character reference.²

Apparently, as no quick reply was forthcoming, William wrote again on 8 September, this time to Henry Goulburn, seeking an answer. In that letter, he repeated his request for a grant of land and also his reference to Potter McQueen, adding that with his capital he intended to raise the improved breed of sheep, and engage in agricultural pursuits.³

After only a few days, Goulburn's letter was sent to Governor Macquarie advising him that Lord Bathurst had given permission for William Dun to proceed as a free settler to New South Wales, and requesting that upon his arrival, he be given a sufficient grant of land.⁴

William, Maria and their only child at the time, Frances, did not sail until the middle of the next year, but he was apparently a planner, and he repeated his request in a letter to Henry Goulburn dated 7 November, 1820, enclosing a letter from Potter McQueen, and pointing out that, for the forthcoming journey, he was merely seeking cabin room for his

family with fresh water and the use of a fire, but that he would supply sufficient rations for the period. Accordingly, he hoped that his request would be granted.⁵

Nothing is known of William's connection with Potter McQueen, and it may have been simply a routine reference to a member of Parliament with whom William, or his family, had some minor association. The Dictionary of Biography 1788-1850 Volume 2 summarises the later life of Potter McQueen, who showed a special interest in Australia. He was born in Bedfordshire at Segenhoe Manor, and as a politician, he developed a plan for Australian settlers to employ convicts, hoping thus to encourage English landowners to buy Australian land and persuade their dependants to migrate there. He obtained land in Australia in 1823, sending out people and equipment, but he remained in England until a corruption scandal terminated his political career. He then moved to New South Wales in 1834, and lived at 'Segenhoe' for a few years before he returned to London.⁶

William and family eventually sailed from London in mid-1821 on 'Mariner', a vessel of 262 tons, with a crew of seventeen under Master Jas. Douglas. The ship carried some other free passengers including a George and a Mrs. Reiby and two Misses Reibys. En-route, 'Mariner' called at Hobart, where they stayed for a week, arriving in Sydney on 15 December, 1821.⁷

In an earlier section, reference was made to the closeness of Frederick Bedwell to a possible meeting with Susannah (who was to become his wife) in late 1820, when 'Mermaid' and 'Dromedary' were both sailing east on separate routes south of the Australian continent; surely it is approaching a coincidence that Frederick, in 'Bathurst', about a year later, should have been sailing towards Cape Leewin (from Mauritius) at the same time that William and Maria Dun were in 'Mariner', sailing east, some distance to the south, when we remember that, about thirty-six years later, Frederick's daughter, Zorayda, was to marry William's son, Charles.

On arrival, there were four of the Dun family to disembark, including the baby girl, Catherine Hammond (a sister for Frances) who was born on the journey out on 16 October, about one month before they had reached Hobart. It is possible that the long delay between William's request in regard to the facilities on the vessel in which they were to travel to Australia and their actual embarkation, may have been due to a decision to defer the commencement of the voyage until the pregnancy was sufficiently advanced. No doubt, there were available vessels of the right type to allow such an alteration in plans.

Although we know about William's plan for his small family to go to Australia, and their voyage out, together with much information from that time onwards, little is known about William prior to that period. Before outlining the history of William and his family in this new land, the earlier times will be covered to the extent possible.

Starting at the beginning, or as far back as we can go at present, Alexander Dun (who was to become William's grand-father) was born in about the year 1720. Birth and christening records which have been checked to-date show some Alexander Duns who were born in Scotland at about that time; but, there is no obvious relationship, and

although he later had a strong connection with Scotland, he may not have been born there.

At present, there is no direct record which relates our William (who settled in Australia) to Alexander - but other clues exist which make it certain. For instance, Alexander's grand-daughter, Elizabeth Henderson, married Peter Arkley, of 'Dunninald' near Montrose, Scotland. William Dun, in Australia, named his property on the Paterson River as 'Duninald' (using only one initial letter 'n'), and he gave a second Christian name 'Arkley' to his daughter Maria, their first female child to be born in Australia. The use of the Henderson name by William and Maria also adds weight to the conclusion.

Another convincing clue comes from the name of the wife of William's brother, Charles Denis; he married Adria Snow, and William and Maria gave the second Christian name 'Adria' to Margaret Adria, their second daughter to be born at Paterson - sadly to die while still a baby. But, how does that relate to Alexander? Well, two of the sons of Charles Denis and Adria, his wife, donated an elaborate chair to the Church at Bendochy in Scotland, where Alexander (their grand-father) had been the Minister - that chair is still there. In addition, there are church records. Future research will certainly confirm the relationship, but even today, there is no doubt.

Although the name 'Dun' (with one 'n') is widespread, it is not a commonly-used name, and that is an advantage in genealogical research. There are very many more spelt as 'Dunn' or even 'Dunne', but unless (as sometimes happens), an error is made in its recording, searching for a 'Dun' is a relatively easy task - that is if you can find one! It is understood that in earlier times, the name may, in some cases, have been shown as 'Din'. Although the word 'dun' is sometimes used to denote a 'greyish-brown or drab colour', the surname has no such connotation. In fact, the name 'Dun' seems to come from the name for 'a fort on a hill', and that meaning will be seen to be logical when its many areas of use in place names are considered, including, it is said, London and Donegal.

As an indication of the relatively small usage of Dun as a surname, it was discovered about ten years ago, that there were only fifteen by that name listed in the London telephone books. Interestingly, each of them was contacted, seeking a reply in relation to family history (and enclosing reply-paid postage coupons), but only two replied; as it happened, there was no family connection in those cases.

In Dundee, Michael Dun (not related) is accumulating data on every Dun family with which he makes contact - and even more, as any details come to hand. However, although he has very kindly supplied some useful information about the family of Alexander Dun, so far, Alexander himself has eluded him, other than as has been reported here.

Alexander Dun, according to Hew Scott in 'Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae', was ordained by the Presbytery of Dundee on 10 November, 1747, and he died on 10 November, 1784.⁸ As yet, no record has been sought of any of his general religious activities, but it is

known that on 11 October, 1754, he married Elizabeth Rankine of Dudhope; Elizabeth's brother, John, married Mary, the daughter of Sir James Kinloch of Nevay, near Dundee.

The Reverend Alexander and his wife, Elizabeth, had five children, two boys and three girls (including twins) - one of the twin girls, Ann, married Robert Henderson, a doctor of Coupar Angus (near Bendochy), and as mentioned previously, it was their daughter, Elizabeth, who married Peter Arkley of 'Dunninald'. Nothing is known of the lives of the other two daughters of Alexander and Elizabeth, except that the other twin, Elizabeth, is said to have married a Mr. Lowe of Dudhope. The boys, William and Alexander, were respectively, the oldest and the youngest of the children. Alexander was not born until relatively late, sixteen years after the birth of William, when Alexander, the father, was approaching the age of fifty.

Nothing else is known about young Alexander, but William, the oldest child, was the father of the William who came to Australia. William (the father) was born on 24 September, 1755, and married Frances Renwick, of Covent Garden, St. Mary's, London (St. Marylebone Marriage Register) on 13 July, 1782. One of the witnesses was Joshua Charlesworth, probably the brother-in-law of Frances. At that time, William lived in the Parish of St. Marylebone, although later in life, his address was shown as Hackney, London.⁹

In a legal document of 1817 (William Renwick's Service of Heirs), William Dun, then deceased, was described as having been a 'merchant of London'. The Service of Heirs mentioned was in relation to the proving of an hereditary relationship in Scotland, between William Renwick (deceased) and his two daughters, William Dun's widow, Frances, and her sister, Elizabeth Charlesworth, (probably the widow of the Joshua Charlesworth who was a witness at the wedding).¹⁰ In Scott's 'Fasti ..' mentioned previously, William Dun is shown as 'H.E.I.C.S.',¹¹ that is, 'Honourable East India Company Service', and without further detail at this stage, it may be safely assumed that he was involved with the East India Company. Interestingly, William is reported in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' as having died in Batavia - at that time, he would have been sixty.¹²

Another Service of Heirs is on record relating to the proving of the family relationship (following the death of Alexander in 1784), between Alexander, the father, and William, his son. This was probably in relation to the transfer of title of certain property to William.¹³

It is possible that William, as well as the Reverend Alexander Dun's other children, had been born in Scotland, probably at Bendochy, where his father had been ordained eight years previously, and where the father (Alexander) apparently stayed until his death. William's decision to join the East India Company would have taken him initially to London, and, as we have seen, it was in London where he married when aged 26 years. And London is where his children were born, including, of course, the William who settled on the Paterson in New South Wales.

Bendochy is a small village in Perthshire, about two kilometres north of Coupar Angus, with the River Isla flowing between - the Church is close to the river. Blairgowrie is

about six kilometres to the north-west. Dundee and Perth are the nearest large cities, both about 25 kilometres away, one to the south-east and the other to the south-west. As mentioned previously, the Church contains a chair which was donated by two of the sons of Charles Denis, Edward Winterton and Charles William, in memory of their grand-father, Rev. Alexander Dun. Earlier in this twentieth century, Bendochy was reported as having a population of only 521, and it could be assumed that in the eighteenth century when Alexander was there, the population may have been similar.

The eighteenth century had been a time of great change in Scotland. After the Act of Union was proclaimed in 1707, there were two Jacobite rebellions, one in 1715 and the other in 1745. Meanwhile, the movement had started to the cities seeking employment, many going to Glasgow to work in the shipyards from 1718, although it wasn't until the 1770's that the migration became pronounced. The change can be seen in the great growth of the city populations; using Glasgow as an example, its numbers increased from 28,000 population in 1765, to 77,000 by 1801, and reached 202,000 by 1831. During that time, there was a severe famine in 1782, which caused large numbers to move south across the border into England.

The overall populations of the countries of Britain in the early nineteenth century show interesting movements: (in millions)

Date	England/Wales	Scotland	Ireland
Mar 1801	8.9	1.6	5.4
May 1811	10.2	1.8	5.9
May 1821	12.0	2.1	6.8
May 1831	13.9	2.4	7.8

You will note that in each case there was an increase of roughly 50% over the thirty years, and it is surprising how small, compared with the others, was the population of Scotland. Later figures taken in 1901 show that during the latter seventy years of the century, the populations of Scotland and Ireland came together, Scotland almost doubling in that period, while Ireland almost halved.

Alexander would have had a busy life, despite the small numbers, when the extent of participation by the religious bodies in the day-to-day life of the parishioners in those times is taken into account, and it will be interesting in future if additional information can be obtained of the activities of the Church at Bendochy in those days. But, Alexander needed to perform one regular activity for his daughter, Ann, and her husband, Robert Henderson, of Coupar Angus - fortunately, providing that the river could be safely crossed, the journey, even by horse transport, would be an easy one. On three occasions from 1779 until 1782, Rev. Alexander christened one of his Henderson grand-children, all boys: Alexander, Patrick and William. It was over three years before the next child was born (another boy, David), and possibly there had been a loss of a pregnancy in the meantime; but, unfortunately, Alexander died in 1784, and

the Rev. Mr. Keay, who was the 'Minister of Coupar in Angus', christened the next ten children, as required. They included four boys and six girls, but, sadly, three of the youngest five were to live only a few months. Fortunately, the present owner of 'Dunninald', J. R. W. Stansfeld, discovered a record copied from the Henderson bible, amongst the Arkley papers, and he kindly provided a copy of that record. It lists each of the children, with their birth and their christening dates, and gives the name and relationship of those after whom each child was named.

It is interesting to see the order of naming, which in Scotland tended to follow a pattern. Traditionally, Scottish Christian name patterns, stated in their relationship to the child, were as follows:

Order of Birth	Sons	Daughters
First	Father's father	Mother's mother
Second	Mother's father	Father's mother
Third	Own father	Own mother

Following that, there was no special tradition, although it was common for any of the above names to be re-used in the event of the early death of a child.

Robert and Ann Henderson departed from the tradition, firstly, in naming their first son after Ann's father, Alexander - but this may have been because it was the Reverend Alexander Dun (Ann's father) who christened the child. The other departure was in not naming children after each of the parents of that child in the traditional order, but recognising uncles etc. and an aunt before themselves.

As we have seen throughout the world over the centuries, Scotland retains a permanent attraction for those who were born there - and it was apparently no different for the Dun family. William's wife, Frances, and their daughter, Margaret Frances, were both buried at the Howff Cemetery at Dundee. We knew from the Service of Heirs referred to previously that the Renwicks (William's in-laws) were a Scots family,¹⁴ and maybe William's wife, Frances, would spend much time in Scotland during the periods when William would probably be overseas on Company business. Frances did not die until 6 October, 1832, which is over seventeen years after the death of William, her husband; before then, her surviving family (sons, Charles Denis and William) were permanently overseas. There would seem little doubt that she would have returned to Scotland from London, and lived in or near Dundee until her death.

The Howff in Dundee was the final resting place of other close relatives of Alexander Dun; in addition to those mentioned above, it is known that others included Alexander's daughter, Ann (died 1809), and one of Ann's grand-children, Robert Arkley, who died in 1874. No doubt, there were more.

An interesting, if incidental, part of the family story concerns the Arkleys and their great house, 'Dunninald', about three kilometres south of Montrose. You will remember that

Ann Dun, one of Alexander's twin girls, had married Doctor Robert Henderson; they had thirteen children, and one of their daughters, Elizabeth, born in 1786, married Peter Arkley, whose father, David had bought the 'Dunninald' estate of 571 acres in the early nineteenth century. In 1811, Peter, the son, was able to buy a part of the estate, which was three years before he married Elizabeth. With their steadily growing family, they lived in the old Dunninald House until 1824, when the new 'castle' was finished - the old house was then completely demolished. In an article on 'Dunninald' in 'Country Life' of 14 August, 1969, it stated that "in 1825, it would have been hard to better Dunninald (the new house) as a model of up-to-date Georgian taste in things Gothic" - and it is still an impressive building to-day.¹⁵ Unfortunately, Peter, who had spent at least five years assisting in the completion of the building, lived only one more year to enjoy it. By then, there had been five children of the marriage, one of whom died young.

Patrick, the eldest son, inherited the house, but his only son died as a result of an accident when still aged only 13, and Patrick, the father, and his wife, also died about ten years later, in 1868. As family members, this left only old Mrs. Arkley (Elizabeth), then aged 83, and her two grand-daughters (the son Peter's only remaining children) living at 'Dunninald'. What was to become of the property? By then, those daughters, Mary Charlotte and Eliza, were aged in their mid-twenties, but so far, neither had married.

The older girl, Eliza, did marry in October, 1871, to Captain John Stansfeld of Field House, Yorkshire, who had been an officer in the Royal Scots Greys. There were no children, and then, in June, 1879, the other girl was married to Charles Armstrong Smyth of Londonderry. Again, there were no children, and eventually the property was inherited by the Stansfeld family, whose descendants are still the owners, and occupiers.

Family stories can easily develop from various sources - some sound, but often in the style of a fairy tale. So it was with one of the stories in the unfounded history of the Duns, which claimed that they had once had a castle in Scotland (obviously a distortion from the distant relationship with 'Dunninald' near Montrose). Another tale said that one of the Dun relatives had been Governor of New South Wales - again, almost certainly based on insufficient evidence, and probably resulting from the appointment of Lord Chelmsford - see later - without the claimants being aware of the remoteness of the relationship. Such stories do have the advantage of providing some area for research - and even though they turn out to be inaccurate, the detail which is discovered often adds interest to the family history in general.

Another story turned out to be based on solid fact, and it concerned the existence of what were called 'Counters of Dun'. It was said that a number of the descendants had been given these counters as a keepsake. My grand-mother, Elizabeth Ann Dun, had apparently had one made into a brooch, but unfortunately, it had been lost. It is said that others still have their counter, and recently, Mary Riordan of Blayney, a great-grand-daughter of Charles Denis Dun, very kindly gave one of the counters to me.

They are small coin-like objects, slightly bigger in size than the Australian twenty-cent piece, apparently made from mother-of-pearl, with interesting engravings on each side: on one side, within a decorative circle containing two flowers (possibly thistles), there is a large flowing letter 'D', which appears to comprise growing, twining plants, or similar. Above the 'D', across a barrier, is a group of five snakes bound together by one other. On the reverse side, there is another decorative circular border, this time with two roses; within the border, there is what appears to be a multi-storied pagoda in the foreground, with mountainous surrounds, showing two buildings on the right at different levels of the mountain, and on the left, there is what appears to be a leaf-less tree on a nearby hill.

The origin of these counters is not known, but there were enough of them to be distributed among the family many years earlier than a century ago. It has been said that they may have been made for use in some board game, and that they were later distributed when the family member concerned died. However, there seems to be some symbolism involved in the design, including the English rose on one side, and the Scots thistle on the other.

The use of the snakes is interesting - maybe they suggest that one good snake is all it needs to hold five bad snakes in check, and even with the threat of those snakes above them, the family can nevertheless thrive and grow like a plant. Whatever their exact origin and purpose, it was extremely kind of Mary Riordan to give one of them to me.

There seems little doubt that William, before coming to Australia, would have visited 'Dunninald' - that would be before the new house had been built. Elizabeth, his cousin, was only a little older than he, and as mentioned before, the naming of William's property at Paterson as 'Duninald', and the use of the name 'Arkley' as a second Christian name for their first daughter to be born in Australia, suggests a strong attachment. His grand-father (Alexander) had died before William's birth, but the other Scots' relationships would have been strong.

Now, let us go back to the children of William (Alexander's son) and his wife, Frances. William and Frances had only one daughter, Margaret Frances, and she died aged only twenty-one, while staying with the Rankines (her mother's family) at Dudhope in Scotland.¹⁶ Possibly, the mother and daughter were holidaying there while the husband, William, was away on H.E.I.C.S. business.

The eldest son, Charles Denis, had been born on 8 April, 1787, and was baptised at St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, London. Like his father, he joined the Honourable East India Company Service, but in his case, he was an officer of the East India Company's armies.

That Company was a very large organisation, and even today, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom maintains an India Office Library and Records in London. A few of the listings on the 'Contents' page of 'A Brief Guide to Biographical Sources', showing some of the categories currently available at the Library in London indicate the very extensive nature of the organisation; among others, they covered members of the Council, stockholders, home and overseas civil servants, army

officers, law officers and attorneys, and even railway staff, to name a few - and the list even includes honours, medals and awards.¹⁷

Charles was married on 9 July, 1822, to Adria Snow, the daughter of Colonel Edward Winterton Snow; the marriage took place at St. George's Church, Madras, on 9 July, 1822, and Charles was described as a Captain, 22nd Regiment N. I. Quarter Master of Brigade Southern Division.

Charles had a very successful career in the East India Company's army, and had achieved the rank of Major General by retirement. Of the five children of Charles and Adria, the two eldest boys, Edward Winterton and Charles William, were educated at the Edinburgh Academy,¹⁸ and both also reached high rank in the Company's army, Lieutenant General and Major General respectively. The youngest son, Percy Henderson, apparently did not receive the benefit of the same military education, but had risen to the rank of Major when he decided to leave the service in the early 1860s. In 1842, the eldest girl, Adria Emma, married John Coussmaker Heath (who also became a Major General in the Company's army), and in 1867, their daughter, Adria Fanny Heath, married Frederic Augustus Thesiger; he became the 2nd Lord Chelmsford. As a matter of interest, the eldest son of Adria and Frederic, was named Frederic John Napier Thesiger, and he became the 3rd Lord in 1905 on the death of his father. He was Governor of Queensland from 1905 to 1909, and then Governor of New South Wales from 1909 to 1913; at that time, he was appointed as Governor-General of India.

The other daughter of Charles Denis Dun surviving to adulthood was Eliza who married Colonel E.T. Bodham, no doubt, also in the East India Company's army.

On 7 September, 1842, when Adria Emma Dun married John Coussmaker Heath at the Chaplains Station within the Archdeaconry of Madras, both parties were resident at the time at Ootacamund; the witnesses included Adria's parents, Charles and Adria, her young sister Eliza, and a Thomas King.

During early research, when much less was known about the early Dun family, the recognition of the use of the uncommon name 'Adria', in the families of both the Heaths and the Duns, and also the marriage into the Thesiger family, resulted in a letter being sent to the present Viscount Chelmsford in London, seeking information, which it was hoped would provide a lead in regard to our William's life before he settled in New South Wales. In reply, some further details were provided, particularly about the Snow and the Heath families, and in fact, a second letter was received from Viscount Chelmsford about four months later, enclosing a copy of a letter written in 1948, which he had located. It had been sent by a Thesiger cousin, to the Viscount's father (Andrew). The letter included a brief 'family tree' of the Heaths, and showed the name of Adria Dun. Unfortunately, while providing additional data, it did not help in establishing the other relationships which are now known. Nevertheless, it was encouraging to know that the Viscount cared sufficiently to go to that trouble. Such discoveries are a pleasant part of the activities involved in genealogy, and happily, in that field, are not uncommon.

In respect of the information about Percy Henderson Dun (the Major), and his family, I am indebted to two of his grand-daughters, Dorothy Perrett (descended from his first marriage), and Mary Riordan (from the second).

It was in Sydney that Percy Dun met his first wife, Catherine Breillat, the daughter of a successful businessman, Thomas Chapman Breillat, who had migrated from England with his family in 1834. Percy was on leave from India when they met, and in 1855, at the end of the leave, they married before travelling to India where Percy resumed his army service. Two daughters were born, Adria and Annie, the latter to become the mother of Dorothy Perrett. Sadly, Catherine died of cholera within a year of Annie's birth. Consequently, Percy resigned his commission and took his daughters to England where they lived for a time with Percy's mother, Adria Dun (nee Snow), in Bath.

Within a few years, Percy re-married (in 1867) to Katherine Eliza Jean Duncan, said to be a daughter of family friends of the Duns in Scotland, and in mid-1868, Percy and Catherine with the girls, Adria and Annie, and a new baby, William, sailed for Sydney on the ship 'Sobraon', arriving on 19 December. They were accompanied by a Miss Duncan, understood to be Katherine's sister.

After a short period on the land at Wingello near Goulburn in New South Wales, Percy and his (by then) further-enlarged family moved to New Caledonia, except that the two older girls remained behind at boarding schools, apparently to their dismay. Within a few years, however, growing unrest among the indigenous people on the islands resulted in Percy and his family needing to escape hurriedly from the country in a small sailing boat, and return to Sydney.

Back in Australia, the family lived in Sydney at Hunters Hill, but little is known about Percy's later activities. Having needed to leave New Caledonia suddenly as a result of the uprising, he probably lost a significant part of his assets. Percy died in 1898, aged 68 years.

Percy's only son, William Sutherland Dun, who was born in Cheltenham, England, in 1868, and came to Australia as a young child with the family as mentioned before, later became well-known as a palaeontologist - one who studies extinct forms of life by inspection of their fossil remains. He married twice, first to Jane McKay, and later to Mabel Edgar, having two children by each marriage, one child of the latter marriage being Mary Riordan who was referred to previously. William Sutherland Dun died on 7 October, 1934, in Sydney, after a full and rewarding life.

His obituary in 'The Australian Museum Magazine' of 16 January, 1935, spoke highly of his outstanding achievements and knowledge.¹⁹

Of the daughters, Annie married in about 1882 to Frederic Deacon Kent, son of the Reverend Samuel C. Kent, who had arrived in Australia with his family in 1855, where he became the first Principal of Camden College, the theological college of the Congregational Church. One of Annie's children, Dorothy Perrett, resides at

Kincumber, and has provided some of this information, for which I am grateful.

After that very brief summary regarding the early Dun family as we know it at present, it is time to take up the story of William and Maria in London.

William and Maria

We know that William was born on 25 August, 1789, and baptised in St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, in London on 13 September of that year. His brother, Charles Denis, had been baptised there also, two years earlier. Their father and mother had married at St. Mary's Church, which was also in Bloomsbury. When William was writing in regard to their planned settlement in New South Wales, their address was Marchmont Street, Burton Square, in that same area. Marchmont Street still exists in London, not far from the London University and the British Museum. It is in the area which became famous a century later as the favoured location for the so-called 'Bloomsbury Group', of whom Virginia Woolf was one of the better-known members; actually, Maynard Keynes was also one of the group, but that is probably not so well publicised. In any case, that was a long time afterwards - in the early nineteenth century, it seemed to be the location of the Dun residence. Probably, William (our William's father) lived there when in London, and it could be expected that his wife, Frances, would have alternated between Scotland and London, living in the house in Marchmont Street when in town. As mentioned previously, William's wife, Frances, (our William's mother) did not die until 6 October, 1832, and she was buried at the Howff in Dundee. Well before then, in 1821, William and Maria had left England with their daughter, for Sydney - and by that time, his mother, already a widow for over five years, had probably moved permanently back to Scotland, where she remained until her death.

We do not know William's occupation prior to his settling in New South Wales. It had not been uncommon for local historians to refer to William as 'Captain', and to describe him as a retired army officer. That could be true, but there is no available evidence to support it at this stage. He was at times confused with a Captain Dunn (double 'n') who had retired and lived at 'Flagstaff', Woodville, a little further down the Paterson River than the 'Duninald' property. He was a retired ship's captain, and apart from the different spelling of the surname, a check of his will showed that the Captain Dunn concerned, who was named John Henry, bequeathed possessions to various close family members who were quite different from those of our William Dun.

|| no evidence
of
Captain's

Actually, apart from his marriage, no records have been discovered to-date of any event concerning the William Dun who settled in Australia, between his birth/baptism in London and his correspondence to arrange the movement of his family and himself to Sydney. William and Maria were married on 17 July 1817 at the Church of All Saints and St. John in Hertford, just north of London. That timing could suggest a prior army career, especially considering the strong army (East India) connections of his father and his brother, and the then recent ending of the lengthy war with France following the battle of Waterloo. The India Office Library and Records wrote in 1978 to advise that the British Army Lists and Directories for the period 1817 to 1822 did not include anyone named 'William Dun'. However, there was a Captain William Dunn (double 'n') in the Royal Artillery for the year 1820; no regiment was shown, so they were unable to find where he was serving. They also advised that there was no William Dun/Dunn listed for the Indian Army for that period, amongst the officers of the British troops. The Army Lists deserve further research, and this is a task for the future.

Some of the names used by William and Maria for their children, mostly as second names, could provide areas for follow-up in regard to the family connections, especially of Maria. Three of the names used, Arkley, Henderson and Adria, clearly relate to the Dun side of the family, as referred to previously. However, there were two other names, at least one of which would probably come from the Burdett side; these are Seaton (used for their first child, and twice later), and Hammond (used for their second child). In fact, the name given to their second daughter, Catherine Hammond, would almost certainly relate to the grand-mother on the Burdett side - especially the first name, Catherine. The first daughter, Frances, was clearly named for William's mother, although that would not have been in the Scottish tradition.

Information was provided by Mrs. Clark, a descendant of the Reynolds family, that there is a tablet in St. Mary's Church, Haddington (about 26 kilometres east of Edinburgh), which was erected in 1682 to the memory of the Seton family. The memorial is written in Latin, and the names 'Seton' and 'Dun' constantly recur. This warrants investigation in the future.

There are a number of Burdett families mentioned in various publications, but there was nothing discovered which would suggest any reasonable chance of a connection with Maria. It is understood that a Lady Burdett Coutts had been Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria when she visited Scotland, but there has been no research in that area. There is a report in 'The Times' of 5 March, 1822, which referred to the funeral of a Thomas Coutts, the procession being accompanied by their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence and Sussex; Sir Francis Burdett and Lady Burdett, awaited the procession with Mrs. Coutts at the seat of the Earl of Guildford in Oxfordshire. Whilst there may be no connection with Maria, nevertheless, that brief information could be worth researching further.

Ireland features prominently for a number of Burdett families of significance, including references to Queens County, Kings County and County Carlow, and there were important families of Burdetts in both Yorkshire and Derbyshire in those earlier times.

However, as strange as it seems, the prior lives of both William and Maria are still to be uncovered.

But, when they came to Australia, they, especially William, became established, at least in the official records. As was common in those days, the women featured little if at all in the correspondence and documentation retained by officialdom, apart from the basic records of births, deaths and marriages, and unfortunately, there are no personal letters or papers which are known to have survived.



COUNTERS OF DUN
(reverse side on page 110)

William Dun

Born 25 Aug 1789

Died 23 Jun 1876

Maria Dun
(nee Burdett)

Born
Died 27 Jun 1878

D



p. 108

William Durr

(Top)

(E)



p- 108
Maria Dur
(Bottom)

FAMILY OF WILLIAM DUN AND MARIA

<p>WILLIAM DUN ...marr. 17 Jul 1817 Hertford, England</p> <p>Born 25 Aug 1789 London England Died 23 Jun 1876 Ipswich Q'ld.</p>	<p>MARIA BURDETT</p> <p>Born Died 27 Jun 1878 Ipswich Q'ld</p>
<hr/>	
<p>* FRANCES SEATON ...marr. 31 Aug 1844... Born 1818 England Died 30 Oct 1900 Tocal N.S.W.</p>	<p>CHARLES REYNOLDS Born 1806 Died 15 Sep 1871</p>
<p>* CATHERINE HAMMOND .marr. 22 Sep 1840... Born 16 Oct 1821 en-route N.S.W. Died 31 May 1891 Maryborough Q'ld.</p>	<p>RICHARD TOD SCOUGALL Born 1804 Died 26 Aug 1877</p>
<p>* CHARLES ALLAN ...marr. 31 Dec 1857... Born 8 Nov 1823 Newcastle N.S.W. Died 4 Apr 1908 Tewantin Q'ld.</p>	<p>ZORAYDA ANNE BEDWELL Born 1 Mar 1836 Died 18 Mar 1924</p>
<p>* MARIA ARKLEY ...marr.....1847... Born 1825 Paterson N.S.W. Died 1 Jul 1907 Bundaberg Q'ld.</p>	<p>GEORGE FAIRCLOTH Born 7 Jul 1814 Died 5 Jun 1889</p>
<p>WILLIAM FREDERICK ... Unmarried Born 25 Mar 1827 Paterson; Died 28 Jan 1850 Honolulu, Hawaii</p>	
<p>MARGARET ADRIA ... Died young ... Born 29 Dec 1829 Paterson N.S.W.; Died 30 Dec 1830 Duninald</p>	
<p>SEATON HENDERSON...marr..... Born 1831 Paterson N.S.W.; Died 17 May 1887 Brisbane</p>	
<p>CLARA ELIZA ...marr. 8 Jul 1857... Born 1834 Paterson N.S.W.; Died</p>	<p>HENRY VYVYAN HASSELL Born ; Died</p>
<p>* HENRY PERCY ...marr. 11 Feb 1871 (1) Born 18 May 1837 (1) Died 1914 (2)</p>	<p>KATE ELIZABETH MOVAHON ...marr. 27 May 1885 (2) Born c. 1847; Died 15 Nov 1883 Died 23 Dec 1860; Died 13 Jul 1943</p>
<p>ROBERT SEATON ... Unmarried Born 1843 Paterson N.S.W.; Died 1864 Paterson N.S.W.</p>	
<p>LUCY ...marr..... Born 1849 Paterson N.S.W.; Died</p>	<p>BELL Born ; Died</p>

* Refer separate details of families

COUNTERS OF DUN



Actual
size

REVERSE SIDE ON PAGE 107

II Starting in the New Land_____

Arrival in Sydney - and an Early Land Grant

On reaching Sydney a little before Christmas 1821, William and his family (including their new baby daughter) probably would have been astounded by the blue of the ocean and of the sky, the strength of the sun, and the dark green of the Australian trees, to name a few things. Sydney, in the summer particularly, would have been a great surprise after their life in Britain - they may have been able to persuade themselves that the Sydney climate was pleasant, but they would have found it to be very hot. The children would have been too young to understand or remember, but William and Maria undoubtedly would have been full of interest, and overflowing with the excitement of that next stage in their great adventure.

The late Cecily Joan Mitchell, in her excellent book, 'Hunter's River', (without quoting any reference), said that "the story is that William Dun's family stayed with the Macquaries at Government House whilst 'Duninald' was being built."¹ Reference has already been made to the possibility of an association with the just-retired Governor through the East India Company membership of William's father and also his brother. Major General Sir Thomas Brisbane had been sworn in as Governor on 1 December, 1821, about two weeks before the Duns arrived. However, Lachlan Macquarie did not depart from Sydney until 12 February, 1822, and William would have had ample time for discussions with him.

After an active, fruitful and lengthy period as Governor, Lachlan Macquarie had applied twice for permission to resign, which was eventually approved on 15 July, 1820. However, much more time was to pass before he could sail for England, where, sadly, he died about two years after his return. Although, understandably, it was not a unanimous view, many (then and now) would agree with the words of the chorus of a song said to be attributed by some to the colony's poet laureate at the time, Michael Robinson:

*Maccquarie was the prince of men!
Australia's pride and joy!
We ne'er shall see his like again;
Here's to the old Viceroy!²*

In an article entitled 'Genesis of Rural Settlement on the Hunter' in the Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, Part II, in 1926, by J. F. Campbell, there is a list based on Assistant Surveyor Dangar's 'Guide to Settlers', which shows the grant of land to William Dun as Number 26, 'ordered' on 31 December, 1821, for 1,300 acres.³ The official document of grant was not issued until 13 June, 1823, when it was signed by Governor Brisbane. The Campbell article said that "William Dun was granted an area of 1,200 acres (1,300 by later measurement) (No. 26, Division 'D' - sic) on the Paterson River, about one and a half mile below the site of the Paterson township, but desirous of increasing it to the then maximum limit, viz., 2,000 acres, he made application for the complement, which was ultimately granted."

Although that article included a quotation which was claimed to have been a part of William's application for extra land, there appears to be a misunderstanding concerning the circumstances of the increase, and that error has been repeated in later writings by others; this is a matter which will be discussed again in this story.

The actual document evidencing the grant was sufficiently late so as to show the full and proper acreage as 1,300, as it was actually measured. Although it was a reasonable legal document, in what many will see as the typical Government fashion the document made reference to the restriction on the Governor from granting more than a certain number of acres, the total depending upon the marital state of the applicant and the number of children, which resulted in a very small allowable acreage (only about 170); but the Governor granted more - with strings attached. It stated that the excess acreage was subject to the "Approbation of His Majesty ..", and it stated further that within the period of five years, the land granted was not to be sold or transferred. The grant did not extend to any timber on the property, then or in the future, which was fit for naval purposes, nor did it extend to any of the property which may be required for highways. The land was granted 'for ever', and would be free of taxes, quit rent, services and acknowledgments for the period of five years; following that, it was to be subject to quit-rent at the rate of £1. 6. 0 per year.

In addition to the above conditions, the right to the land included an obligation to accept thirteen 'transported convicts' to be employed exclusively upon the land, and whom William Dun, until the expiration or remission of their terms, was to 'victual and clothe' - otherwise, "the whole of the said land hereby granted shall become forfeit .."⁴ In fact, William had written to Major Goulburn on 29 December, 1821 - even before the grant was 'ordered' - stating that he would be willing to take twelve men "from the stores."⁵

Settling on the Bank of the Paterson River

There is no record of the date when William took his family to the Paterson area, but it could be expected that, although he would visit the location in order to choose a site, his family would remain in Sydney or Newcastle until some suitable accommodation was arranged on the property. In those days, means of transportation would be by ship to Newcastle, and then by river vessel to a landing position as close as possible to the property as was convenient. As the head of navigation was beyond William's frontage (which is probably one reason why he chose where he did), transport would have been relatively easy, in the circumstances of those days, especially when contrasted against the difficulties of moving over land.

A document from the Surveyor General's office dated 1 March, 1822, which is held in the N.S.W. Archives, shows that three settlers, one of whom was William Dun, had already chosen their land areas, which were not allowed to have more than one square mile of river frontage, with the residue to be taken in whole or half sections behind the frontage area.⁶ Obviously, William was moving quickly, and it would not be long before the building was commenced. In the Mitchell Library in 1979, there was a copy of a promissory note given by William on 24 August, 1822, to Major Ovens, Chief Engineer at Newcastle, for the amount of £2.14.0, for 3,000 bricks which (according to William's note) were "supplied me by Government at this Station."⁷ No doubt, those bricks were for use in the construction of the dwelling at 'Duninald'.

According to Cecily Joan Mitchell in 'Hunter's River', the house was "designed in rectangular shape, a flagged verandah in front, its high pitched roof covered with shingles the roof line extending over the verandah supported by chamfered square wooden pillars and a wide front door with windows either side." She went on to describe it further, including that it was of sandstock brick construction, with two chimneys, having three front rooms facing east and three back rooms, one of the central rooms being a store.⁸

Further information is provided by Phyllis and Sidney Reynolds who have lived in the original house (greatly altered in parts) for over fifty years. They spoke of a detached building which was situated close to that described above, being the bedroom wing, lying at a right angle to the living and working area, and extending to the vicinity of the Norfolk Island hibiscus, a tree planted by Maria in those early years. That bedroom area had been demolished in the latter half of last century.

Adding some imagination to those descriptions, and again drawing on discussions with the Reynolds, it could be expected that the six rooms first described would have included a kitchen, drawing room, a store and a meat area, together with the possibility of one room occupied by the housekeeper and the maid servant, with the other being kept as a general purpose area for Maria and the children.

Clearly, it had been a substantial home in which William and Maria made their life in this new environment. Many hard years were to follow, while a large family was to be brought up. Certainly, there were sadnesses, but there surely would have been times of great satisfaction. With the set-backs and changes over the years, the house (now known as 'Old Duninald'), is showing its age, but it is still the loved dwelling place of one of William's descendants, Sidney Reynolds, and his wife, Phyllis (also descended from an early Paterson family). The house retains the affection of those who know it, and of its history.

Said to be as old as the house, there is a 'Lagunaria' or 'Norfolk Island Hibiscus' tree in the garden, which has been admired by many over the years, with its mauve flowers, and stately branches.⁹ Apparently, it had been planted by Maria soon after the house was built. Unfortunately, age and wild winds have caused serious damage over the past couple of years, and recently, drastic tree surgery was employed in the hope of saving what remains.

Phyllis Reynolds told of the story related by an old aunt in the earlier part of this century regarding "a circular gaol which was supposed to have stood only yards from the house"; that account seemed to be supported when Sidney, her husband, at a time when nearby ground was being plowed, found broken stones and red bricks, which appeared to be part of the foundation of such a building. In the circumstances of those days, some structure to serve as a 'gaol' would seem to have been a necessity.

It would be unlikely that Maria and the children would go to the property before late 1822 at the earliest, and as the records show that Charles (the first of their children to be born in Australia) was born at Newcastle in September 1823, it may be that Maria and their two young daughters lived at Newcastle until after the baby was born. William, however, was already clearing and preparing the ground to sow his crops, no doubt with the help of at least some of his assigned labour.

Early in 1822, settlers in the area were advised that the Government store at Newcastle would 'victual and clothe' the convicts.¹⁰ Under the conditions of the grant, that had been the responsibility of the settlers; but, instead, the new order required that the settlers must now provide the Government with 150 bushels of maize or 75 bushels of wheat each six months. William combined with two other settlers to put a case to the Governor for a variation of that regulation. On 31 May, they wrote to Major Morisset, Commandant at Newcastle, requesting that, instead of a fixed quantity of maize or wheat, the obligation be set as a "certain monied rate", and they suggested £25 which would then be converted to its equivalent in quantities of either maize or wheat on each six-monthly payment date, according to the market price of those products at that time.¹¹ It is not known whether they were successful, but their plan was recommended to Major Goulburn, in a letter sent by Lieut. E. C. Close, on behalf of Major Morisset. In that letter, it was pointed out that the settlers would have no crop for at least a year, and that the proposition was reasonable.¹²

Actually, it was a very practicable suggestion, and deserved acceptance. Under the arrangement as required by the Government, the settlers would have had to bid in the

market for produce to hand over to the authorities - and that could push the price up to an unsustainable level. Of course, the proposed change would be otherwise advantageous to the settlers (and correctly so), in that their obligation would be fixed in money, and not subject to the unsettling effect which would have resulted under the Government system if prices rose sharply.

Life on 'Duninald'

While William would have been kept busy with the farm, Maria would have been fully occupied in her probably unaccustomed role as a farmer's wife in this strange, new country, so distant from even the rudimentary civilisation being slowly established in Sydney. Apart from her responsibilities as a mother, Maria would have been household manager, and no doubt would have helped in some small way outside, where possible. The area was virtually empty of other Europeans, apart from their own workforce, and they were mostly convicts. The country around the Paterson River would have had no more than about twenty farming families in the years up to 1830. The village of Paterson was not established until 1833. Like so many of Australia's pioneers, Maria must have had a special courage.

Prior to 1831, land transport was slow and difficult between Newcastle and the Hunter Valley settlements, often requiring dangerous river crossings. In 1831, steamships were introduced to the Hunter, and in the following year, a regular service ran between Sydney and Maitland, and later to Paterson.

During the first seven years of their occupation of 'Duninald', Maria bore an additional four children, two boys and two girls, and later there were five more children, three boys and two girls, bringing the total off-spring of William and Maria to eleven. Their first son was Charles Allan, born on 8 September, 1823, and he was to marry Zorayda Anne Bedwell in 1857 - they became my great-grandparents.

All but three of those children lived to old age, but the youngest (and the earliest) to die was a baby, Margaret Adria, who died on 30 December, 1830, aged only twelve months and one day. She was buried on a small rise, not too far from the house, beyond the lagoon. It is said that one of the female staff died at the same time, and was also buried there. If so, she may have been Hannah Jones, who came with the family from London of her own accord, and is referred to later in regard to the Census. The inscription on what remains of a tombstone at the spot is now unfortunately indecipherable.



Land and Convict Labour

Since the allowable level for land grants was greater than had been given to William, he had sought an extra amount in the year following his arrival in Sydney. This was agreed to, and in a letter dated 18 January, 1823, Colonial Secretary Goulburn, on behalf of Governor Brisbane, wrote to William acceding to his request for the extension of his grant from 1,200 to 2,000 acres. His letter said that the extra was granted, after taking into consideration the improvement which William had made to the ground now occupied, and also the favourable report on the manner in which William was performing the duties of divine service to convicts in the district.¹³

It should be pointed out here that William did not apply for the land as a reward for the carrying-out of those divine services; apparently, in considering whether to allow extra land, the Governor had sought a report, probably from Major Morisset, regarding William's performance as a settler. Much more is to be said about that extra land in this story, but it will be a good time now to refer to the circumstances of the divine services mentioned.

Years later, on 15 March, 1832, William had the need to refer to those services in a letter to Governor Bourke.¹⁴ The reason for that letter will be covered later when more is said about the extra land, but since so much has been written in various articles about those services, it is as well to consider William's own explanation in that letter which was written about nine years after the extra land had been allowed. He then explained that when Newcastle was a penal settlement, Major Morisset had requested that, on Sundays, William should collect the prisoner settlers and others, together with men from the cedar parties, and to conduct divine service for them at a place about five miles from 'Duninald'; and William did this for about two years.

It would be reasonable to assume that those services were conducted close to the river, on the same side as 'Duninald', and five miles from that property in the direction of the greater area of settlement, which would be towards Maitland - in other words, they were probably conducted at or near the present site of Woodville.

With reference to the cedar cutters, Robert Hughes (in 'The Fatal Shore') pointed out that by 1821, the economy of Newcastle depended upon timber rather than coal. Cedar was the monopoly of the government, and most prisoners were employed in obtaining the cedar. As they used up the nearby stands, the gangs had to go very long distances upstream to reach the large trees. Gangs numbering about thirty, with guards from the military, would be absent for a month or even more, and they would eventually float back to Newcastle on a raft made from the logs, usually numbering at least one hundred or more.¹⁵

Apart from the difficulties and dangers of a distant location in a strange land, and not forgetting the fluctuating fortunes of any farmer, their prosperity in those years

depended on the availability and the efficient usage of cheap labour in the form of convicts. It would have been very important to know how to deal with those labourers, and so encourage them to do a worthwhile job. In his great book, 'The Fatal Shore', Robert Hughes said that "a contented convict plainly worked better than a hungry, rebellious one." He then referred to James Macarthur who clearly stated the position when giving evidence in 1837 before the Select Committee on Transportation. Macarthur considered it best if a man could be made to forget that he was a convict, and said that "the right stance is balanced paternalism kindness, firmness and distance."¹⁶

From the little evidence which is available, it seems that William Dun had tried to deal with the convicts assigned to him in that way. He was obviously a person who cared, but he was also one who believed that things should be done correctly. His attachment to his workers can be gauged from a letter which he wrote on 12 April, 1823, to Major Goulburn, in which he requested that he be allowed to retain those prisoners who were in his employ, rather than have them transferred to Port Macquarie, as was apparently about to happen.¹⁷ Again, many years later, in 1844, William showed his understanding in respect of a prior employee when he was called to give evidence in a court case involving a charge of stealing at Paterson; James Ireland was indicted for stealing cattle which was the property of Mary McIntyre. William's evidence related to possible actions of a Patrick Good, then deceased. He had been in William's service for ten years, being appointed as overseer after twelve months. Although he had left William's service about ten or eleven years previously, William was able to say that certain signatures on receipts were not like Good's handwriting, although unfortunately, he could not swear that none of them were in his writing.¹⁸

In that same year, the village of King's Town (Newcastle) was designed and laid out, and fee-simple of the village areas became available on certain conditions, including a requirement that the property be held initially on lease for twenty-one years subject to a small, annual ground rent, and if a house of £1,000 value was built on the allotment, fee-simple would be granted. William wrote to Major Goulburn on 15 October, 1823, seeking a town allotment "in the town of Newcastle," and his name appears in a list of such allotments "in the Town of King's Town, District of Newcastle" which was signed by Henry Dangar in August, 1827.¹⁹ William's allotment number was 100, and it adjoined the market place shown on Dangar's plan. In modern Newcastle, that area now seems to be a parking station (what's new?) in Newcomen Street, between King and Church Streets.

In 1825, New South Wales had a new Governor, Ralph Darling, whose six years of office were to be looked upon by many with displeasure. Although there is no direct reference, it seems likely that William Dun found that the period of Darling's term brought that added burden which turned a life of difficulty (yet with the promise of potential prosperity), into one of increasing financial strain.

Quoting from A.G.L. Shaw's *Heroes and Villains in History - Governors Darling and Bourke in New South Wales*, "Darling, like Arthur in Van Diemen's Land, wanted a strong executive, and as a governor of a penal colony, he was possibly right."²⁰ But, there were many who disagreed, and they found strong and capable supporters in the free press. Even though freedom of the press, in the peculiar circumstances in the colony, was dangerous, men like W.C. Wentworth, E.S. Hall and A. E. Hayes spoke out strongly, and Chief Justice Forbes was a powerful antagonist of Darling.

The case of Privates Sudds and Thompson in 1826 (especially with the early death of Sudds), inflamed the situation, although it did not

really involve the particular principles in question. But, Darling himself worsened the growing resentment by attempting to stifle criticism with the introduction of a newspaper license scheme and a related tax, and in addition, there were a number of libel charges initiated by Darling against editors and writers, in some cases leading to imprisonment.

In 1831, Darling was recalled, and when he sailed from Sydney, there was a huge celebration which was arranged by Wentworth at Vacluse.

Although William was to suffer two losses from fire, one of which was due to the malicious action of at least one of his assigned labourers, his main set-back resulted from what seemed to have been seen by Governor Darling as the illegal sale of his 'order' for the extra land, and that sale was to none other than Henry Dangar, the Government surveyor. On 28 February, 1827, it was claimed that William illegally sold his claim to the additional land.²¹ It seems that Governor Darling took the attitude that William should have retained that land for five years before dealing with it, whereas William apparently believed that it was given without the restrictions of a normal land grant. Accordingly, because his financial position was deteriorating at the time, he sold his right to the land. Probably the piece of land was allowed to remain with the buyer, but the Governor demanded that William pay the amount received to the Crown, plus interest for the period concerned.

The new liberal governor in 1831, Richard Bourke, adopted policies which differed from those of Darling, and he made reforms which pleased the Emancipists, including a reduction in the power of the landowners over their assigned labour.

However, by 1833, the 'Sydney Herald' commented: "We believe it is generally admitted as an established truth, that a large portion of the prison population of this Country, has manifested of late, a spirit of insubordination, in several districts"²² In fact, the Castle Forbes incident in the Upper Hunter had involved a convict revolt, said to have been caused by the harsh treatment of his assigned labourers by James Mudie. According to the *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* of September, 1978, in an article by Sandra J. Blair, "the Castle Forbes incident was seen by the colonists as part of a larger controversy between the Emancipists, in general the ex-convict and native born of the colony, and the wealthy immigrants who had arrived in the colony during the 1820s."²³

William decided to put his case for fire compensation to Governor Bourke. Whatever information is available regarding that matter may be found in correspondence between William and Governor Bourke in 1832, and from the Governor to Viscount Goderich in London, which was acknowledged by the Rt. Hon. E. G. Stanley. On 15 February, 1832, in his letter to the Governor, William referred to an earlier letter of his, and a recent personal communication concerning the loss of his barn, implements and produce, by fire, worth about £1,100, as a result of malicious action. He mentioned his being resident in the colony for over ten years, the high cost for the education of his six children, and the cost of providing for an establishment of forty-five persons. He explained that five of his labourers had been committed for trial in regard to the fire (actually one was convicted), and William stated that although those men had been difficult to handle, he had persisted in his efforts to train them so that they might become useful citizens. He said that his task could have been eased if he had simply returned them to Government employ. He attached certificates in support of his request from five of his acquaintances (mainly fellow settlers), and asked if the Governor would refer his request for compensation to England, if it was beyond local authority.²⁴

In one of the certificates provided to the Governor by William Dun, his neighbour, James Webber, after agreeing with William's statements in his letter, added (in effect) that malicious burning of property had increased as lazy men sought to encourage the landowners to return them to the employ of the government, apparently where their work would be easier.

William spoke to the Governor again in March, this time about the loss of his extra land, and he wrote the next day, on the 15th, confirming the conversation, and attaching a copy of Goulburn's earlier letter of 18 January, 1823, which had extended his land by the extra 800 acres. In explanation of his sale of that additional acreage, William pointed out that he did not understand that the initial conditions of grant also applied to it, since it appeared to be given as a reward for services rendered. He told of the financial loss as a result of an even earlier fire, during his absence from the property, which destroyed his barn and the maize crop which it had contained - that fire occurred in 1826, three years after the extra land was arranged, and was the result of the carelessness of pipe smokers. Accordingly, as he then had overdue debts, he sold the land thinking that it did not come under the normal regulations. William pointed out that the previous Governor (Darling) had learned of the sale years later, and had insisted that he repay the money with interest. William explained that if he had known of the restriction, he would have had no trouble in raising a mortgage loan, or using some other method to repay the debt at that time. He asked Governor Bourke to recommend his claim (i.e. that 800 acres or similar be returned to him) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.²⁵

The Governor passed on the details of both claims, but without any recommendation, and the reply which came from E. G. Stanley dealt only with the fire damage compensation - the answer was that all settlers share such risks, the compensation for which is the availability of the man's labour. There could not be any Government indemnification. But, (in his kindly fashion!!), Stanley recommended that the Governor

could recognise Mr. Dun's attentiveness by giving him preference with convicts over other applicants, who were less careful in regard to the habits of their convicts.²⁶ In other words, he may have been suggesting that the Governor should give William the opportunity to discipline and to train more difficult men, and so save the authorities from the task!

I can't help thinking that a good lawyer could have reversed the demand by Darling for repayment of the proceeds of the land sale. The official letter acceding to the request for the additional land did not refer to the restrictive conditions of the original grant, and there also seems to be some uncertainty whether the additional acreage was actually 800, or only 700, which would have taken the total from the measured 1,300 initially to the 2,000 maximum. Maybe, at the worst, William would have had to pay over the proceeds of the sale of only 700 acres, leaving the further 100 acres for later argument.

The fire loss, added to the tough decision by Darling that William should pay back the proceeds of the land sale, coming as it did at a time when drought and flood had ravaged the Hunter valley, was sufficient to put William in a most difficult financial situation, from which he did not recover. But, we are getting ahead of ourselves - it was in the 1840s that the real trouble became evident. Well before that, something should be said about William's public appointment, and other activities, in addition to an outline of what is disclosed in the 1828 Census report.

In 1825, William was appointed as Coroner at Paterson, at an annual salary of £40; that appointment was renewed over a period of years, and in his obituary in 1876, it was stated that he had held the appointment for twenty years. He subscribed to Busby's 'A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine' in 1825,²⁷ and he was one of only eleven subscribers to the 'British Farmers' Magazine' in 1827.²⁸ In 1828, he was a member of the Agricultural Society,²⁹ and in 1829, he was appointed as a Justice of the Peace.³⁰ Other public activities included signing of petitions, one of which was in support of the action against the Summary Punishment law in 1833/4,³¹ and joining in a declaration regarding the validity of town leases in 1835.³²

III More Mouths to Feed

The Family Grows - also the Work-force

Although William had referred to a total establishment of forty-five persons in his letter of 15 February, 1832,¹ including the family, that total was only twenty-four at the time of the Census in 1828, and there was only one extra living child in the meantime. That would indicate that the work-force had increased by twenty in four years - which would mean that it had more than doubled. It could be expected that the labour requirement would increase as more land was being cleared, and additional crops planted, but, although William is recorded as having applied for extra assigned servants in 1829, it is unlikely that he could have economically made use of so many - even though it was then that Darling was making more labour available. Could William have exaggerated a little in his letter to the Governor?

The 1828 Census shows considerable detail concerning the inhabitants of the colony at that time. For 'Duninald', the entries show William and Maria, and each of the five young children, together with a work-force of seventeen, comprising:

- 3 females (a housekeeper and two servants), and
- 14 males (including an overseer, eleven labourers, a milkman and a stock-keeper).

(Of those in the work-force, only one 'came free' to the colony, namely Hannah Jones, the house-keeper, then fifty-six years of age. She came to the colony in 1821 on 'Mariner', the same vessel which brought William and the family. It can be reasonably assumed that Hannah Jones was working for Maria in London, before they moved to New South Wales.)

It is interesting to read the manner in which the names of the children were recorded, seemingly using 'nick-names' in some cases, while second Christian names were not used as such. For instance, Frances was shown as 'Fanny', Maria (whose full name was Maria Arkley) was shown as Markley, while the baby at the time, William Frederick (just about 18 months old) was recorded as W.F. One can just imagine the census taker calling out, as he was writing: "Are there any others?", and Maria might reply: "Don't

forget the two youngest, Markley and W.F." - and so they were recorded for history. Of the fourteen males in the work-force, ten were serving a seven-year sentence, while four were lifers; most of them came out between 1825 and 1828, but two of those sentenced to life had arrived in New South Wales in 1816 and 1817. In regard to their ages at the time of the census, nine were aged 30 or less (including one female servant at 20, and a male labourer of 17), and the other eight were spread more-or-less evenly over the ages from 32 to 56. Of the males, nine were of the Catholic religion, one of whom was P. Good (one of the lifers), and William appointed him as overseer, as referred to earlier.

In addition to the details of the inhabitants, the census gives data concerning the farm as follows:

Total acres	1,130 (it is not shown how that figure reconciles with the acreage which was granted)
Cleared (acres)	170
Cultivated	120
Horses	1
Horned cattle	120
Sheep	160

No information is available regarding the type of crops grown on 'Duninald' in those early years, but there are various references elsewhere to a wide variety in the Paterson River area, including maize, oats, tobacco, grapes and wheat, and even hops with some attempt at cotton; in addition, there would be a range of fruit and vegetables. It could have been expected that William would have tried many of those. In addition, they would have made their own cheese, butter and possibly beer.

During the 1830s, four more children were born, the first of those, Margaret Adria dying, sadly, as a baby, as mentioned previously. The others were Seaton Henderson (born in 1832), Clara Eliza in 1834 and Henry Percy in 1837.

Seaton grew up at Paterson, and then moved to Queensland where he managed stations, married and, with his wife, raised their children. Maria Arkley married George Faircloth from Ipswich in 1847, and they, like others of the family, were to go to Ipswich, but that was much later. Clara married Henry Hassell, also of Ipswich, Queensland, in 1857, after which they moved to Queensland to live, and rear their family. Henry Percy also made his home in Queensland, in Dalby, west of Toowoomba, where on 11 February, 1871, he married Kate McMahon. Sadly, after five children were born, two dying very young, Kate herself died on 15 November, 1883. Then, on 27 May, 1885, Henry Percy re-married, to Margaret Edith (Daisy) Cutten. More will be said about those families later.

Hard Times, but Life Goes On

The 1830s were difficult for William as a farmer, especially remembering the drought and flood just before and after the start of the decade, and of course, the fires and the land debacle, but nevertheless, the worst was to come. In Mitchell's 'Hunter's River', the next decade was referred to as 'the hungry forties.'² A serious drought saw the Paterson River dry up in 1843, which ruined many people, and there was a general financial slump over the whole of the colony, but not from drought alone. With the availability of fewer convicts, labour became dearer, while stock prices and the price of wool all fell. Keeping in the spirit of the thing, banks raised interest rates, and money became scarce. After 1843, the improvement was only slow, until prosperity returned with the finding of gold in the 1850s.

Meanwhile, many good people had 'gone to the wall', and of course, many lucky people had reaped the advantage of buying-in at the bottom of the cycle. William was one of the unlucky ones - he had pioneered too early!

With the phasing-out of convict transportation, and thus the drying-up of the cheap labour, the authorities introduced a 'bounty' system to encourage able-bodied couples to migrate; many took advantage of the scheme, and many others came anyway, but there were not enough. The last convict transport reached Sydney in November, 1840.

But, life went on, despite the growing clouds during the 30s. In 1836, according to 'A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies' by J. Backhouse, referred to further below, it says:

.... we reached a little settlement called Paterson, consisting of a few houses, on a river of the same name, and were kindly entertained by a settler whom I had met in London, and at whose house, we had a meeting with such persons as could be assembled to receive our gospel message. Our friend here had brought with him a good library ... but emigrants are not generally a reading people, their rural pursuits occupying most of their time and energy.³

Previously, it had been reported that two Quakers, James Backhouse and G. W. Walker, had arrived in Hobart in February, 1832, where they soon held the first Australian meeting of the Society of Friends.

I like to think that William was the settler concerned at Paterson, and one can, in any case, be almost certain that he would have been one of the assembly, on that occasion. Although he was not of their particular faith, his own beliefs would have provided sufficient common ground with theirs, to take him to the meeting, even if it was not held at 'Duninald'.

Frederick Dun (that would be William Frederick, or W.F. of the Census) was apparently sent to school in Sydney, and in December, 1840, when he would have been thirteen, he received the prize for history at the Normal Institution, in Sydney.⁴

In 1840, William signed a petition seeking an order for a public enquiry concerning the districts of Hinton and Bowthorne, although the details of the particular problem which led to the petition have not been readily ascertainable.⁵

But there was a much more important happening on 22 September, 1840, when the second oldest girl, Catherine Hammond, married Richard Scougall of 'Dalziel', Hunter's River, at St. Paul's Church, Paterson. The Scougall family will be referred to later.

In 1841, William was a member of the Paterson Committee to correspond with other districts in connection with the distress caused by the importation of foreign grain and flour.⁶ There is no doubt that history repeats itself, and also, that those who do not learn from history will be condemned to make the same mistakes again - as we in Australia seem to be doing at this time.

In 1843, the system went into action, and William was found to be insolvent; in a notice in the 'Sydney Morning Herald' of 19 April, he was shown as having debts of £7,173 and Personal Property of £1,709, resulting in a deficit of £5,463, in round figures. The value of the 'Duninald' property (then as low as £2,000) was not included as it was already mortgaged to Felix Wilson of Sydney for an amount of £3,760, being a loan of £3,000 plus accumulated interest.⁷ The 'Duninald' property was eventually purchased from William Dun many years later (in 1860) by Charles Reynolds, so it may be assumed that there was no foreclosure during the period of the 1840s insolvency, and that may have been due to the assistance of Charles Reynolds to retain the property in the Dun family for the time. This will be mentioned again later.

It is of interest to note that, during the investigation in relation to William Dun's insolvency, he stated that in mid-1841, he considered that the value of his 'landed property' was £1,500 over the amount of the mortgage, apparently of £3,000. Seemingly, the value of 'Duninald' fell from £4,500 to only £2,000 during a period of three years in that economic set-back which affected the whole of the colony.

A Trustee was appointed in June of 1843, and in August there was a meeting of creditors; earlier meetings had been held in April and May. Information is not held regarding the way in which the matter was resolved, but on 21 February, 1844, William had applied for a Certificate of Discharge without any opposition, and it was granted on 9 May, 1844.

From the evidence during the enquiry, it appeared that William had recently purchased a property ('Juan Juan') on the Darling Downs from Richard Scougall, possibly following the investigations of that area by Richard, his son-in-law; much of William's livestock at the time of his insolvency was on the Darling Downs, with some also at the Namoi River. Williams's insolvency accounts show that he had suffered bad debts of £2,440, very largely from the trustees of a deceased estate in Sydney, and with a much smaller amount from the insolvent estate of Richard Scougall, who had, along with many others, also fallen on bad times in the 1840s, as will be referred to again later. In fact, from the

evidence given at the enquiry into William's insolvency, there were apparently a variety of transactions between William and Richard at about that time, with small, outstanding, and largely offsetting, accounts between them. The evidence seems to suggest that they were assisting each other during those difficult economic times.

In his statement to the enquiry, William told of some transactions in relation to the property on the Darling Downs with which both Richard Scougall and Thomas Burdekin were also involved, and it was Burdekin who seemed to have taken the eventual legal action which led to the declaration of William's insolvency. Burdekin was also called to the enquiry to explain his connection with William Dun and Richard Scougall, and its relevance to the insolvency.

Interestingly, the various lists of applicants for discharges from bankruptcy were printed in the 'Sydney Morning Herald', and when William's name first appeared on 12 February, 1844, it was one of over one hundred applicants during January and very early February.⁸ Less than one month later, the similar list was considerably larger.

In July, 1844, William was shown in the Government Gazette as one of the trustees of the Presbyterian Church at Paterson, in relation to title deeds of land.⁹ It would seem unlikely that he would have continued in that position if the insolvency had not been satisfactorily resolved.

There is a story around which blames the financial problems of William Dun on his alleged pre-occupation with 'roses and garden beautification' at the expense of his farm management - there seems to be no evidence for such a rumour, and considering the genuine misfortunes already mentioned, and the very, many settlers who were similarly suffering as a result of the economic down-turn, such a tale is probably no more than gossip.

Press reports in 1842 indicate that 'Mr. Dun, wife and child' departed from Sydney for London on the barque 'Anne' on 15 July of that year. They travelled in steerage.¹⁰ Would it be likely that the report would refer to William, Maria and one child, maybe returning to Britain to seek financial aid? Firstly, at that time, they had three children still aged ten years and under, the youngest being aged about five. But, on the other hand, Frances was then aged twenty-four and not married, and she could easily have cared for the other young children, with the help of her teen-age sister, Maria, and whatever servants remained. However, with the economy in a poor condition, especially farming, and William's finances and investment affairs at a low ebb, would the time have been opportune for such a visit? Actually, just because of the financial problem, it may have been a perfect time for William to return to England with the intention of raising funds from within the family; and, he may have gone with the blessing of his major creditors, agreeing to return reasonably quickly. However, the estate of William Dun was placed under sequestration on 17 April, 1843, just nine months after the departure of the barque 'Anne', which would have allowed insufficient time for the return journey, and whatever negotiations would be needed in Britain. It was unlikely that the travellers were William, Maria and a child.

In any case, the year 1844 was to be an important one, for other reasons, mainly because it was in that year, on 31 August, that Frances married Charles Reynolds, who, with Frances, was to have such an influential part in the future of 'Duninald'. Charles was one of the sons of Sir Thomas Reynolds of Devonshire. In 1840, Charles and his brother, Richard, arrived in New South Wales, and leased 'Mooki Springs' on the Liverpool Plains; however, they suffered losses in the first few years due to the drought and the economic down-turn. Charles had sufficient capital to move to Louth Park, Maitland, where he farmed and concentrated on stock-breeding, with success. This allowed him to lease 'Tocal', where he kept sheep and blood horses. It was then that he met Frances, whose father, William, had 'Duninald', which was across the river from 'Tocal'. Charles and Frances will be mentioned again later.

At that time, Charles Allan, the eldest of William's sons, was approaching the age of twenty-one, and a press report of the time probably refers to him. In the 'Sydney Morning Herald' of 18 July, 1844, it stated that on Monday, the 15th, five horses were in a race along New Town Road (Sydney) for one mile, for the prize of a new English saddle. They included Mr. Thomas Shaw's black, which was ridden by C. Dun, who ran second by about one length.¹¹ That may not have been Charles, but let's say it was. At his age then, it would not be surprising if he would undertake such a challenge.

At about this time, William and Maria were starting to accumulate grand-children, but at the same time, they were still adding children of their own. In 1843, Robert Seaton was born, and in 1849, they had their last child, Lucy; the year of Lucy's birth can be estimated only from the information shown regarding her age at the times of the deaths of William and Maria. If Lucy was born in 1849, William would then have been aged 60 and Maria would probably have been about 49 years of age.

It is unfortunate that the main Australian gold finds did not commence a few years earlier, as that may have saved the life of William's son, William Frederick. He was apparently attracted by the reports of the gold strikes in California, and went to America to try his luck. He sailed from Sydney on the ship 'Fanny' on 16 April, 1849 - refer 'Rags to Riches' Volume 1, compiled by Pamela Sheldon.¹² He did not remain in California for very long, leaving San Francisco on his return trip by the ship 'Flavius' under Captain W. J. Rogers in December, 1849. They arrived in Honolulu on 2 January, 1850, after a voyage of twenty-four days. Interestingly, on 1 January, 1970, almost exactly 120 years after Frederick arrived in Hawaii, I was carried off a cruise ship in Hawaii, and taken to hospital, seriously ill; fortunately for me, I recovered. Frederick was probably due to leave that ship in Honolulu, and to return to Sydney by another vessel. 'Flavius' did not sail on to Sydney. However, Frederick became ill (or was ill on arrival), and died at the U.S. Hospital in Honolulu on 28 January, 1850. He was buried in the Ohau Cemetery, where his grave is still recorded, and maintained. A small tombstone was placed at the grave site a few years ago.¹³

According to the Death Notices of 1 February 1850 in 'The Friend', a newspaper for seaman which was published in Honolulu, two (or maybe three) men died who had arrived on the 'Flavius', including Frederick William Dun; the first died within a few days of disembarkation, and Frederick near the month end.¹⁴


The first Christian missionaries had arrived in Hawaii only in March, 1820. By 1850, Hawaii had made little progress towards civilisation as we know it. Their peoples, unfortunately, were still being greatly affected by foreign diseases brought in by ship, and their Queen Emma was so concerned that she arranged for a large modern hospital to be built; its cornerstone was laid at a special ceremony in December, 1860 - ten years after the death of Frederick.

It had not been until the end of 1848 that the news of the gold rush in California had reached Australia, but before two years were up, many of the 'forty-niners' were already disillusioned, and were on their way home. Frederick would have been in one of those groups.

During the 1850's, there were more grand-children, and two more marriages, both in 1857. The earliest of those marriages took place on 8 July at St. Paul's, when Clara Eliza married Henry Vyvyan Hassell from Ipswich, Queensland. After Catherine Hammond had married Richard Scougall in 1840, Richard purchased Jimbour Station just west of Dalby in Queensland,¹⁵ and there is a possibility that it was that association which led over time to the various later moves in that direction. In any case, the Hassell couple appear to have made their home in Ipswich. The other marriage was that of William and Maria's eldest son, Charles Allan (then aged 34), who married Zorayda Anne Bedwell, the daughter of Frederick and Susannah Matilda Bedwell, both by then deceased. Zorayda was 21 when she married. Their first two children were born at Paterson, but they then moved to Queensland, also, and lived initially at Ipswich. Another five children were born there (one being Percy Vivian, my grand-father, who was born in 1862). Then, in about 1872, Charles and Zorayda, with their children, became pioneer settlers near Lake Cootharaba just north of Tewantin, near Noosa in south-east Queensland. Further detail will be given later in the story.

Before the end of the 1850 s, William was aged in his early 70 s, and although there is no information concerning any health problem, he would certainly be ready to give up the work and worry of the land. By 1860, apart from Frances who by then was probably living at 'Tocal', and her brother, Charles, who apparently remained at 'Duninald' to assist his father with the work, and the two youngest, Robert Seaton aged 17 and Lucy just 11 years old, all of the remaining family seemed to be already in Queensland. Two of the unmarried sons at that time, Seaton Henderson (28) and Henry Percy (23) would probably have moved up seeking work, attracted by the stories of the opportunities in that new State, which obtained separation in 1859.

End of an Era

 It was in 1860 that Charles Reynolds bought 'Duninald' from William Dun, his father-in-law, for £4,000. There is a story that he purchased the property for the sake of his wife, Frances, and that may well be so, but in any case, it was a good buy, and

some of the area has remained in the family to this day. Another part of the story says that the property was nearly lost as a result of foreclosure, but that Charles Reynolds found out in time to hurry to Newcastle, where he paid out the mortgage. That seems unlikely in 1860, because it was almost twenty years earlier when William had been having cash flow problems during his insolvency. However, there is the distinct possibility that, in 1843, Charles Reynolds paid the portion of the amount which was then due on the mortgage (as a loan to William, the father of his fiancée, Frances), and so kept the property out of the hands of Felix Wilson (the mortgagee) who by then was the owner (with his father) of the Tocal estate across the river. Charles would realise that the drop in the value of 'Duninald' would be only temporary, and that the coming economic upturn would again make the property profitable.

Possibly, by 1860, Charles had hoped to buy 'Tocal' eventually, and having 'Duninald' across the river would have provided a convenient combination; of course, we now know that the lease of 'Tocal' continued for sixty-three years, before son Frank Reynolds finally bought the property in 1907, after both parents had died.

After the purchase of 'Duninald' in 1860, Charles built a new house not far from the original home, and although they continued to live at 'Tocal', one of their sons occupied the new 'Duninald' house; it was built in two stages; first (in 1877 according to Sidney Reynolds), there was a thirteen-room structure from sandstock brick; that was followed by the second stage in 1890, built in Flemish bond, at right angles to the earlier section¹⁶. Today, that house has National Trust listing, and is known as 'Duninald', while the old house which remains, bound securely within its history and the love of so many people over the years, is affectionately called 'Old Duninald.'

It appears that there was no immediate move of the remaining Dun family from 'Duninald' following the sale in 1860, although Charles, Zorayda and their two children moved to Ipswich in 1862. Charles had declared himself insolvent in 1860, and although his debts were no more than £260 (including a promissory note for £100 held by Charles Reynolds), his assets consisted of only the household goods (listed in detail), worth £50. Soon after the original declaration of insolvency in September 1860, which listed a number of small creditors, apart from Charles Reynolds, there was a revised list of claims against the estate which was by then almost entirely a claim by Charles Reynolds amounting to £250; it is possible that Charles Reynolds paid off the various smaller creditors, in return for an additional note from Charles Dun. There is no available evidence of any enquiry into the cause of the insolvency, but that may have been dispensed with at the request of Charles Reynolds, not wishing to further embarrass his brother-in-law. It seems though that the insolvency was not officially finalised until many years later, when in 1873 there was a document issued in the Supreme Court of New South Wales showing an apparently final distribution of just seven shillings and three pence, with that amount going to the Official Assignee.¹⁷

William, Maria and their remaining family would have continued to live in the original house, and it may have been arranged that they could stay indefinitely. However, there was another sadness in 1864 when young Robert Seaton died aged only 21 - he was buried at St. Paul's.

By then, Charles Dun was established in Ipswich, and it is likely that William and Maria decided that the time had come to leave Paterson. They would be saddened at leaving their home of over forty years, and the area of focus of such hopes and effort, but they would realise that the property was in good hands, including those of their eldest daughter, Frances, now a woman of strength and maturity, who, as a child, had sailed with them from London so many years ago.

William and Maria (probably with daughter Lucy), lived in Ipswich for from twelve to fourteen years, during which time many of their descendants would be not far distant. For about eight of those years, Charles and Zorayda and their growing family lived in Thorne Street, and would have been in close contact; by the time that Charles took the family to Lake Cootharaba, they had seven children, who no doubt had given the grand-parents much pleasure watching them develop. Others in Ipswich were their daughters, Maria and Clara, with their husbands and children, while the other sons, Seaton and Henry would be working to establish themselves on the land in south-west Queensland.

After managing Franklyn Station near Grandchester for many years, following periods in charge of Colinton and Redbank (Burnett district) Stations, Seaton Henderson Dun purchased the leasehold from his brother, Charles, of the property near Lake Cootharaba, in 1881. Seaton died in Brisbane only six years later, aged fifty-four, survived by his wife and children.¹⁸ Unfortunately, no other information is available at this time in regard to Seaton's family. Henry took up land near Dalby, and was the forerunner of a large and successful family group, whose descendants are still in the district. More will be said later about the Dalby Duns.

On 22 June, 1876, William died at his residence at Denmark Hill, Ipswich. He was aged 86 years, although his obituary shows his age at 88. He had been confined to his bed for sixteen months before death due to paralysis, but his mind had been unaffected.¹⁹ In his life, he had not tried to be outstanding, but he cared for others, and was one of those solid citizens upon whom great improvements are based; although he would probably not have agreed, he was one of those members of society whose patient efforts take us all on to success.

Maria then passed away two years later, on 28 June, 1878, also at Denmark Hill.²⁰ Like her husband, Maria had led a life of quiet achievement and courage, and they left behind a family in whom they could be justifiably proud.

FAMILY OF CHARLES REYNOLDS AND FRANCES SEATON

CHARLES REYNOLDS married 31 Aug 1844 FRANCES SEATON DUN

Born	1806	England	Born	1818	England
Died	15 Sep 1871	Total, N.S.W.	Died	13 Oct 1900	Total, N.S.W.

EDMUND Died young

Born 1845
Died 3 Mar 1847

FRANK ... marr. 1871 ...

Born 1848
Died 1 Nov 1920 Sydney N.S.W

JEANETTE RENS CORY

Born 1848
Died 4 Jan 1938

SIDNEY ... marr. 1876 ...

Born 1851
Died 3 Aug 1925 Duninald, N.S.W.

FRANCES EALES

Born
Died 24 Dec 1908

EMILY ... marr. 1882 ...

Born 1854
Died 1931

HENRY LESLIE MCDUGALL

Born
Died

PERCY ... marr. 1884 ...

Born 1858
Died 1952

MARGARET L. MAUGHAN

Born
Died

WALTER ... marr. 1878 ... (1) MARGARET M. NOLLER
marr. 1885 ... (2) ALICE M. EALES

Born	1860	(1) Born	; Died
Died	1943	(2) Born	; Died

FAMILY OF GEORGE FAIRCLOTH AND MARIA ARKLEY

GEORGE FAIRCLOTH married 28 Jul 1847 **MARIA ARKLEY DUN**

Born 7 Jul 1814 Middlesex England	Born 1825 Paterson NSW.
Died 5 Jun 1889 Bundaberg Q'ld.	Died 1 Jul 1907 Bundaberg Q'ld.

AGNES CONELL

Born 8 Nov 1851 East Maitland NSW
 Died 17 Apr 1893

GEORGE WILLIAM BURDETT ... Died young

Born 25 Jan 1854 Ipswich Q'ld.
 Died 1854 Ipswich Q'ld.

CHARLES HENRY MORETON .. marr. 25 Aug 1877 .. **SEMONA SMITH**

Born 1855 Ipswich Q'ld.	Born 1858
Died 17 Mar 1932 Gympie Q'ld.	Died 11 Apr 1935

MARIA ELISE

Born 1 Jan 1858 Ipswich Q'ld.
 Died 18 Aug 1941 Bundaberg Q'ld.

EDITH ELIZABETH ... Died young

Born 19 Sep 1860 Ipswich Q'ld.
 Died 25 Mar 1861 Ipswich Q'ld.

SIDNEY CLARENCE ... Died young

Born 11 Jun 1864
 Died 8 Jul 1864 Ipswich Q'ld.

SEATON JOHN .. marr. 16 Apr 1902 .. **MARIA EDITH WYNTER**

Born 12 Jun 1865	Born 1879
Died 1931	Died 1963

FREDERICK HERBERT .. marr. 1899 .. **MARY WALKER**

Born 16 Jun 1870	Born
Died 8 Jul 1925 Bundaberg	Died

FAMILIES OF HENRY PERCY DUN AND (1) KATE ELIZABETH
(2) MARGARET EDITH

HENRY PERCY DUN .. married (1) 11 Feb 1871 .. KATE ELIZABETH MOYAHON

Born 18 May 1837 Paterson NSW	Born c. 1847 Clare Ireland
Died 1914 Dalby Q'ld.	Died 15 Nov 1883 Q'ld.

MARIA MADELAINE ... marr.1892 ... THOMAS MCINNERNEY

Born 20 Dec 1871	Born 1863
Died 19 Nov 1948	Died 27 Oct 1933

LUCY ETHEL ... marr. 6 Jul 1910 ... KINGSTON SYDNEY FALKINER

Born 16 Jul 1875	Born c. 1878
Died 1954	Died c. 1928

HENRY PERCY ... marr. 27 Mar 1912 ... CHARLOTTE MARY JANE BRISKEY

Born 12 Oct 1878	Born 17 Jul 1893
Died 1 Nov 1969	Died 16 Jul 1978

(Two children died as babies: Kate in 1882 and Charles Herbert in 1883)

Refer .. married (2) 27 May 1885 ..MARGARET EDITH CUTTEN

separate details of Cutten family	Born 23 Dec 1860 England
	Died 13 Jul 1943 Dalby Q'ld.

LEONARD FREDERICK ... marr. 30 May 1911 .. MARY HELENA CALLAGHAN
(2nd marr. 2 Jan 1958 to Herbert Kenneth Alexander)

Born 10 Oct 1886	Born 30 Nov 1890
Died 14 Nov 1949	Died 2 Dec 1963

SEATON VYVYAN ... marr. 25 Oct 1913 .. PHOEBE GENTNER

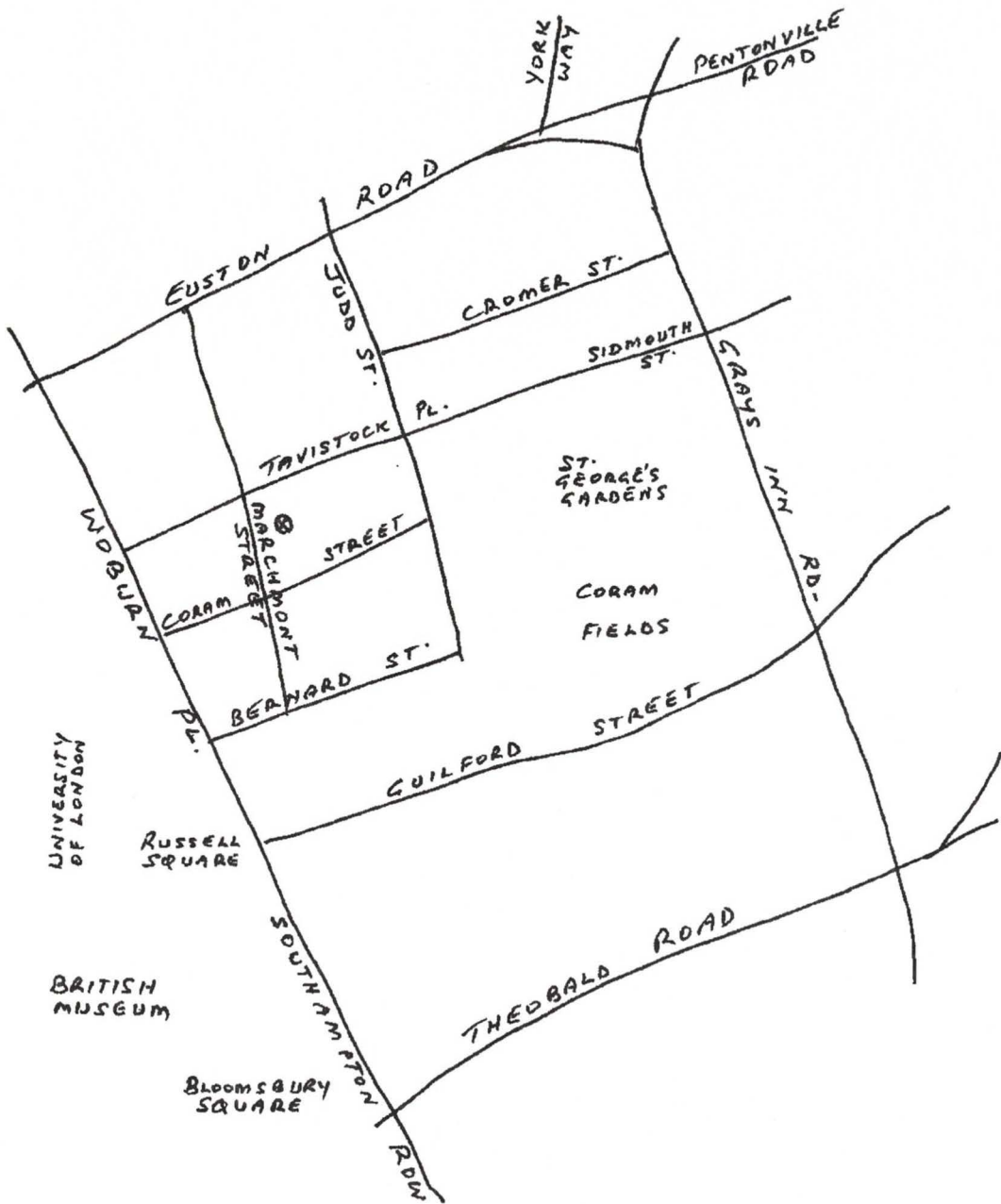
Born 5 Jan 1888	Born 14 Apr 1893
Died 4 Mar 1948	Died 15 Oct 1979

RONALD SYDNEY Died young

Born 29 Nov 1890; Died 23 Nov 1893 Myall Ck. Dalby Q'ld.

NOEL HOLSKAMP ... marr. (1) 19 Apr 1922 OLIVE MINNIE GENTNER
... marr. (2) 4 Feb 1937 CAROLINE SIMPSON

Born 22 Nov 1895 Irvingdale Q'ld	(1) Born 28 Aug 1899;Died 12 Nov 1935
Died 22 Dec 1963 Dalby Q'ld.	(2) Born c. 1902 Died 25 Jun 1984



LONDON W.C.1

showing approximate location
of marchmont street ⊗
(address of William Dun 1819).

IV The Attractions of the New State in the North

The Family Spreads Out

William and Maria had descendants by then in various family groupings in widely separated areas. There was Richard and Catherine Scougall who finally stayed in Queensland, Charles and Frances Reynolds at Paterson, Charles and Zorayda Dun at 'Bundoorra', Cooloothin Creek, near Lake Cootharaba, and Henry Percy Dun, who, following the death of his first wife, Kate, had re-married to Margaret Cutten, and remained at Dalby, Queensland. George Faircloth and Maria Arkley had moved to Ipswich in the 1850's, and about ten years later, they shifted to Gympie. There are almost certainly other groupings today, but little of their history has been discovered for this story.

There were the Hassells (Clara and Henry) who remained in Ipswich, at least until the mid-1870s, where Henry Hassell was a storekeeper. It is understood, but not yet confirmed, that Rita Cameron, one of the grand-daughters of Clara and Henry Hassell, married Viv Archer from a property near Winton, Queensland. John Archer, one of their children, some of whom are still in the Winton district, married Rosemary Davidson. More enquiry is needed.

Then, there was Seaton (mentioned previously), who managed stations in Queensland and later took over the lease of the property on Lake Cootharaba from Charles, but about whose life little else is known at this time.

There were children in each of those families, and hopefully their stories will become known to add to this record in the future. There was also the youngest child of William and Maria, named Lucy, who was twenty-seven when her father died in 1876. No other confirmed information is yet available about her, although it is understood that she married a Mr. Ball, and there was a son. That is another avenue for future research.

Within a year of marriage to Catherine, Richard Scougall of 'Dalziel', Hunter's River, travelled to the Darling Downs in Queensland - his wife probably stayed home on that

occasion. It was about then that Richard bought the property known as 'Jimbour', (meaning 'good pastures'), west of Dalby, which later became well-known in part as the starting place in 1844 for Leichhardt's exploration north to the Gulf of Carpentaria and then west to Port Essington. Richard Scougall also took up Jondaryn Station at that time, according to a family report. Richard executed a power of attorney in favour of William Dun on 24 June, 1841, and it may be assumed that he set out soon after that, although some records state that he arranged for his overseer, Harry Dennis, to go to the Darling Downs to seek good land.

Richard Scougall came from Scotland in 1832 in 'Minerva', said to be his own ship. His father was apparently a ship-owner in Scotland. After first settling on the Liverpool Plains, and later residing at different times in Sydney, and in the Hunter area, he sought extra land in 1840 on the rich downs country discovered in 1827 by Alan Cunningham. By 1842, Richard Scougall had established 'Jimbour' with sheep and cattle brought from the Hunter River area.

Richard built a wooden slab hut as a residence on the property, and no doubt lived there briefly with his wife, Catherine. Unfortunately, due to financial difficulties, that time was short. As a matter of general interest, the slab hut was destroyed by fire in 1867, and the initial replacement two-storey building of stone and cedar was finished by 1870; however, the present 'Jimbour House' was commenced at about that time. That massive and elegant structure is still there to surprise the eye of the tourist.

Considerable detail concerning 'Jimbour' is contained in an excellent publication with that title. It was written separately in two parts by husband and wife, Charles and Hilary Russell, whose family purchased the property earlier this century. A copy of that book was kindly given to me by Amy Emmerson, a descendant of Richard and Catherine Scougall.¹

Unfortunately, Richard Scougall suffered badly from the economic recession of the forties, and he was especially hurt financially by the failure of the Bank of Australasia. Thomas Bell purchased 'Jimbour' in the mid-forties when Richard Scougall became bankrupt.

Richard would have been financially affected by the new squatting regulations gazetted by Governor Gipps in April 1844, although by then, his troubles as a result of the economic down-turn seemed to have already reached, or even passed, crisis-point. In a letter written in 1935 by one of his sons, Richard Walter Scougall, then aged 88 years, brief details were shown of some of the family history for the benefit of a relative. A story was included of a dinner given by Governor Gipps at which a number of squatters were guests, including Richard Tod Scougall. Apparently, the Governor made accusations against the squatters, whereupon all of them rose and left the table.²

Interestingly, in the 'Sydney Morning Herald' of 2 May, 1844, there was an article regarding the new squatting regulations discussed at a meeting at Maitland. At that meeting, a resolution was proposed expressing alarm at the regulations and describing them as unconstitutional and oppressive, and as striking a blow at the future prosperity of the colony. The resolution was seconded by Charles Reynolds (of 'Tocal'), and he

cast reflections on the Governor, but agreed with Wentworth that "resistance must be passive - but collective." He went so far as to suggest 'tar and feathers' for any stockholder who bought stock of another, which had been seized and sold under the regulations. He concluded by reminding listeners of an expression in 'The Australian' of about a year past, relating to the Governor, as follows:³

Happy the day which should witness the arrival of a ship in the
offing to bear him hence, for he had done more harm to the colony
by his measures than his best successors would ever be able to do
it good.

His speech was greeted with cheers, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

But, Richard could not save his assets. In that same letter of 1935, his, by then, aged son, Richard, said that his father had owned wool stores in Sydney, but "his partner had drowned himself in Sydney Harbour," and Richard, the father, had to meet many thousand pounds of his debts.⁴ No date was given, but that may have occurred in the 'hungry Forties' when the economy slumped.

Obviously, unless one's financial reserves were solid, lucky was the person who did not invest in Australia until the mid- or late-forties, when property prices were at rock bottom, and the gold boom was to be just around the corner. Many a brave pioneer has stumbled, even foundered, on the economic rocks of recession - and luck is always a welcome partner.

Richard and Catherine raised a large family successfully, and it is interesting to see the use of names from those of the family of William and Maria, in the naming of the Scougalls. The names used for the Scougall children, grand-children and great-grandchildren (so far as these are readily available) included William, Maria, Seaton, Henderson, Adria, Arkley, Burdett, Hammond, Charles, Percy and Dun; and most of those were used more than once. It is noticeable that the name 'Catherine' may not have been used, although there was a Katherine; but was this a recording error? There was no Frances!

There were eight Scougall children, five boys and three girls, whose descendants have succeeded in various fields, and are now spread far across the country. Information is not currently available to me about the business activities of Richard Tod Scougall after leaving 'Jimbour', except that he was listed in Lowe's Sydney Directory of 1846 as a commission agent in Dickson Street. At some time in the second half of the century, the family moved to Maryborough, where they lived for many years. Richard died there in 1877, and Catherine also at North Street, on 31 May, 1891. They are buried in the Maryborough cemetery.

From information prepared by Rex Kirkham (who is a great-grandson of Richard and Catherine Scougall), and kindly supplied to me by Amy Emmerson, William Edward

Richard (the eldest son of Richard Tod Scougall, and also Amy's grandfather), was transferred in 1876 from the Maryborough branch of the Bank of New South Wales to the Cardwell branch in North Queensland. There, in 1880, he married Amelia Gibson (from Watson's Bay, Sydney), and there were five children of that marriage, including Elsie in 1883 (Amy's mother who married G.F.Cassady), and Edith in 1887 who married Fergus McMaster, later Sir Fergus (one of the founders of QANTAS); their daughter was named Jean Scougall, now Jean Scougall Fysh of Brisbane, with whom I also correspond.

While still at the Bank, William selected land on the north of the Tully River in 1881, and arranged for it to be occupied to satisfy the condition of the lease, obtaining the freehold in 1884. In that same year, he left the Bank and leased the Glenbora Run, in the vicinity of the area of the present township of Kennedy, just north of Cardwell.

During the 1880s, William Scougall obtained more land, including 'Ellerslie' at Meunga Creek, where he developed a successful dairy herd, using the latest methods of dairy procedure. For a time, he was Chairman of the Cardwell Divisional Board. In a sad incident in 1896, Amelia and their son Seaton were killed in a road accident, and in that same year, there were serious problems with a cattle tick plague.

William re-married in 1898, to Brilliana Marguerite Sweeney, a governess in that area, and there was one child. In 1903, William Scougall died after a successful and eventful life in what was then a remote area of our developing land.

In a later section of this history, reference will be made to the Cutten family which settled at Clump Point in 1882, about 80 kilometres north of Cardwell - one of the Cutten daughters married one of the Dun sons, and lived in Dalby. Three of the Cutten brothers and one of the sisters were farming in the area north of Cardwell for very many years, and would certainly have known the Scougall family, even though communication in those days was difficult.

But, let us go back to the Darling Downs. According to a letter from Arthur Hodgson written from Stratford-on-Avon in England on 16 February, 1899, which was printed in the 'Queenslander' on 1 April of that year⁵ (and kindly supplied to me by Jean Scougall Fysh, a Scougall descendant), Charles Dun visited the Darling Downs in 1842, probably accompanying Richard Scougall on his initial visit to 'Jimbour', and maybe, assisting with the droving of stock to the property from the Hunter River area. Apparently, a letter from Charles had appeared in a prior issue of the 'Queenslander' on 7 January, 1899, with reference to an earlier article entitled 'Jimbour History' in the issue of 26 November, 1898. In his letter, Charles said, in part: "I believe Sir, a Hodgson and myself are the only two persons alive who knew the Downs in 1842, and Sir Arthur could endorse my words." In Sir Arthur's letter, after the introduction, he went on to say that "Mr. Dun is quite correct," and he then set out in some detail his involvement with the sale of 'Jimbour' and its stock.⁶ The early movements to the Darling Downs are described in the book entitled 'Genesis of Queensland' (1888) by H. S. Russell, and although the name of Charles Dun was not referred to, much is said about Arthur Hodgson.⁷ As mentioned above, Charles may have been with Richard Scougall on a

visit to the Downs about that time, and soon after the visits by Hodgson, and also that by Patrick Leslie which is also referred to in the book.

All of this was well before the marriage of Charles Dun and Zorayda, and it may be assumed that Charles may then have been considering moving north; it could be expected that Charles was interested in the moves by Richard Scougall, and he may have assisted Richard in seeking further land for purchase in Queensland. However, Charles returned to 'Duninald', and remained with his father, probably in order to do what he could during that dreadful decade. It was to be nearly twenty years before he eventually took his family to Ipswich.

It is of interest to note, as was mentioned earlier in regard to his insolvency, that William Dun had made some type of investment in a property ('Juan Juan') on the Darling Downs in the very early 1840s, reference to which was included in evidence relating to his insolvency.

By coincidence, both parental families of Margaret, my wife, had very close associations with Ipswich in Queensland, commencing in the latter part of last century, and some of them would almost certainly have known some of the Dun family. First, there were the Reillys - Margaret's father was Norman Reilly, and his father, Hugh, was a storekeeper in Down Street, North Ipswich; later in life, he was elected as the first mayor following Ipswich being declared as a city. On the other hand, the Burtons (Margaret's mother was Agnes Burton) had a Jersey cattle stud farm at Wanora, not far from Ipswich, where Edwin Burton successfully bred champion Jerseys for many years.

A number of those people mentioned above were buried at the Ipswich Cemetery, as are William and Maria Dun. Strangely, the Department of Births, Deaths and Marriages in Brisbane has no record of William's death, but the location of his grave is noted in the cemetery records, and his obituary appeared in the 'Queensland Times' in Ipswich on 24 June, 1876.⁸

The Reynolds grouping was the second main family concentration. Something has already been said about Charles Reynolds and Frances, and the purchase of 'Duninald' in 1860. In the interesting and well-documented book, 'Tocal', by Judy White, much of the relevant history of the Reynolds family in the Paterson district is recorded, and in addition to discussions with some members of the Reynolds family, I have drawn on some of that book for portion of this story, with the kind permission of the author.⁹

The Reynolds family continued with their leasehold of 'Tocal' and the very successful breeding of thoroughbreds and Hereford and Devon cattle, although apparently, the fillies and the Devon cattle were moved across the river to 'Duninald.' 'Tocal' at the time was owned by Caleb and Felix Wilson of Newtown, hardware merchants who invested surplus funds into property. They had bought 'Tocal' from the original grantee, James Webber, in 1834, when he found that he had to return to England. The Wilsons then advertised the property for rent, and William Dun was one of two in the district whose names were given as persons available to supply any further information. Later, 'Tocal' again came up for letting, and Charles Reynolds leased it from 1 January,

1844, its present Georgian dwelling being erected some years earlier; it was later in that year that Charles and Frances married.

Between then and 1860, the year in which they purchased 'Duninald', Charles and Frances had six children, five sons and a daughter (Emily), their first son, Edmund, unfortunately dying as a baby. But tragedy was to strike again, this time in 1871, when Charles was seriously injured, dying next day on 15 September, as a result of being thrown from his horse, at 'Tocal'. He was buried at St. Paul's. Frances took charge, and with the special assistance of the eldest son, Frank, who was then aged 23, she was able to continue the work which Charles had started, keeping the family together, as well as the property and stock. They further developed the successful breeding of thoroughbred horses and cattle.

When their father was killed in 1871, Frank Reynolds was 23 years old, and Sidney was 20; there were two other younger sons, Percy (13) and Walter (11), while daughter Emily was aged seventeen. Frank and the others assisted their mother and they built up improved blood lines in the Hereford stock. Meanwhile, the successful breeding of Devon cattle continued at 'Duninald'.

In the same year in which his father had died, Frank married Jeanette Cory, a member of a long-established family on the Paterson, and they were to rear a large family at nearby 'Glendarra'. Frank died in 1920. In 1876, Sidney married Frances Eales of 'Duckenfeld', and he and his family later moved into the new home built at 'Duninald'. By the mid-1880s, Percy, Walter and also their sister, Emily, had married. Meanwhile, the successful development of the bloodstock continued.

No doubt Frances was justifiably proud of her part in the success achieved for her family, first in assisting her husband, and then in bringing those plans to fruition for their children. Frances died on 13 October, 1900, aged 82, and was buried at St. Paul's, as have been her husband, Charles, and each of their five sons. Charles, would certainly have been proud of her achievements - and, her parents, William and Maria would have been, too.

After the death of his mother, Frank and his family moved into the 'Tocal' home. At the time, the sons' ages ranged from 55 down to 40 years, and between them, they made the early decision to disperse the 'Tocal' stud, and develop their own separate herds.

The following years felt the ravages of drought, but during that time, there was a natural build-up of other stud herds taking advantage of the 'Tocal' blood lines as their base; they eventually provided serious competition for the brothers' cattle. Meanwhile, the Reynolds families were growing, and their hopes and aspirations were naturally becoming diverse.

According to Judy White in 'Tocal', by the 1920s "the Tocal greatness was being eroded from inside the family group, as each member wanted to establish an independent life away from Tocal; fractionalisation rather than decline was the dominant force." By 1926, it became apparent that the only way out was to dispose of the 'Tocal' estate.¹⁰

However, Sidney Vivian Reynolds, one of the grandsons of Charles and Frances, retained 'Duninald', which was in part being developed for dairying. Two of his sons are still on the property, one (the eldest), Sidney Meurant Reynolds, continuing to live in the original 'Duninald' homestead (now known as 'Old Duninald'), with his wife, Phyllis, where they took up residence in 1938 and reared their family.

During all those years, the locality near 'Duninald' and the creek whose natural water-course ran through the land granted to William, was known as Dunns Creek, which was the official name. A few years ago, an application to the Geographical Names Board resulted in approval of a change to 'Duns Creek', as it no doubt should have been from the start.

The next marriage of one of the daughters of William and Maria was in 1847 when George Faircloth, a banker, married Maria Arkley Dun. They moved to Ipswich in 1852; he had apparently been transferred previously from Ipswich to Maitland, and at Paterson he had met and married Maria Arkley. In 1853, he opened the first branch of the Bank of Australasia in Ipswich, which he managed for nine years. The family grew as children were born, and they moved their home to Booval late in the 1850s, where George had purchased a property. Some years later, George left the bank, and commenced cotton growing. Then, in the late 1860s, they moved to Gympie, where George became Police Magistrate, and on retiring, the family settled in Bundaberg, where both George and Maria lived out the rest of their lives, dying in 1889 and 1907 respectively. Much of this information has been kindly provided to me by Janet Dennis, a descendant of George and his wife, Maria.

As explained earlier, although the next marriage was between Clara Eliza Dun and Henry Vivian Hassell, on 8 July 1857, the information available about that family is very limited at this stage. In that same year, Charles Allan Dun married Zorayda Anne Bedwell, on 31 December, and the story of that family will be outlined at length later.

Henry Percy and the Dalby Duns are the next family grouping. Henry was the second youngest son of William and Maria, and being born in 1837, he would have been too young to appreciate the hardships of the 'hungry Forties' at the time, and their effect on 'Duninald'. However, as he lived through his teen-age years, he would no doubt have been aware of the lack of prospects on the family property, and may have found the growing talk of a move to Queensland to be full of promise. Charles, his older brother, would have told him of his experiences during the 1840s in the south-west of that northern area, and his sisters, Catherine, Maria and Clara had all moved with their husbands to those parts.

Of course, Queensland became a separate colony only in 1859, but by then, Henry would be aged twenty-two, and would surely have decided it was nearly time to go. Charles of course did not leave for the new colony until his father had sold 'Duninald', and he probably went north in 1862, with his wife, Zorayda, and their two daughters at that time. We could imagine then that Henry and also his younger brother, Seaton, may have decided to travel up with Charles, and to help with the transport of whatever goods they were taking for their new home.

In those days, the movement north would probably be to the west of the Dividing Range to avoid the numerous rivers flowing to the coast on the eastern side. It could be expected that the route would be through Singleton, and generally similar to that now taken by the New England Highway.

Initially, Henry worked on a property at Stonhenge, in what would then have been the far outback of the new Queensland colony; it is situated west of Rockhampton, and to the south-west of Longreach.

In 1868, the 'Crown Lands Alienation Act' became law, opening up grazing land for closer settlement, and it may have been soon after that time that Henry (H.P.) selected land on Myall Creek at Irvingdale in the Dalby district.

On 11 February, 1871, Henry Percy Dun (known normally as H.P.), then aged thirty-four, married Kate Elizabeth McMahon, aged about twenty-three, in Dalby. Kate had been born at Bally Vaughan, County Clare, Ireland, daughter of Timothy McMahon and his wife Kate (nee Hogan). One of the witnesses at the wedding was Charles Dun, and another was Ellen Mary McMahon, possibly Kate's sister. At that time, Charles was just about to move from Ipswich to his property at Lake Cootharaba, but probably did not leave until later in that year.

There were five children of the marriage between Henry Percy (H.P.) and Kate, including two who died young, Kate (in 1882) and Charles Herbert (in 1883). The surviving children included firstly two daughters, Maria Madelaine (born in 1871) and Lucy Ethel (born in 1875), and there was a son born in 1878, named Henry Percy after his father, but known as Tim, possibly in recognition of his maternal grand-father, and to avoid confusion with his father's name.

Henry's wife, Kate, was sadly to die on 15 November, 1883, and as one of the children died in that same year, it is possible that it was another case of that scourge of the time (and of any time), a death in child-birth.

Each of the three surviving children lived to old age. Of the daughters, Maria married Thomas McInerney and died aged 76 in 1948; Lucy married Kingston Sydney Falkiner, there being two daughters of that marriage - Lucy died in 1954 aged 79 years. Henry (Tim) married Charlotte Mary Jane (Lottie) Briskey in 1912, and there were ten children - Tim died on 1 November 1969, aged 91 years.

Most of those ten children remained in or not far from the area of the Darling Downs, and I have been fortunate enough to have been in contact with some of them over the past few years. They include Ethel Marie (sadly, recently deceased), and Kenneth Clifford now living in Dalby after retiring from the family property at Moola; another daughter, Beryl Eunice is living in Toowoomba with her husband, Howard Fyson, and family. Those family members have kindly provided much of the information which I have about the Duns in that area, and I have also received valuable assistance from Beverley Bull of Adelaide, a descendant of the Cutten family, in relation to the family of H.P.'s second wife, Margaret (Daisy) Cutten, to be referred to later.

It is said that his wife, Daisy, controlled a strict household, insisting that the niceties of social behaviour were always followed, sometimes to the extreme, and often to the distinct unhappiness of those who may have strayed too far from her ideas of the best in English traditions. Possibly, such an insistence could have been expected from a young woman who had spent her early life in some form of luxury in England, and no doubt, it was well-intentioned; nevertheless, it is not surprising that the habit resulted in some upset in the circumstances of the hard life in the distant parts of Australia during those difficult early days.

As well as working hard on his father's property, Tim selected a block in the nearby Moola area, probably in the period 1894-1896, when he would have been in his late teens. Settlement did not really begin at Moola until 1900 when Patrick Findlay was contracted to dig four tanks. A serious drought resulted in hard times for the settlers soon after that, but Moola became recognised as a town in 1904.

In the early years after he obtained the land, Tim would ride from Irvingdale to Moola to clear his block at the conclusion of his tasks on his father's property; he did not live at Moola until after he married in 1912.

Meanwhile, from just before the turn of the century, Moola suffered seriously from the prickly pear, which had first appeared at Ringing Plains. Many original settlers were forced off their land, so Tim was probably fortunate in not having progressed further in working his property by that time. Even so, it was not until 1928 that the Moola property-owners brought egg sticks of the cactoblastis grub from Warren, which destroyed the cactus; it was eradicated by 1930.

After their marriage in 1912, Tim and his wife, Charlotte (known as Lottie), moved into a small hut which they built on their property at Moola. Later, a second-hand house was purchased and moved to the property which became their home until it was replaced in 1936.

H.P. lived to the age of 77 years, dying in 1914, and he had continued to reside at Irvingdale, which by then was managed by two of his sons from the second marriage, Leonard and Seaton. H.P. had made an important mark in the district as a citizen and a property owner, and in the late nineteenth century, he was, for a period, the Chairman of the Rosalie Shire Council. Until very late in his life, he would still at times journey to Brisbane to attend the wool sales, and to see his wool being sold.

Before the 1914-18 war, cheese factories were established at both Irvingdale (built on the creek near the Dun property), and at Moola. The Moola factory was opened in 1912, but prior to that, there had been some dairying in the district, with the cream being sent firstly to Toowoomba, and later to the Dalby butter factory when it commenced operations.

Leonard and Seaton Dun, who continued to operate the properties at Irvingdale, both supplied milk to the factory. One of the children of Leonard and Mamie, (Kenneth Andrew, a twin), at one time was manager of the factory at Irvingdale, and he later

farmed in the area. It is understood that the original land eventually became the property of the other twin (Laurence Seaton), but it has since changed hands.

In 1924, Tim was appointed to the Board of Directors of the Moola Co-operative Dairy Association, and he remained a director until 1943. During that time, he was the Chairman for three terms. When he died in 1969 (aged 91), Tim had lived a long, useful and rewarding life, and his worthy partner in that great effort, his wife, Lottie, also lived to a grand old age, dying in 1978, just a day before her 85th birthday.

The Cuttens in the Far North

While the Duns struggled with the land, and its drought and prickly pear, on the Tableland, the Cutten family sought success in the greatly-different environment of the tropical north. Although strictly not a part of the Dun family history, their story is of great interest, and of course (as previously stated), one daughter of the family (Margaret, known as Daisy) had married H.P. Dun - thus, a connection. And, Daisy Dun did visit the Cutten plantation in North Queensland more than once, while her mother had spent some time with the Duns at Irvingdale, as did one of Daisy's brothers during an illness later in his life.

By 1882, three years before Daisy and H.P. married, the four Cutten boys sought out a suitable area on the North Queensland coast north of Cardwell, and it was decided to move the whole family there when accommodation could be arranged. The land selected was at Bingil Bay, and they named it 'Bicton' after Bicton Hills, the country home of a friend, Lord Rowles, in England. The area was uninhabited by Europeans, and there were no roads. It took some years for the accommodation to be ready, given the difficult conditions in the area, and before the move, following the death of his wife, Henry Percy Dun (H.P.) and Margaret Edith Cutten (Daisy) had arranged to marry, as mentioned above. The Cutten property at Felton would have been only about 80 kilometres from Irvingdale, the property of H.P., and it is understood that Daisy may have been employed on the Darling Downs for a time as a governess.

With tremendous energy, and with the advantage of soil and climate so suitable for growing crops, the Cuttens turned their small part of the untamed forest into a profitable farming area, growing a profusion of crops, including (but with varying success in some cases) bananas, pineapples, tea, coffee, coconuts, many types of citrus, mangoes, tobacco, ginger, spices, cocoa and vanilla - to name a few!

Local trees provided timber for dwellings and huts, a large break-wall was built to provide some shelter for boats from the often rough seas, a wooden rail line was constructed to simplify movement of crated products to the loading area, and

arrangements were made for small passing vessels to stop so that the Cutten's fruit could be loaded from lighters. Satisfactory working arrangements were made with the local Aborigines, with whom relations remained friendly, largely due to the mature and sensible attitude of the family. There were still no roads, except where they had cut tracks through the jungle, but movement was possible around beach headlands, provided the tides were suitable; of course, there was no need to visit neighbours, because for many years, there were none. It was hard work, but a time of great satisfaction and achievement, which in fact filled the lives of four of the Cutten family (three men and one woman) who spent virtually the whole of their adult years at Bingil Bay, and did not marry.

The father, Frederick Cutten, died in 1889 as a result of fever, and his widow, Margaret Cutten, then went to spend some time with her daughter, Margaret Dun, at Irvingdale; following that, the mother returned to England for two years.

While she was away, the family at 'Bicton' suffered their first serious cyclone in 1890, and the cost of repairing the damage made it necessary for the three younger boys to leave the property temporarily to work at Georgetown for a time. When they returned, the Bicton estate was entering a period of prosperity, and the eldest son, James, decided on a trip to England, where he met May Tudhope, whom he was to marry fifteen years later.

Life was now mostly happy and profitable (if not easy), although the unmarried sister, Emily Jessie, died in 1904, and there was a serious period of drought some time before that; then after James married May in 1907, there was some friction which led to the other brothers 'buying out' James, the eldest brother, who moved to Cairns with his wife. Soon after that, Margaret Cutten, the mother, also died.

When Charles Alexander died in 1912, Florence, his wife, a daughter of the Cutten family, moved to Bingil Bay with her children to help the brothers. Her sons purchased a portion of the estate, and they lived and worked there for many years, especially Leslie Gray Alexander, to whom we are indebted for many of the stories and photographs of those times. Les Alexander did not leave Bingil Bay until 1958, and he died in Townsville in 1983, aged 87 years. Many of the memories of Les Alexander have been recorded in the excellent booklet entitled 'The Lost Plantation - A History of the Australian Tea Industry' by R. J. Taylor, printed in 1982.¹¹ From Beverley Bull, (a relative of Les), I have gained useful information and photographs.

Various problems for the Cuttens arose over the few years prior to the Great War, including labour difficulties following legislation limiting the numbers of Aborigines to be employed; and there had been another disastrous cyclone in 1911. Then came the war of 1914-18 during which coastal shipping was restricted, preventing the transport of the crops to market. At last, the war ended, but before that, in March, 1918, the area experienced a cyclone and tidal wave which demolished almost all that the family had built or achieved.

Sidney, the youngest of the three Cutten brothers who remained on the property, died in 1923; the other two lived on until 1930 when first Herbert (aged seventy-four years)

and then Leonard (aged seventy-three) died. After the shock of his brother's death, Leonard had travelled to Irvingdale near Dalby to recuperate, under the care of his sister Daisy (wife of H.P.), but he soon wanted to return to the north, and falling ill, was admitted to the hospital at Innisfail where he died, less than five months after his brother. In an informative booklet entitled 'Clump Point and District - An Historical Record', compiled by the Constance Mackness, M.B.E., (now deceased), it says (in regard to the Cutten family) that "pioneers who are not broken by the wayside but endure gamely to the end rarely regret their struggle; and we like to think of these old men, the very first settlers on our (Mission Beach - Bingil Bay) beaches, going proud and content to their long rest."¹² And, in regard to the Alexanders, the same publication says: "During those three decades her (Mrs. Alexander's) sons showed over again the energy and resolution of their uncles, the Cuttens."¹³

Fortune doesn't always either favour or follow the brave; or, maybe it does follow, but often too far behind! The booklet compiled by Miss Mackness pointed out that "by 1958, the improved roads had created a big demand for land for seaside homes and fruit farms. The Cutten estate and the Alexander lands alike were sold. - but all its (Bicton) pioneers have gone."¹⁴

Although the jungle has recaptured much of the land of the Cuttens, they are certainly not forgotten - yet, it surely could be expected that some significant geographic feature of that area would be named in their honour. Theirs was an unusual story of special courage and perseverance, which most of us can admire, and even envy.

Some years ago at the Nerada tea plantations and factory of the Tea Estates of Australia near Innisfail, I saw a copy of a brochure including historical notes which mentioned the Cuttens and their early endeavours. They stated that although the Cutten project was unsuccessful, Herbert Frederick Cutten can be considered to be the father of the Australian tea industry. The experimental tea garden at South Johnstone, near Innisfail, was grown largely with seeds and seedlings from the surviving trees at Bingil Bay, where those trees have lived and extended in the encroaching jungle since the great cyclone of 1918.

In the Bingil Bay area, one can feel the history in the air, and in the portion set aside for the Cutten graves, there is a sense of isolation, yet of a one-ness with nature and its beauty such as must have been experienced often by the Cuttens, whenever they could afford themselves a relaxing thought in the midst of their extreme efforts.

FAMILY OF FREDERICK WILLIAM CUTTEN AND MARGARET

FREDERICK WILLIAM CUTTEN . marr. 16 Apr 1851 . **MARGARET HOLSKAMP**

Born 26 Jun 1819 Eng. Born 21 Mar 1828 Eng.
Died 7 Jul 1889 Bingil Bay, Q'ld. Died 25 Sep 1908 Bingil Bay, Q.

JAMES WALKER . marr. 6 Jun 1907 . **MARY EVELYN TUDHOPE**

Born 5 Nov 1852 Eng. Born 2 May 1879 Eng.
Died 19 Mar 1936 Brisbane Q'ld. Died 31 Dec 1971 Eng.

HERBERT FREDERICK (twin) . Unmarried

Born 14 Aug 1855 Eng.
Died 22 Feb 1930 Innisfail, Q'ld.

EMILY JESSIE (twin) . Unmarried

Born 14 Aug 1855 Eng.
Died 14 Dec 1904 Geraldton, Q'ld.

LEONARD . Unmarried

Born 26 Aug 1856 Eng.
Died 5 Jul 1930 Innisfail, Q'ld.

SIDNEY BELLERS . Unmarried

Born 3 Sep 1858 Eng.
Died 21 Mar 1923 Innisfail, Q'ld.

MARGARET EDITH . marr. 27 May 1885 . **HENRY PERCY DUN**

Born 23 Dec 1860 Eng. Born 18 May 1837 Paterson NSW
Died 13 Jul 1943 Dalby, Q'ld. Died 1914 Dalby, Q'ld.

FLORENCE VIOLET . marr. 4 Apr 1891 . **CHARLES TURNBULL ALEXANDER**

Born 10 Dec 1862 Eng. Born 31 Mar 1863 Jericho Vic.
Died 20 Nov 1952 Tully, Q'ld. Died 17 Nov 1912

ALICE ELIZABETH . marr. 20 Dec 1891 . **HENRY BROUGHTON CARNE**

Born 30 May 1866 Eng. Born 10 Jul 1859 Concord NSW.
Died 22 Jan 1952 Wynnum North, Q'ld. Died 26 Dec 1922 Q'ld.

FAMILY OF CHARLES ALLAN DUN AND ZORAYDA ANNE

CHARLES ALLAN DUN .. marr. 31 Dec 1857 .. **ZORAYDA ANNE BEDWELL**

Born 8 Nov 1823 Newcastle N.S.W. Born 1 Mar 1836 Paterson N.S.W.
 Died 4 Apr 1908 Tewantin Q'ld. Died 18 Mar 1924 Tewantin Q'ld.

FLORENCE MATILDA ...marr. 21 Nov 1883 ... **PERCY GEORGE WALLER**
 Born 5 Feb 1859 Paterson N.S.W. Born 14 Nov 1852
 Died 26 Jan 1924 Gympie Q'ld. Died 27 Sep 1924

EDITH ADELAIDEUnmarried
 Born 1860 Paterson N.S.W.
 Died

* **PERCY VIVIAN** ... marr. 2 Jul 1888 ... **ELIZABETH ANN CORK**
 Born 1 Jun 1862 Ipswich Q'ld. Born 8 Apr 1866
 Died 19 Mar 1921 Goodna Q'ld. Died 20 Jun 1959

FREDERICK WILLIAMUnmarried
 Born 1864 Ipswich Q'ld.
 Died

CHARLES CLARENDON ... marr. 12 Aug 1897.... **MARIAN HARRIET HALL**
 Born c. 1865 Ipswich Q'ld. Born 7 May 1876
 Died 6 Sep 1942 Tewantin Q'ld. Died 7 Mar 1956

MINNIE LOUISE ... marr. **ERNEST WILFRED HARRIS**
 Born 20 Jun 1868 Ipswich Q'ld. Born
 Died Died

ERNEST ... marr. **LETITIA**
 Born 1871 Ipswich Q'ld. Born
 Died c 1961 Died

ISABELLE ANNEUnmarried
 Born 8 Jul 1873 Coolloothin Ck. Q'ld
 Died 1973

REGINALD BURDETT DENIS .marr. **ETHEL (MAY)**
 Born 1875 Coolloothin Ck. Q'ld. Born
 Died Died

* Refer to separate details of family

Charles Allan Dun

Born 8 Nov 1823
Died 4 Apr 1908

Zorayda Anne Dun
(nee Bedwell)

Born 1 Mar 1836
Died 18 Mar 1924

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Gerarda Anne Dun

(bottom)

(F)



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Charles Allen Duns
(Top)

Top left:

*Percy Vivian Dun
Born 1 Jun 1862
Died 19 Mar 1921*

Top right:

*Elizabeth Ann Cork
aged 16 (who married
Percy Vivian Dun)*

*Born 8 Apr 1866
Died 20 Jun 1959*

Bottom left:

*John Charles Dun, D.C.M.
Born 7 Aug 1894
Died 1 Sep 1918
(Killed in action France)*

(H)



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Peray Vivian Don

(Top left)

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Elizabeth Ann Cook

(Top right)

(K)



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John Charles Dyer, DCM

(Bottom left)

FAMILY OF PERCY VIVIAN DUN AND ELIZABETH ANN

PERCY VIVIAN DUN married 2 Jul 1888 **ELIZABETH ANN CORK**

Born 1 Jun 1862 Ipswich Q'ld.
Died 19 Mar 1921 Goodna Q'ld.

Born 8 Apr 1866 Duncans Ck. NSW.
Died 20 Jun 1959 Townsville Q'ld.

ISABELLA ANN .. marr. 22 Dec 1909 .. **EDWARD OTTO HANSEN**

Born 6 Oct 1888 Gympie Q'ld.
Died 5 Oct 1965 Ayr Q'ld.

Born 5 Dec 1884
Died 15 Oct 1944

CHARLOTTE LOUISA .. marr. 7 Feb 1912 .. **ROBERT FREW**

Born 30 Jul 1890 Gympie Q'ld.
Died 15 May 1976 Ayr Q'ld.

Born 17 Aug 1874
Died 11 Aug 1947

MARGARET .. marr. c. Apr 1924 .. **THOMAS PERCY SLOAN**

Born 31 Jul 1892 Gympie Q'ld.
Died 3 Oct 1969 Ayr Q'ld.

Born 19 Feb 1898
Died 12 Jun 1953

JOHN CHARLES .. Unmarried

Born 7 Aug 1894 Gympie Q'ld.; Died 1 Sep 1918 K.I.A. France

PEARL .. marr. 21 Apr 1921.. **RUSSELL TEMPLETON MAXWELL**

Born 27 Sep 1896 Gympie Q'ld.
Died 16 Mar 1991 Townsville Q'ld.

Born 16 Sep 1895
Died 10 Aug 1972

FREDERICK WILLIAM ..marr. **LAYLESS LOVETT**

Born 2 Dec 1898 Gympie Q'ld.
Died 21 Feb 1958 Ayr, Q'ld.

Born 10 Jun 1904
Died 27 Apr 1958

CLARA ELIZABETH ..marr. 30 Aug 1924 .. **CECIL JOHN SHELLEY**

Born 22 Dec 1900 Gympie Q'ld.
Died 12 Oct 1993 Yagoona NSW.

Born 17 Dec 1899
Died 20 May 1987

MINNIE .. marr. 14 Apr 1938 .. **JOHN MICHAEL McDONOUGH**

Born 16 Nov 1905 Gympie Q'ld.

Born 28 Feb 1902
Died 25 Jun 1960

PERCY VIVIAN .. marr. 25 Jun 1938 .. **MARY QUEENTON LEAHY**

Born 1 Aug 1907 Gympie Q'ld.
Died 13 Aug 1984 Ayr Q'ld.

Born 14 May 1917