

Part 4 of 5

The Western Australian life and death of

Daniel Baughan

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Table of Sources (very rough!)

Source	Classification	Location of source	Call number	Description
Not yet	Primary Document	PRO Kew		Ticket Men's Regulations FIND REF
13	Book	Published book		"Imprisonment in Western Australia" Thomas and Stewart UWAP 1978
19	Book	Published book		"The Convict Ships" Charles Bateson. Library of Australian History.
33	Book	Published book		"Unwilling Emigrants" Hasluck.
35	Primary Document	WA Battye Library http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/		Newspaper "Enquirer" 23 Oct 1851
37	Book	Published book		"Western Australia" J.S. Battye
39	Primary document	UK PRO	CO 18/61 Page 39	23 Oct 1851 arrival.
40i	Primary Document	UK PRO	CO 18/61 Page 112	Dec 1851 Report
40ii	Primary Document	UK PRO	CO 18/69	Report and tables of arrivals
40iii	Primary Document	UK PRO	CO 18/69 page 69	Work Completed half Year Dec 1851
43	Primary Document	WA ??	Guildford 632/1853	26 Nov 1853 Marriage Certificate to Morely.
44	Primary Document	WA ??	Guildford 2848 1855	14 June 1855 Birth of Joanna Baughan upper Swan.
45	Primary Document	WA ??	Gingin 4021 1858	23 Jan 1858 Birth of William Baughan in Chittering
46	Primary Document	WA ??	Guildford 4577 1859	3 Mar 1859 Birth of Emma Baughan in Chittering.
49	Primary Document	WA ??	Swan 2171/1863	Death Cert 2/3/1863 Daniel H. Baughan
53	Letter			Mrs K. O'Mara
56	Primary Document	UK PRO	CO 18/82	Repayment of passage money
57	Primary Document	WA Battye Library		Conduct of Minden Convicts
68	Primary Document	WA ??		Birth 10 Oct 1861 Sand Springs of Daniel H. Baughan

70	Primary Document	WA ??	Victoria 1946/1862	Death Cert. 9 April 1862
76	Primary Document	UK PRO	CO 18/69, 73, 74, 75, 76	Comptroller's Reports of 1851 NEED A CHECK
76i	Primary Document	UK PRO	CO 18/69 52-53	Comptroller General's Reports
76v	Primary Document	UK PRO	CO 18/76	August September 1853
80	Book	Published book		"Ancient Landmarks" Albertus Bain UWAP page 177
81	Book	Published book		"Round about Geraldton" Halley and Wilson
82	Book	Published book		"Twentieth century impressions of WA" Thiel and Co. Perth 1901 Page 616.
83	Book	Published book		"The First Hundred years"
84	Primary Document	UK PRO	CO 18/82 Vol 4	Half Year Report Dec 1851 Section Sept 1-11
100	Primary Document	http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/		"Enquirer" Newspaper 6 Sept 1865 reporting Baughan's death.
118	Primary document	Unref from O'Mara	Unref from O'Mara	Pardon notice
119	Primary document	UK PRO	CO 29 1852	Blue Book of Western Australia
141	Primary Letters	K Norman		Pat Hendry to K Norman. 1994.
142	Magazine Article	Published article	4 December 1976	West Australian Magazine "A true pioneer" Henry Morely by Douglas Jacks.
144	Book	Published book		"On the Swan" Michael J. Bourke UWAP 1987 Page 166
146	Book	Published Book		"Eastward Ho!" Bert Keefe
148	Primary Document	WA Battye Library	CSR 460/134 Acc. 36 Letter 9511	Letter in land dispute of 1861
149	Primary Document	WA Battye Library	CSR 460/135 Acc. 36	Letter in land dispute of 1861
150	Primary Document	WA Battye Library	CSR 460/130	Baughan's letter in land dispute of 1861
156	Primary Document	UK Mr Gordon Woods, Monmouth School.		Baughan Family Bible

157			None given	Letter in land dispute of 1861
158	Primary Document	K Norman		O'Keefe Letter to K Norman 30 Aug 1996
159	Primary Document	Battye Library	385/12	Greenough Police Occurrence Book
160	Primary Document	http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/		Newspaper "Perth Gazette" 14/10/1864 Henry Gray Letter.
161	Primary Document	WA		Davis lease at Illene Spring. Searched for by Bert Keefe but to no avail
162	Primary Document	Published book		O'Keefe to Pauline Millar 5/6/1996 re "Eastward Ho"
163	Oral Interview	K Norman		Bert O'keefe with Tom Blayney of Eridu in 1973.
165	Primary Document	Battye Library		Diary of Major Logue of Ellendale.
167	Primary Document	http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/		"Enquirer" newspaper 13 Sept 1865
168	Oral	Letter to K Norman		Verbal comment O'Mara to Hendry.
176	Book	Published book		Dictionary of Western Australians
179	Primary Plan	WA Dept of Lands		Plan 26. Shown in source 144
180	Primary Document	WA Battye Library	Dewey 343.2 Vol 5 Pt. 3	Convict System Papers
181	Magazine Article	Published magazine		"Convict Links" Jan 1999 Vol 13 No. 1 Letter for Commons select committee on Transportation by J.S.Davis of Tibbradden.
205	Book	Published book		"The Waldeck Story" Page 43 Govt. Gazette 17/3/1849
206	Web page	suthernx@yahoo.com		Jeni Martin
213	http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~waldock/Franklin_photos.htm#Bridgman	Web PAGE		Family photographs of Catherine Bridgeman.
207	Web Page	johngale@ceemail.com.au		John Gale
208	Photographs	K Norman		Photographs taken by K Norman in 2000
209	Secondary	K Norman		Maps drawn by K Norman from various sources

210	On line Newspaper indexing	http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/	Perth Gazette & Western Australian Times 1 st of September 1865
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SECTION 5 – DANIEL IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The first reference to Daniel Baughan in Western Australia comes ten days after arrival and two years nine months after the trial when on the 24th October 1851 he received his Ticket of Leave.

The situation into which he was released was completely alien to his previous experience as a free man in Worcestershire.

Transportation at this late stage in its history was dominated by an adaptation which had begun in 1847, commonly known as Lord Grey's Exile system. This plan envisaged transporting only those who had undergone reformatory prison discipline under the separate system at home. The prospect of emigration was held out as an incentive to good conduct. Such men might be welcome in the colonies if labour was scarce, and if unwelcome, there was always Van Dieman's land.

They would receive a conditional pardon and be expected to have payment for passage deducted from his earnings. Grey insisted that he was virtually abolishing transportation in a speech to the Commons on June 4th 1847.

There was a great deal of mistrust of this scheme and many colonies did not want their labour. New South Wales had accepted some on condition that they be sent with an equal number of free migrants. Unfortunately, the latter never materialised and there were immediate petitions which led to mass meetings in June 1849 and a request that no more be sent. Alternative destinations were sought: Port Phillip had plenty of its own labour, Moreton Bay only took one vessel, South Africa would have nothing to do with it, Ceylon, Mauritius, New Zealand and the West Indies refused, and Canada said it would only accept some if Grey was willing to pay for them. This only left Van Dieman's land as a destination - and even that was beginning to grumble.

Therefore, when Western Australia positively requested Convicts for labour in 1849, the Government quickly passed the necessary orders and the shipment began on the 1st June 1850 with the landing of some 75 men. It was to continue until 9 Jan 1868. Altogether some 9,336 convicts were to disembark from a total of 37 ships. No women were ever transported. ¹

¹ Source 33. "Unwilling Emigrants" Hasluck.

There were never more than four ships a year and usually two as the following chart shows:

Table 1: Numbers of Convicts arriving in Western Australia.

Year	Convicts	Ships	average
1850	175	2	88
1851	802	3	297
1852	491	2	246
1853	1109	4	277
1854	581	2	291
1855	483	2	242
1856	497	2	249
1857	262	1	262
1858	818	3	273
1859	224	1	224
1860	0	0	0
1861	293	1	293
1862	893	3	298
1863	781	3	260
1864	558	2	279
1865	556	2	278
1866	581	2	291
1867	253	1	253
1868	279	1	279
Total	9,636	37	260

The first Convicts had arrived on the *Scindian* in 1850. Gibson had also acted as Surgeon on this vessel. It had carried 75 Convicts and 50 Pensioners. It was agreed that according the first Convicts should be able bodied, not over 45 years of age, well conducted in prison and having at least half their sentences to run - such sentences on conviction not having been for less than seven years. They should have previously been confined in England in one of the greater Prisons for a period of reformation such as that offered in the solitary cells of Millbank and Pentonville.² Strangely, many prisoners in England began acquiring "good" ratings when the prospect of shifting them overseas came up even though they were previously listed as being "bad" or "extremely bad".³

There was no accommodation at all for the first batch when they arrived and so they were held in a rented wool shed with half a roof and no floor, two large wooden stores, a house, two cottages, stables and a piece of land to serve as a parade ground until they had built their own Prison. Even this had to be cleaned out by a special advance party of twenty men. The rooms were very small - some 6ft by 6ft with three tiers of 2ft wide hammocks some 2 ft apart.⁴ Later that first year came the "Hashemy" landing another 100 which made for an 1850 total of 175 Convicts.⁵

The Colony certainly grew. The capital Perth underwent a period of building and during the 1850's the population tripled in size. The only problem was that there were not enough convicts to fulfil the labour requirements. The Act of 1853 which replaced transportation under 14 yrs with penal

² Source 19

Convict Ships by Bateson

³ Source 53

Mrs. K.O'Mara, letter from WA Convict and Resaerch group to kjn.

⁴ Source 33 "

Unwilling Emigrant" Hasluck

⁵ Source 37

J.S.Battye "Western Australia"

servitude cut the numbers available down drastically. Between 1850 and 1852 there had been an average of 2,696 transportation sentences a year but between 1854 and 1856 only 298. It was only when the regulation requiring half a sentence to be served at home was suspended after 1861 that the numbers rose again. Eventually the same factors which had finished transportation in the east finished it in the west in 1868. A growing social awareness economic changes and the construction of specialist prisons in the UK.

The last Convicts arrived in 1868 and by 1869 there were only some 3,000 still on the books as Imperial Prisoners from Britain. Self Government was granted in 1870 and by 1878 there were only some 600 serving sentences. The emphasis had begun to change as early as 1871 when there were listed 800 ex convict Paupers and Infirm who had to be supported by the State funds, instead of, as previously contributing to them by their prison labour. The last Imperial Convicts seem to have died in the 1930's ⁶ even though the Dictionary of Western Australians has the last living Minden men dying in 1908. ⁷

⁶ Source 53 Mrs. K.O'Mara as above .

Source 13 Thomas and Stewart "Imprisonment in Western Australia." UWAP 1978

⁷ Tom Knapp and William Hatch convicted for sheepstealing in 1849. Hatch died on 3.2.1908 and Knapp on 4.6.1908.

WESTERN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY IN 1851

His precise whereabouts between landing in 1851 and his marriage in 1853 are at present unknown, although the information surviving about the Ticket system and the various Certificates allow a certain amount of reconstruction. When primary Ticket Records are eventually consulted some reference may be found.

The society into which he moved was very different to that of rural Worcestershire. It was starkly divided into white and native, into free and un-free. The total “white” population of the Colony on December 31st 1851 was some 7,097 men women and children. ⁸ The native population was impossible to number, though all around. The most substantial part of this colonial society was that of the free non-military who consisted of a total of 5,170 persons or 73% of the whole. The next class was directly related to the transportation experiment and were the Pensioners, Military and Miners/Sappers who made up, with their families, a total of 958 persons or 13% of the whole population. This meant that the free and government related populations only totalled 6,098 persons or some 86% of the population leaving the remaining 14% to be the object of our interest.

It is possible to summarise the population on 31 December 1851 as follows:

Table 2: Analysis of British population in 1851. ⁹

Non-convict establishment	5,170		73%
Military and Engineering	958		14%
Ticket men in private service		505	
Ticket men at hiring depots		227	
Ticket men serving sentences		36	
Prisoners: Fremantle Gaol		201	
	6,128	969	11%
TOTAL POPULATION			100%

⁸ Source 119 PRO CO 29 1852 Blue book of Western Australian Statistics.

⁹ Source 119 PRO CO 29 1852 Blue book of Western Australian Statistics.

Convicts in Western Australia

The Convict classes into which Daniel entered therefore totalled some 969 persons at the half year ending 31 December 1851, and were apparently sub-divided into various radically different groups, according to the combination of Government sources¹⁰.

“Ticket of Leave” men

Daniel was one of the 768 Ticket of Leave men in the Colony. This group was actually sub-divided into three (Private Service, Hiring Depots and Serving Sentences) but essentially, those who landed with good behaviour and experience on their records would be given their Ticket of Leave very soon after arrival. Daniel received his only ten days after the arrival of the ship.

1. Daniel as a Ticket man in “Private Service.”

Daniel was apparently one of these men. They were moved out to hiring stations soon after arrival to look for supervised work. If they found it, under certain conditions, they were classed as being in Private Service. The Governor’s report ¹¹ states that within only a few days after arrival 45 Minden men had been absorbed into private service and that most Minden men at the start had been sent in detachments to rural areas to be employed by the settlers. Daniel was possibly in these groups.

On the 31st December 1851 there were 505 men in this category who had managed to fix themselves up. Their pay could be quite generous as the following average figures for the different judicial areas in 1851 show:

Table 3: Average Wages of Ticket men in Private Service - December 1851 ¹²

District	Numbers of men	£.s.d.
Fremantle	56	36.05.05
Perth	145	23.15.11
Sussex Vasse	12	18.16.08
Champion	22	18.09.01
Wellington	46	18.01.06
King George	20	15.05.10
Toodyay	58	15.03.05
Swan	74	15.02.07
Murray	5	15.00.00
York	65	14.15.06

These wages averaged out at some £18 per annum or about £1 10s a month. These were the most fortunate of the Ticket men - those with a useful trade and they soon were able to raise money and integrate themselves back into society when their term had expired. The regulations say that Ticket Men could earn wages of a pound a month. In practice they could earn a little more as the above table shows - at Fremantle they could pick up about £3 a month.

¹⁰ Source 76 i PRO CO 18/69 52-53 Comptroller General’s reports.

Source 40 ii PRO CO 18/69 Report and tables of arrivals.

¹¹ Source 40 I PRO CO 18/61 Page 112 December 1851

¹² Source 40 ii PRO CO 18/69 Report and Tables of arrival.

From this, the Convict was expected to repay the Government passage money as soon as possible after arrival. This amount varied according to length of sentence:

Table 4: Scale of repayments to Government of Transportation costs.

Sentence	Repayment	Repayment period
7	£07 10s. 0d	CHECK
10	£10 00s. 0d	2 years
15	£ 15 00s. 0d	3 years
20	£ 20 00s. 0d	4 years
Life	£ 25 00s. 0d	5 years

This was usually levied at £5 a year. Prompt payment, that is, previous to six and a half weeks before the due date, (which was every half year) brought a reduction allowance of 2s per pound - or 10%. Therefore, a 7 year man like Daniel could have earned an allowance of a maximum of 15s over his 7 year sentence - which, apparently he duly did.

The difficulties of administering such a scheme were such that, unsurprisingly, it was abandoned in 1857, but not before fragments of Daniel's details were recorded.¹³

Figure 1 Daniel's partial passage repayments

Date ending half year at:	Previous repaid inc. allowance	Paid by Works	Paid cash	Total paid	Total regulated allowance	References
31/12/1851						<i>CO 18/69</i>
31/6/1852		3s. 5 ¼	1-5-0	1-8-5 ¼		"
31/12/52	1-8-5¼			1-8-5 ¼		"
31/6/1853						
31/12/1853	1-8-5¼			1-8-5¼		<i>CO 18/73</i>
31/6/1854						
31/12/1854						
31/6/1855						
undated	1-8-5¼		6-1-7	7-10-0	16-0	<i>CO 18/82</i>

He appears to have paid most of the cost off with a lump sum at the end of the period of time.

The rations in use in Western Australia in October 1853 for Ticket of Leave men were as follows and can probably give some idea of the allowances for Ticket men at this time in 1851.

¹³ Source 56 PRO CO 18/82 Repayment of passage Money.
 Source 57 Battye Library Acc 128/8 Conduct of Minden Convicts
 Source 76 PRO CO 18 18/69,73,74,75,76 - Comptroller General's reports of 1851. CHECK THESE
 Source 84 PRO CO 18/82 Vol 4. Half year report Dec 1851. Section September 1 - 11.

Table 5: Ticket of Leave rations in 1853. ¹⁴

Quantity	Measure	Item
1½	pounds	Flour
1	pound	Meat
1	pound	Vegetables
½	ounce	Rice for soup
1½	ounces	Sugar
1½	ounces	Tea
¼	ounce	Soap
½	ounce	Salt
½	drachm	Pepper

His movements and behaviour were monitored. Douglas Jecks reported that:

“... had to report to the magistrate within seven days of his arrival and twice a year thereafter. If he wished to go to another district he had to carry a pass issued by the magistrate. He could choose his employer and was protected, and bound, by the Masters and Servants Act; but he could be bound for a year while his master could discharge him with only a month's notice. Also he had to notify the magistrate of any change in employers.

A ticket-of-leave man could be self-employed and engage other ticketers. He could own land and property; he could marry, although during the earlier years of the convict era permission of the comptroller general was required before the ceremony.

*A ticketer had to be indoors after ten o'clock at night. He had to carry his ticket at all times and show it on request. He could not own or carry fire-arms without permission.”*¹⁵

The detailed records for Daniel's employment have yet to turn up, but his trade was that of Shepherding, and there were certainly opportunities for pastoral work in Western Australia. In 1850, for example, it is recorded that there were 141,413 sheep in the Colony - a figure which was to show a three-fold increase in 15 years. The trade was lucrative, earning £54,297 in 1861 for the Colony. ¹⁶

The average Ticket man, such as Daniel, on departure for employment was:

*“... issued with a full kit, which included bed and bedding (four blankets), a pair of trousers, four pairs socks, four cotton shirts. waistcoat, jacket, bell, hat, four handkerchiefs and a pair of boots. ...received a food ration sufficient to last him until he reached his assigned depot. Two days' rations were issued to a convict sent to Guildford,...”*¹⁷

We may have some clue to finding further information given to us in Michael Bourke's book “On the Swan” ¹⁸ where mention is made of the placement of Ticket Men in the Swan District from official Registers referring to the first half of 1851 - the half year before Daniel's arrival ¹⁹:

Figure 2 - Ticket Men in the Swan District - 1851

¹⁴ Comptroller's Report Oct/Dec 1853

¹⁵ Rica Erickson, “the Brand on his Coat” Redlands, UWA Press 1983 page 5 – reference given in “13th generation” by Douglas Jecks.

¹⁶ “Western Australia” JS Battye.

¹⁷ “The Convict System in Western Australia, 1850-1870” Cherry Gertzel. UWA Honours thesis, 1949. Page 80. Quoted in 13th Generation, Douglas Jecks.

¹⁸ Source 144 Page 166. UWAP 1987

¹⁹ Convict System Papers, Battye Library, Dewey 343.2 vol 5, pt 3

Name	Trade	Employer	Per Month	Ticket Date
Thomas Raine	Carpenter	W.L. Brockman	1-00-00	11 Jan 1851
Frederick Pryme	Warehouseman	Jonathan Jones	1-05-00	10 Feb 1851
James Baxter	Groom	Mr. Horton	1-10-00	4 Feb 1851
Amos Settle	Farm Labourer	Henry Mead	1-05-00	13 Mar 1851
Jas McDonald	Labourer	Mr. Jecks	0-04-00	10 Apr 1851
John Davies	Mason	Mr. Dewar	²⁰ 2-05-00	28 May 1851

Perhaps one day a similar register will turn up for Daniel's period?

²⁰ Source original has £27 a year.

2. Ticket Men at hiring depots

If the Convict failed to find work in a fortnight under these supervised conditions he had to return to the Penal Establishment and was then sent under somewhat more stringent direction to one of the Depots which acted as labour exchanges. From there he could be hired by a settler and had to accept whatever wages were offered to him. In theory they had to remain there for a minimum of twelve months but this was found to be impractical.

The 227 Convicts in this position in December 1851 were distributed as follows:

Table 6: Convicts at Hiring Stations in December 1851. ²¹

Hiring Stations	Convicts
North Freemantle	42
Mount Eliza	9
Toodjay	51
York	47
Banbury	25
Albany	21
With Surveyor	7
On road to Toodjay	25

Some of these men were initially allocated to work for the “public good.” A group of 40 men from the Minden, for example were sent to Albany to the Public works on the harbour for the Steamer almost on arrival. ²² Others were put out on work at the steam Mills, as the Inquirer newspaper of 22nd Oct 1851 rather caustically relates:

"A party of ticket of leave men from the Minden have been located at the Steam Mills. They appear to be tolerably free from control and several of them were rolling about drunk upon the road under Mount Eliza. These men seem to have made themselves comfortable after only 8 days in the Colony. " ²³

They may have been the nine mentioned in the above table. Mt Eliza was the depot near Perth where the road parties were also based and they were generally given a daily ration of beer ²⁴. They had the value of their labour credited to them that allowed them to pay later charges. They were chained together on some parties nearly all at night. Good behaviour was assured by the threat of revocation of probationary tickets and the further putting off of the Conditional Pardon. Road makers could have had the greatest liberty and consisted of twenty to fifty of the best behaved who lived in camps along the road with one or two Officers. After 1853 they were allowed to choose their own Constable who worked with just one Officer.

²¹ Source 76 i Comptroller's Report 1852/3 CO 18/69
²² Source 40 i Colonial Office Report CO 18/61 Page 112 December 1851
²³ Source 35 Newspaper "Western Australian Enquirer" 23/10/1851
²⁴ Source 53 Letter from K O'Mara to K Norman.

3. Ticket men under sentence at Fremantle.

There would always be a remnant of the Ticket Men at the Depot in Fremantle who would be under even stricter supervision and are listed as serving Magistrates sentences. By December 1851 these amounted to 36 men and of these, the nine *Minden* men were:

Table 7: Offences of Minden convicts 1851. ²⁵

708	Thomas Davies	Drunk at Fremantle	7 days	Hard labour
712	Charles Eades	Drunk at Fremantle	7 days	Hard labour
683	John Oates	Larceny at Perth	6 months	Hard labour in irons
817	William Lenham	Larceny at York	1 year	Hard labour
834	Abraham Hargreaves	Larceny at Bunbury	6 months	Hard labour
749	John/Jesse Fisher	Indecency at Fremantle		Temp suspension of Ticket
718	Frederick Blades	Disobedience at Perth	1 month	Temp suspension of Ticket
873	John Murphy	Disobedience at Fremantle	14 days	In cells on bread and water
890	Eli Angel	Felony at Bunbury	1 year	Hard labour

Prisoners in Fremantle Gaol

There were a further 201 Prisoners held at Fremantle Gaol under traditional confinement. Most of them, 197 in fact, were of English origin and had therefore re-offended since arrival. There were only 4 who were of Colonial origin and they could have come from anywhere in the Empire.

The Comptroller and Governor's annual reports to London go into great detail about the work being done by these men in the central Gaol. The Convict establishment was still being set up and so the work for that half year ending December 1851 had been concentrated on the Public Buildings at Fremantle and Commissariat Offices, Comptroller's Offices, Warders' lodgings and Pensioners' barracks. At the date of the report the Depot needed to be built up to 400 / 500 men and was still seriously under strength with a labour shortage²⁶. In that six months there had been 200 Ticket men in the depot with only one offence which says something about their standard of behaviour.

The careful accounting reckoned that the convicts had performed a total of some £6, 563 17s. 11¼d work in that half year.²⁷ Men went through the depot so quickly that it was impossible to organise schooling although the Chaplain did make a rejected plea for books. It was certainly busy.

²⁵ Source 40 ii Colonial Office CO 18/69 report and tables on arrival

²⁶ Source 40 i PRO CO 18/61 Half yearly report pages 112/127 December 1851.

²⁷ Source 40 iii PRO CO 18/69 Page 69. Or 18/64 page 132 Work completed in half year ending Dec 1851.

SECTION 6 - 1853 AND FREEDOM

The year ending December 1853 was a very important for Daniel and contained three linked events.

- Firstly, he had finished his passage repayments at the end of it well within a one and a half year regulation repayment period (see above). One wonders what work he was doing that allowed him to pay the lump sum of £6 in December 1853.
- Secondly, the official half of his sentence from conviction date was up in July 1853 and he could have applied for his pardon on that date. Indeed, if he had been prompt in his payments and had a clean record, the regulations state that he could have applied even earlier in July 1852 and received his pardon on the dot of July 1853²⁸.

In fact his pardon was granted in February 1854; well after the regulation date of July 1853 which he should have earned by his prompt repayments. What had he done in the meantime to slow the process down? “The Dictionary of Western Australians” does record that he was freed as an expirée. This is obviously another difference in sources to be resolved by fuller documentation.

The Conditional pardon was the final stage in the Penal process and it was hoped that all convicts would proceed to this stage. The pardon could only be granted only by the Secretary of State through the Governor and removed all restrictions save that of returning to Britain, South Australia or Victoria before the term of the original sentence had expired. The Pardon was actually signed in February 1854.²⁹

*Gazette Number 433 March 14 1854
Colonial Secretaries Office March 11 1854
Conditional Pardons granted February 1854
717 Daniel Baughan etc*

- The third significant event in 1853 was the permission to marry granted for the half year ending December 1853 - which he duly did in November 1853.

Figure 3 Marriage of Daniel Baughan and Caroline Morely 1853

MARRIAGE Number: Guildford 632/1853							
When	Name	Age	Condition	Rank	Residence	Father	Father's Rank
26 Nov 1853	Daniel Baughan	above 24	Bachelor	Farmer	Upper Swan	Daniel Baughan	Farmer
	Caroline Morely	under 19	Spinster	Farmer's daughter	Upper Swan	Henry Morely	Farmer
Ceremony at: Guildford Registrar's Office. By S. W. Viveash ³⁰ , rites acc. Acts 4th, 5th and 10th of Queen Victoria							
Witnessed by: Thomas Ferguson and P H G Postlethwaite. ³¹							

²⁸ Source 39 Colonial Office CO 18/61 Page 39, 23rd October 1851 arrival of the Minden.

²⁹ Source 53 Letter Mrs. K O'Mara
Source 144 Dr Samuel Waterman Viveash Longest serving Resident Magistrate in the Swan District 1847 to 1872. Died in 1880 and kept detailed diary of his time as Magistrate. Photo extant in Bourke "On the Swan"

³¹ Source 43 Marriage certificate – 26/11/1853 Guildford632/1853

The family of Caroline Morley

This family into which Daniel fortuitously married is well documented in the various sources thus allowing us to get an impression of what a successful farmer could achieve upon emigration.

The Dictionary of Western Australians gives a very full list of Henry John Morley's life. The other main sources for this section come in various articles by his descendant, Dr. Douglas Jecks³²

The Morley family had arrived on 31st January 1830 at Fremantle on the "Wanstead" as "La Tour" settlers and had come from Surrey. They had two daughters, 2 year old Jane, who had been born in Surrey in 1828, (died in 1919) and 5 week old Johannah, who had been born on the high seas en route to the Colony in 1829 (died 1909). Henry was shown as a Farm Servant.

Henry was initially unable to claim land by virtue of having enough property, but as a farm servant, he worked on La Tour's land for some years, and during the late 1830s bought land at Albion Town on the west bank of the Swan River at Upper Swan. Albion Town was situated 2-3 kilometres south of All Saints' Church, which had been erected in 1841. A map of Albion Town shows that Morley had four buildings. His immediate need would have been a house for his family, a barn for storage, and stables for his horses.³³

Their home plot was 20 acres in size and was rented from a Mr. Smithers³⁴. In 1837 the census showed that in the seven years since their arrival they had prospered, having 5 acres of wheat, 2 ½ acres of Barley, ⅛ of an acre of potatoes and one acre of garden. They also had three tons of hay, one horse, ten swine and ten recently killed pigs.

Michael Bourke notes:³⁵

The progress of agriculture in the Swan district was considerably helped by the new supply of ticket-of-leave labour, and many of the local farmers took advantage of this to extend the area of cultivated land and enclosed pastures. Wheat-growing and hay-making were still the chief forms of agriculture in the district.

Here they had a further four children to add to the existing 2:

Barbara 1832-1920
Caroline 1835-1862
Hannah 1838-1921
Charles 1840-1919

Douglas Jecks later explained the reasons for labourers doing well in this area:³⁶

"The acquisition of land by labourers occurred to a greater extent in the Swan District than elsewhere in the colony. The arable parts of the Swan grants were limited in extent, and often were not large enough to support the gentleman farmer with his large establishment of employees.

³² "A true Pioneer" *The West Australian Magazine* 4 December 1976. Also unpublished Family study 13th Generation – partial copy supplied by Diane Pope who received a scan from Sandy Jecks in 2013.

³³ M.J. Bourke, *On the Swan, A History of the Swan District*, Nedlands, UWA p. 51.

³⁴ Bourke. Page 100, map Dept of Land Administration Plan 26. Listed as source 179

³⁵ Michael Bourke "On the Swan"

³⁶ Douglas Jecks' unpublished Family study 13th Generation – partial copy supplied by Diane Pope who received a scan from Sandy Jecks in 2013.

*The labouring man could make a living from a much smaller plot of ground than his master, and could supplement his income by taking work on neighbouring farms.*³⁷

On 19 December 1835, the following statement was published in *The Perth Gazette*:

*To prove that the settlers are neither miserable, scattered, nor wild, it is only necessary to say that on the Swan River, above Perth, within the distance of 20 miles, there are upwards of seventy families and establishments, exclusive of the inhabitants of Guildford and the little rising and flourishing village of Albion Town, where a body of steady and industrious labourers can always be found.*³⁸

On 4th March 1836 the following statement was published in *The Perth Gazette*:³⁹

Several acres of land on various parts of the Swan are now in the hands of what were formerly our labouring class - it will be found, before long, that these men will be the principal producers of grain for the market. The gentlemen farmers, or those possessed of greater means, it is generally believed, will retire by degrees to their larger grants, directing their attention more particularly to stock.

The banks of the Swan are admirably adapted for the growth of wheat, and our seasons have proved highly propitious; we have no reasonable ground, therefore, for apprehending any further scarcity.

*It matters little whether these lands are in the possession of either the labourer or the extensive farmer. They are sure to be brought into cultivation and will afford an ample supply for our wants.*⁷²

The life of women on the land was very hard. As well as repeated pregnancies, the care of their children, and their labour-intensive domestic tasks, they worked besides their husbands clearing, fencing and erecting buildings.

Hammond⁴⁰ describes their life in these terms:

Returning to the domestic work of the women - we can only wonder how they got through the work they did. Some of them even went out and helped their husbands with their work. Had it not been for the work and encouragement of the women many of the pioneers might have lost heart to keep up the struggle. I can remember seeing women helping their husbands to clear the land, and I once saw a woman clear a ten-acre block, only a mile from the Pinjarra bridge. This woman had five children to care for as well as her husband, who had to go out to earn the living, and she not only cleared the block of land, but fenced it as well. This was not an isolated case, but perhaps an exceptional one for Pinjarra. I have seen such work done by women in other parts of the colony. For every man who put one stone upon another in building the foundations of the colony, there was a woman to put the mortar between the stones to keep them together.

By 1841 Henry was working on Carson's Farm near the Anglican Church at Swan, still in the Albion town area. Here, a final two children were born, making a total of eight:

³⁷ M.J. Bourke, *On the Swan, A History of the Swan District, Nedlands, UWA p. 101*

³⁸ M.J. Bourke, *On the Swan, A History of the Swan District, Nedlands, UWA p. 101 and sourced by Douglas Jecks in the 13th Generation.*

³⁹ Sourced by Douglas Jecks in the 13th Generation.

⁴⁰ J.E. Hammond, *Western Pioneers, Victoria Park, Imperial, 1980. Reference supplied by Jecks - 13th Generation.*

Henry 1842-1915
William 1845-1927

The combined sources record a whole range of further events and describe the gradual establishment and prosperity of this family:

- In 1843 he issued a notice against trespassers
- In 1844 he found a pony on his land.
- On 16 Apr 1844 “Morley” listed on definitive road map - land once “Smithers” - nr Bennett’s Bridge, north of Guildford. ⁴¹
- In 1845 he employed Parkhurst juvenile criminals.
- In 1848 Ditto
- In 1849 he found a lost filly on his land.
- In 1850 advertised a horse for stud, and helped survey the Blue Plains Road near Chittering.

After 20 years at Albion Town and the Swan area, they had established to a stage where they had a financial base to purchase land at Chittering, at a cost of £20 for 20 acres in 1853. The house they built there is still in good repair, (now known as *Enderslea Farm*) along with his barn built in the 1850’s with Convict labour. It is 20m by 10m. The barn originally had a wooden floor, and from time to time was used for dances, the music being supplied by an accordion player. There is also a chimney stack, reputed to be from a Shepherd’s hut. Social life was limited, and visitors often stayed for some time before returning to their isolated farms. ⁴²

Douglas Jecks also recorded in “*13th Generation*”, obviously in response to his Grandmother Johannah’s memories that :

“about once a month the Morleys made the 40 kilometre journey to Guildford. It took about ten hours by horse and buggy. In Guildford, they sold butter, eggs, vegetables, wheat and meat at Gull’s Store. They bought cloth, clothing, iron implements and powder and shot. The transaction was little short of barter. Overnight, they stayed at the Rose & Crown Inn before returning to Chittering.”



⁴² *Southern* **Figure 4: Enderslea Farm, Chittering Valley (property of Diane Pope)** *Administration. WA . Listed as*

Chitta Chitta by Graeme Pollock. Perth Veritas 1987 p7 – through extract in Douglas Jecks’ 13th Generation.

This undated painting from this period was recently bought at auction by Diane Pope, the present owner of Enderslea Farm. Douglas Jecks knew of it as being part of his family history, but did not know its provenance.

The Morley family continued to prosper:

- In 1852 he made a stack of wheat 20 ft high and 200 square yds in extent.⁴³
- In 1853 he paid £20 for another 20 acres of land at Chittering.

The Jecks' article⁴⁴ further states:

“at Chittering the sheep and cattle were taken out into the bush each day by shepherds. They grazed the animals along the Chittering brook and at night brought them back to the farm to be penned. Part of the ruins of one of the shepherd’s stone huts is still standing.”

Could Daniel have been one of these men? The intriguing possibility raises itself that perhaps Daniel was one of the Ticket men employed by the Morleys. His whereabouts between 1851 and 1853 are at present unknown – could he have been working at Chittering with the Morleys and thus got to know Caroline?

In 1853 came the marriage of their daughter Caroline to Daniel. Was Daniel really welcome into this prosperous family? There were no other family members listed as witnesses at the wedding and since they employed Ticket men around the property perhaps they were not too pleased at having one marry their daughter?

In any case, however he got to know them it looks as if he may have misled the Morleys about his crime. Daniel’s daughter Johannah told her own grand-son, Douglas Jecks that:⁴⁵

“... he had been convicted for stealing a horse and cart from his master to the value of £7-0-0. It is probable that he misled Henry Morley and his family in this regard, as they knew nothing of his conviction for the theft of £107-18-10. It is a quirk of fate that his deception should come to light almost 150 years after the original crime. Whether his wife Caroline knew or whether his employer, George Sewell, did, is unknown; it is probable that they did not.

The list of business deals goes on in the various sources:

- About 1855 he bought an additional 15 acres there.⁴⁶
- In 1858 he bought an additional 5 acres of land⁴⁷
- By 1860 he had qualified as a juror with £1,500 in estate.
- Between 1859 and 1870 he employed 14 Ticket of leave men.
- Between 1859 and 1870, he employed 14 ticket-of-leave men at Chittering.⁴⁸
- By 1860, he had property to the value of £1,500 and on this basis qualified as a juror.⁴⁹

⁴³ Source 144 Bourke, page 179

⁴⁴ Source 142 as above.

⁴⁵ Douglas Jecks. Thirteenth generation

⁴⁶ Rica Erickson Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australian Page 2230 – reference extracted from Douglas Jecks “13th Generation”.

⁴⁷ Source 141 Letters from Pat Henry to Kevin Norman in 1994

⁴⁸ Rica Erickson Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australian Page 2230 – reference extracted from Douglas Jecks “13th Generation”.

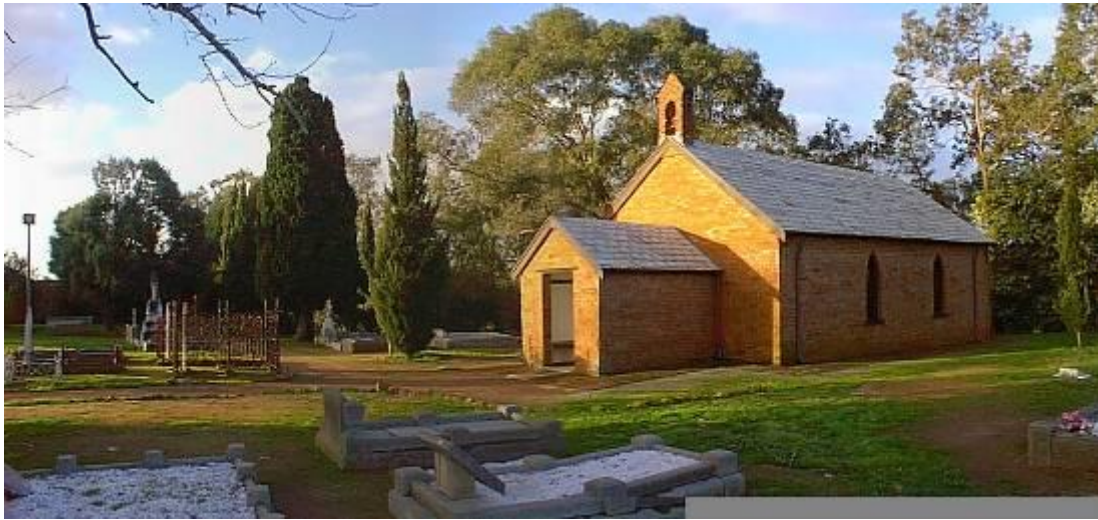


Figure 5: All Saints Church, Upper Swan. 2000 (Norman) ⁵⁰

The Morley graves of Henry and Sarah are in the iron enclosure to the left of the church porch.



Figure 6: Henry and Sarah Morley’s gravestone. 2000 (Norman) ⁵¹

⁴⁹ Rica Erickson *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australian* Page 2230 – reference extracted from Douglas Jecks “13th Generation”.
⁵⁰ Source 208 Kevin Norman in 2000.

1853 – Freedom and moving up the Swan Valley

An understanding of his progress after the pardon relies on broadly the same sources as before - the official registers of births, marriages, deaths and the various editions of Dictionary of Western Australians - but now with the addition of references in magazines, books, police records and letters from friends about enquiries still being undertaken.

The first of these sources to be of use are a series of entries from the Registrar General's books. They show that some sixteen months after the Pardon he seems to be settled with the birth of the first of three children - near to the home of his parents in law at Swan .

Figure 7 - Birth of Johannah Elizabeth Baughan 1855

<i>BIRTH Number: Register number 338</i> ⁵²								
<i>When/Where</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father's rank</i>	<i>Informant</i>	<i>Registered</i>	<i>Registrar</i>
<i>14 June 1855 Upper Swan</i>	<i>Johannah Elizabeth</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Daniel Baughan</i>	<i>Caroline Morely</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>Daniel Baughan Farmer Upper Swan</i>	<i>9 July 1855</i>	<i>S. W. Viveash</i>

He is recorded by the Dictionary as being at Swan at some point and employing a Ticket of leave man himself and so perhaps was enjoying a certain amount of prosperity. Three years later another birth took place in the Gingin district at Chittering.

Figure 8 Birth of William Henry Baughan 1858

<i>BIRTH Number: Register 11 - 1021</i> ⁵³								
<i>When/Where</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father's rank</i>	<i>Informant</i>	<i>Registered</i>	<i>Registrar</i>
<i>23 Jan 1858 Chiteren</i>	<i>William Henry</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Daniel Baughan</i>	<i>Caroline Morley</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>Daniel Baughan, Father of child</i>	<i>17 Feb 1858</i>	<i>John York</i>

Then, the next year, still at Chittering

Figure 9 Birth of Emma Baughan 1859

<i>BIRTH Number: Register 464</i> ⁵⁴								
<i>When/Where</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father's rank</i>	<i>Informant</i>	<i>Registered</i>	<i>Registrar</i>
<i>3 Mar 1859 Chittering</i>	<i>Emma</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Daniel Baughan</i>	<i>Caroline Morley</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>D Baughan Farmer, Chittering, the father</i>	<i>3 April 1859</i>	<i>S.W. Viveash</i>

⁵¹ Source 208 Kevin Norman in 2000.

⁵² Source 44 Guildford 2848 1855

⁵³ Source 45 Gingin 4021 1858

⁵⁴ Source 46 Guildford 4577 1859

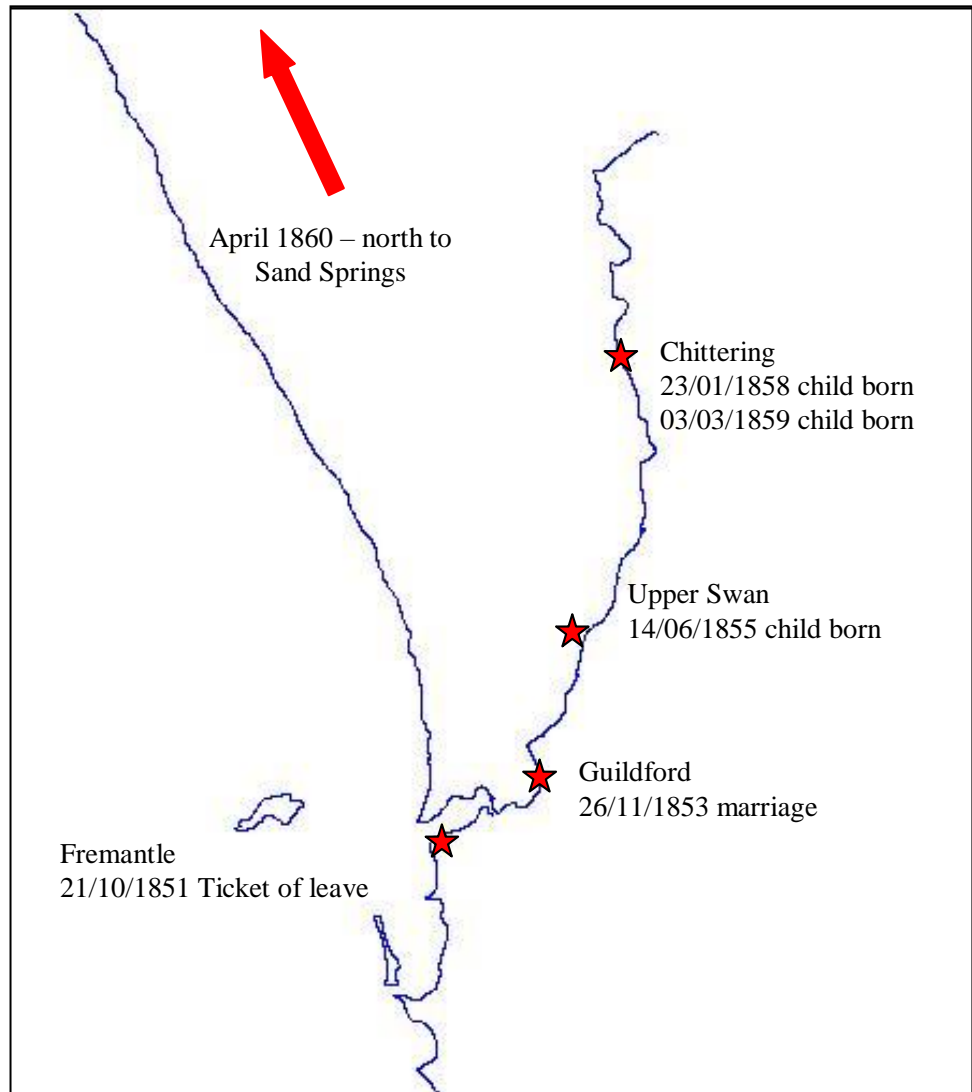


Figure 10: Sites in the Swan Valley associated with Daniel Baughan 1860 ⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Source 209

Map by Kevin Norman

1860 - the move northwards to Sand Springs.

At this point we can see that the little family was growing with a certain amount of security and nearness to wealthy parents in law. Why, therefore did they decide to move 260 miles north to Sand Springs in the district east of Greenough ?

The coastal area had been opened up to European settlement after exploratory voyages in 1841 and the opening of lead mines in 1849.⁵⁶ The first house was up in Geraldton only in May 1850. They were moving into “pioneer” country, not even ten years in European occupation, and populated by many Ticket Men such as Daniel.⁵⁷

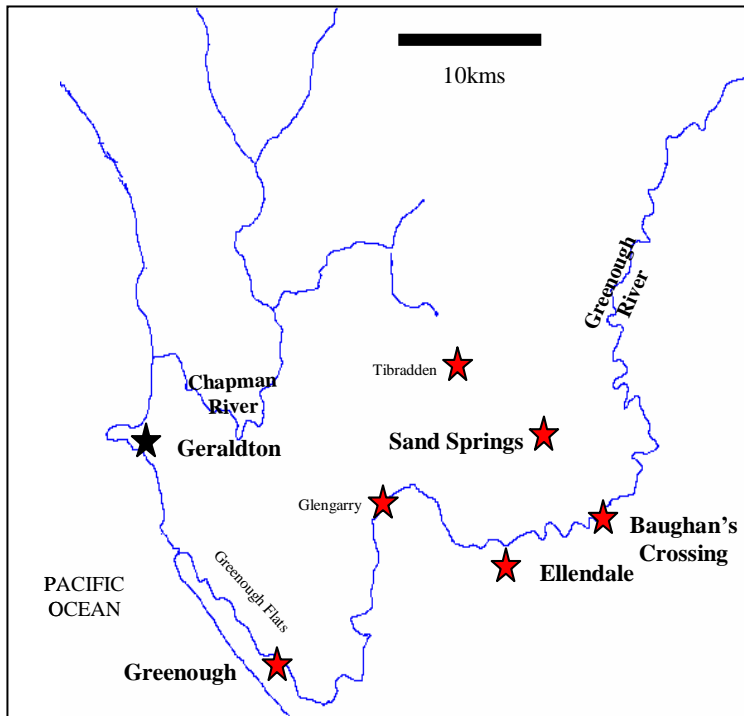


Figure 11: Early leases in Victoria district⁵⁹

The answer seems to begin in September 1850, when a group of Farmers, closely related friends calling themselves the “Pastoral Company”, mainly from York, set out overland with their bullock teams towards the Champion Bay. They herded their sheep and cattle with them with the intention of taking up new land in the district. These included William and Lockier Burges, Thomas Brown and son Kenneth Brown, Major Logue, J Walcott and J.S.Davis. They reached the Greenough Flats on October 12th 1850 – soon moving on to their chosen grazing land. They were later followed by George Sewell and the De Boulay family.⁵⁸

On 19th March 1852 a 40,000 acre lease centred on Glengarry was granted to “Davis, Walcott and Co.”⁶⁰ The Davis being John Sydney Davis - a man who will feature prominently in Daniel’s story - and who was the first to settle at Tibradden by 1853. Other settlers soon moved into the area, The intention was that they took a portion of the original 40,000 acres - and then extended with their own leases and homesteads.

Other persons important in Daniel’s story soon established themselves in this way: by 1853, Major Logue⁶¹ at his Ellendale Station and by 1854 Logue’s brother-in-law George Sewell, with the title to a portion of Logue’s land at Sand Springs. (Indeed, Sewell’s daughter later married John Sydney Davis’s son⁶²)

⁵⁶ Source 205

Government Gazette dated 17th March 1849. Page 43 “The Waldeck Story”

⁵⁷ Source 83.

“The First Hundred Years.”

⁵⁸ Source 205

“The Waldeck Story” page 44

⁵⁹ Source 209

Map by Kevin Norman

⁶⁰ Source 80.

Sr Albertus Bain. Ancient Landmarks. UWAP Page 177.

⁶¹ Source 165

Mr Major Logue kept a diary from 1850 to his death in 1900.

⁶² Source 80.

Sr Albertus Bain. See above.

Life in this area, with its land conflicts with existing aboriginal populations is graphically illustrated in Sr. Albertus Bain's Book "Ancient Landmarks"⁶³ which recounts of the early days at the first Logue homestead at Glen Osbourne (a mile away from the second at Tibbradden - which they had reached by 1853):

"The cottage was in a narrow gully and sheltered from southerly winds by a high breakaway. Natives standing aloft on this were in an ideal situation to aim spears at Logue and his Irish servant, Matthew McCluskey. Ellen Logue had her own tales to tell, too, of those early years before she had the companionship of Catherine McCluskey. On one occasion the natives commenced throwing spears at her small cottage while Major Logue was out riding his stock. When they realised they could not drive her from the house, they became very frustrated. They attached lighted reeds to their spears and were admiring these at the thatched roof when Major Logue returned. He found his wife sitting out of the natives' sight, shooting through a narrow space towards the bluff, and at the same time she rocked a cradle with her foot."



Figure 12: Sand Springs Station 2000 (Norman)⁶⁴

In later years, Joanna described to her grandson Douglas Jecks the following horrific scene which she must have witnessed before moving south aged six:⁶⁵

"On one occasion, Johannah witnessed an attempt to save the life of a shepherd who had been speared in the back. She stood near the barn, and through an opening, was able to see that the long shaft of the spear had been cut off and that the short length was still protruding

⁶³ Source 80 "Ancient Landmarks" Page 178

⁶⁴ Source 208 Kevin Norman in 2000.

⁶⁵ Douglas Jecks: Thirteenth Generation".

from the shepherd's back, and moved in time with the heartbeat. The spear was removed by being pushed through the body. She remembered this vividly some 80 years after the event."

Why on earth did Daniel and his little family move here to work for George Sewell in April 1860 at Sand Springs?

Part of the answer comes in the fact that George Sewell and his wife Frances, despite being granted the property by at least 1854, did not take up residence here until 1867 - when he arrived with his wife and six children in a "sulky" from their home in Chittering in a two month migration.⁶⁶ He had occupied and worked the property with Conditional Pardon men and their wives⁶⁷ One of these may have been Daniel with his little family. The early years were much taken up with clearing trees, and here we may see the connection with Daniel Baughan - who was living in Chittering and could have met Sewell there.

Other sources show⁶⁸ that pastoralists and farmers employed shepherds to take care of their flocks – as many as a 1,000 sheep at a time. The larger properties employed a hutkeeper to cook for the shepherd who was out watching the flocks. The job was an arduous one for

*"the shepherd has no right to lose sight of his sheep from the time he takes them out in the morning until he brings them home at night. Natives or Native dogs will get them."*⁶⁹

A good example of the calibre of some of these men who worked the area comes in the letter written by Mr. John Sydney Davies, JP, at his Tibbradden Station, on 4th December 1860, describing the 24 or so convicts known to him in the area: (one of whom was very likely to have been Daniel - see reference in text below.)⁷⁰

"... I consider the majority of those forming that class of persons in my neighbourhood to be very quiet and well conducted. Most of the settlers about here have so much confidence in their good behaviour and the power of the law, that they seldom or never fasten their doors at night. Their good conduct is the result of the mild but firm system of control the men are subject to in the convict establishment; the freedom they enjoy to choose their different employments and masters while on their ticket; all of which they forfeit if convicted of any crime; and also to the great facilities which the colony at large and this district in particular offer to them to earn an honest living. There are of course some black sheep amongst them, but they generally in a little while find their way back to the convict establishment..."

⁶⁶ Source 81 "Roundabout Geraldton" Halley and Wilson.

⁶⁷ Source 80 "Ancient landmarks" page 178

⁶⁸ Source 205 page 63 "The Waldeck Story"

⁶⁹ Source 205 page 63 "The Waldeck Story" 1850 letter to the Colonial Secretary.

⁷⁰ Source 181 Convict Links Magazine Jan 1999, Vol 13, Number 1. Reference on way. Mr John Sydney Davis of Tibbradden wrote a letter about convict re-habilitation to Mr W. Padbury in Perth which eventually made it's way into Select committee evidence on Transportation in 1861.

1860 sub-leasing 20,000 acres at Sand Springs

The full explanation about the move comes in a sworn deposition by Daniel himself before a magistrate as part of a later dispute over Mr Sewell's Pastoral lease of 20,000 acres (number 514) which was made in January 1861.

"WA. Geraldton. To wit:

26 January 1861

Deposition of Daniel Baughan of Victoria district, Yeoman taken before C. Symons Esq.⁷¹, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Colony.

*Daniel Baughan, Sworn saith. On the 6th. of April 1860 I arrived in the Victoria District from the Swan, to take possession by order of Mr G. Sewell of the Swan, of his pasture run of 20,000 acres in the above district and to break up and cultivate 40 acres out of the said square near the Sand Spring. He gave me a lease of the 20,000 including the 40 for cultivation for three years, and in the lease were these words, "to be hereinafter surveyed." About the 12th. June 1860 I began to break up 20 acres out of the 40 and this quantity (20 acres) I have cropped. I have fenced in the 40 acres. In June last I received a letter from my landlord Mr. G. Sewell saying that he had "made it all right about the agricultural land."⁷²*Signed Daniel Baughan, signed Chas Symmons JP."**

We can learn more of Daniel's time at Sand Springs, and construct a chronological narrative from the combination of these and other papers in the Colonial Secretaries' records.

- 6th April 1860 Daniel had arrived at Sand Springs and Sewell gave him lease of 20,000 acres for three years.⁷³
- May 24th 1860 George Sewell made an application vary Pastoral lease 514 in order to cultivate 40 acres of his 20,000 acres lease at Sand Springs, which as we have seen above, he was to sub-lease to Daniel for three years.⁷⁴
- 12th. June 1860 Daniel began to cultivate 20 of the 40 acres, having in that month received a letter from his landlord informing him that it had all been made right.⁷⁵
- Before September 20th 1860 a Mr. P.C. Elverd was riding through the district and came across the 40 acres of Daniel's fenced tillage land. Being on the look out for land on the 20th he consulted the map in the Surveyor's Office and saw that no land allocated for tillage was marked. Thinking that Sewell had violated his temporarily granted lease - thus losing his right to be the first chance buyer - he applied to purchase 200 acres in one block and 50 in another - which included the "illegally" cultivated land.⁷⁶
- 19th. October 1860 the Assistant Surveyor General wrote to P.C.Elverd acknowledging receipt of his application to buy 250 acres of Sewell's pastoral lease, evidently implying that Sewell had no purchased rights to the land which would allow him to cultivate. This was contradicted by Baughan saying that Sewell had especially told him that "all was right" with the cultivation. As a result, on the 28th. November 1860 Charles Symmons JP referred the dispute to the Governor.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Source 205 *This may be the Charles Symmons who arrived about 1838 to act as a "native protector" Waldeck page 25*

⁷² Source 150 *Colonial Secretaries' papers, volume 460/130.*

⁷³ Source 150 *Colonial Secretaries' papers, volume 460/130.*

⁷⁴ Source 150 *Colonial Secretaries' papers, volume 460/130.*

⁷⁵ Source 150 *Colonial Secretaries papers, volume 460/130. So*

⁷⁶ Source 149. *CSR Vol 460/135 Battye Accession number 36*

⁷⁷ Source 148. *CSR Vol 460/134 Battye Accession number 36 Letter 9511*

- 4th December 1860 Mr John Sydney Davies of Tibbradden wrote a letter in which he mentions 24 reformed convicts known personally to him, the anonymous eighth of whom seems to resemble Daniel far too closely, after he sub-leased 20,000 acres to him in May 1860:

“married in colony, holds 20,000 acres, squatting station, and 700 sheep; 50 head of cattle from Mr G Sewell on shares of increase and wool; farms 20 or 30 acres”⁷⁸

- December 10th 1860 George Sewell wrote to the Governor about the matter.
- 26th January 1861 Daniel made his sworn statement to Charles Symons JP.⁷⁹
- 11th. of February 1861 the Governor's office wrote to Sewell, informing him that as he had requested permission to cultivate before beginning to do so, his lease was safe - but also reminding him that he must make good his pre-emptive claim to the 250 acres as soon as possible.⁸⁰

We even have oral evidence of Daniel being in this area⁸¹

"On Sand Springs, before the Blayneys went there, there was a fella named Dan Baughan, his cross(ing of the river) is still down there.

⁸²*This Dan Baughan had a wife and children, and lived at Sand Springs, there wasn't much there, and he selected up there with the Eaves's, Baughan...*

"(Harry) Eaves told Gordon afterwards that the house is still up there,⁸³ it never had a roof on it, that Dan Baughan built and Sam Eaves is .., you ask George Eaves about it, four walls are still standing, but he never lived under it, course his wife and family...."

Presumably Daniel continued with this 20,000 lease for the full three years stated in his statement, from 6th April 1860 to the 6th. April 1863. However, he must have been an ambitious man at this stage as he was also interested in other land and leases as further evidence shows.

On the one hand Sand Springs⁸⁴ saw his wife and family settled in fairly secure surroundings - but the other saw an interest in an area around Kockatea Spring some 60 miles to the east.

⁷⁸ Source 181. J.S.Dviis letter about reformed convicts. See Above.

⁷⁹ Source 150 Colonial Secretaries' papers, volume 460/130.

⁸⁰ Source 157. Governor's letter to Sewell, 11 Feb 1861 number 2265

⁸¹ Source 163 Audio tape copy supplied by Pat Hendry of Bert Keefe 1973 interview with Tom Blayne of Eridu. 81 year old Mr. Tom Blayne of Eridu on the Greenough River. He must have been relaying information originally provided by Daniel after the accident - 108 years before, perhaps to members of his family?

⁸² Source 209 Maps by Kevin Norman

⁸³ Source 158 reference to this possibly being Illino Property.

⁸⁴ Sources 81 & 82 "Twentieth Century Impressions of WA" & "Halley & Wilson".

Sand Springs itself has been described in a number of later sources in some detail in its fully developed form. By 1901 the station consisted of 6,000 freehold and 40,000 leasehold acres - carrying some 10,000 sheep. There was a good deal of agricultural land in the district - but nothing cultivated save for animal hay and a small fruit garden. Much timber had been cleared off in the preceding 37 years of the station - and the rainfall was fairly regular producing fast growing grass. By 1947 the homestead was about 70 years old with thick stone walls and wide verandahs, surrounded by a beautiful flower growing garden. The 50 year old orchard was still bearing fruit. This condition was after some 80 years of work - what must Daniel have found when he turned up !

1861 - Kockatea Springs

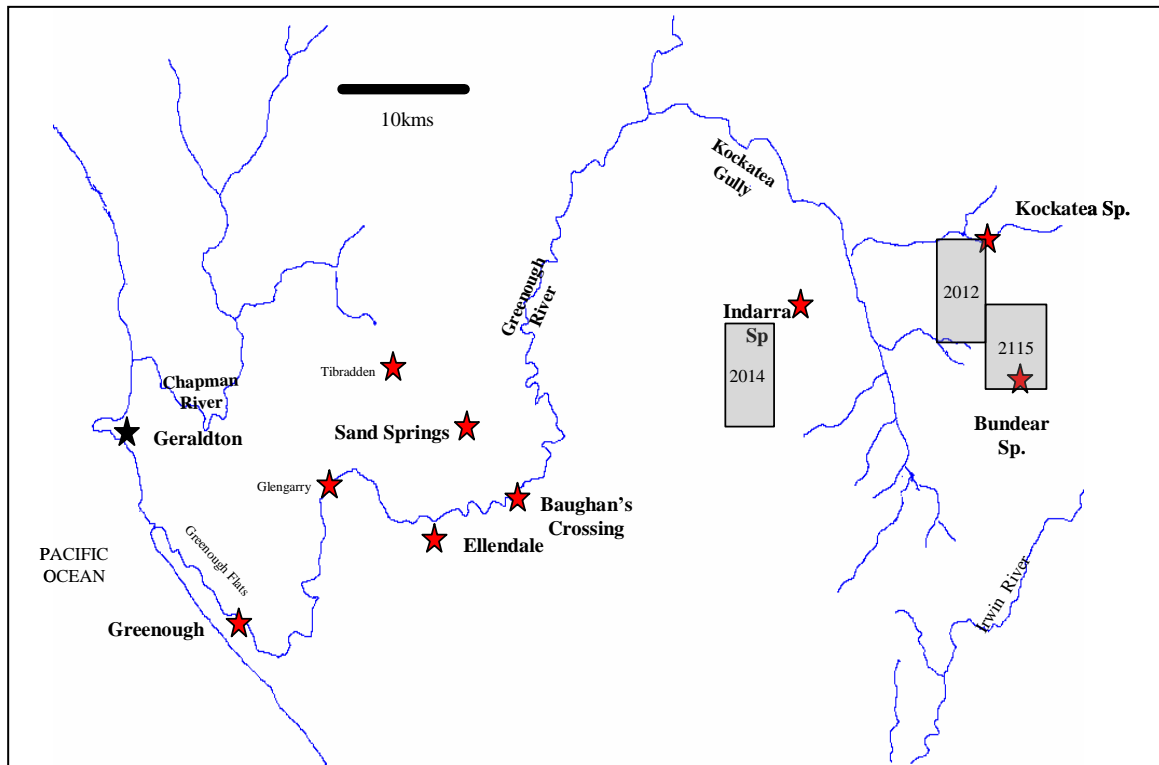


Figure 13: New leases in the east

The Kockatea Springs area was very different in character from that of Sand Springs.⁸⁵ This was some sixty miles east of Geraldton and between the Irwin and Greenough Rivers on a rise of sandy plain to which access was only gained up the rivers and the Kockatea Gully.

There appears to have been a general movement of population eastwards from the Geraldton area and many of the early land owners are recognisable from the Sand Springs area - for example, Major Logue of Ellendale took up Bundeare Spring near Kockatea and John Sydney Davis had leases from at least 1859 totalling some 66,000 acres. Eventually a stock route was to be burnt over this plain, but it was too light for heavy goods and so life for the Shepherds and isolated hut men was supplied by pack wagon and light carts, initially moving up the Irwin and Greenough Rivers, then the Kockatea Gully.⁸⁶ This movement may have been due to the overcrowding of previous pastures, a situation traditionally met by a shepherd and hut man tending about 1,000 sheep departing from their home runs to exploit the eastern country. During the winter pastures, they were at home, but after shearing in the summer they were moved on to new pastures.⁸⁷

There was constant conflict between the incoming Shepherds and Aboriginal people as it became more apparent that water supplies were being exhausted by ever growing flocks. Many examples are recorded of Shepherds losing their lives in isolated incidents of violence and retribution - even as early as March 1859 when an Aboriginal man was shot at Davis' camp.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Source 209

Map by Kevin Norman

⁸⁶ Source 146

"Eastward Ho!" Bert Keefe. Page 1

⁸⁷ Source 146

"Eastward Ho!" Bert Keefe. Page xi

⁸⁸ Source 146

"Eastward Ho!" Bert Keefe. Page 2 The culprit, Bibby, was eventually hanged.

The first reference to Daniel in this area comes on June the 10th 1861 when he applied for a pastoral lease of land four miles south-south west of a place named Kockatea Spring. Later events might place this near Bundeary Spring. This was refused by the Acting Surveyor General on the grounds that it might interfere with an existing lease number 1793 which had been granted to John Sydney Davis of Tibbradden at Illene/Illino Spring.⁸⁹ However, after further enquiry, on August 1st 1861 Davis informed the Surveyor that there would be no problems with this grant because Kockatea was about 15 miles from his lease at Illene⁹⁰

Family life back at Sand Springs continued for in October 1861 came the birth of a son, with Daniel as the informant:

<i>BIRTH Number: Register</i> ⁹¹								
<i>When/Where</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father's rank</i>	<i>Informant</i>	<i>Registered</i>	<i>Registrar</i>
<i>10 Oct 1861 Sand Springs</i>	<i>Daniel Henry</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Daniel Baughan</i>	<i>Caroline Morley</i>	<i>Yeoman</i>	<i>Daniel Baughan Father of the child Sand Springs</i>	<i>8 Nov 1861</i>	<i>Thomas ?</i>

Figure 14 - Birth of Daniel Henry Baughan 1861

With his family increasing, his prosperity also improved, for by 1864, and certainly shortly after 1861 Daniel "Boughan" had been successful in taking up three leases of pastoral land in this area all between 1861 and 1868 - at a probable annual cost of £17 14s. 10d.⁹²

⁸⁹ Source 161. The actual application has been searched for under Baughan and Davis in 1861.

⁹⁰ Source ??

⁹¹ Source ?? Birth 1861 Sand Springs

⁹² Source 158 "Eastward Ho!" by Bert Keefe, pages 2 and 179

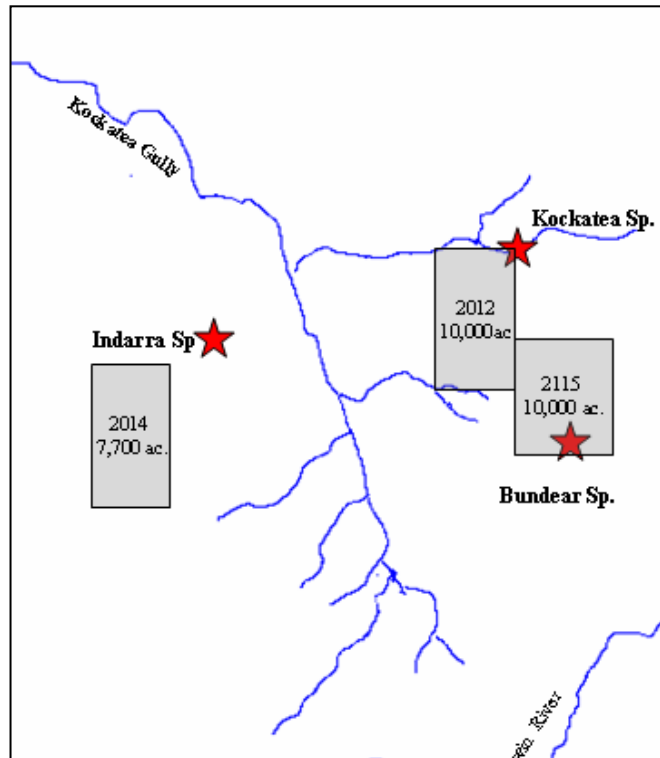


Figure 15: Bert Keefe's approximate locations of Baughan leases. ⁹³

- Firstly, lease number 2014 of 7,700 acres of class A land at Indarra Spring some 25 miles from Tibbradden on the main road heading eastwards to the new areas. Under the current land regulations, this property was leased for a maximum of eight years. Class A land was that within two miles of the sea or from either bank of a river or water supply. It was rented at 1 pound per thousand acres a year and Daniel's 7,700 acres would have cost him about 7 pounds 14s a year. Tenure was not secure, and the Governor could offer for sale at the end of each year any part of the land - though the pastoralist was given the first option to buy.
- Then lease 2012, some 10,000 acres of class B lease at West Kockatea This land was further than 2 miles from a water supply and fetched 10s per thousand acres a year - thus he would have had to have paid 5 pounds for this property. Much of this land had reliable rainfall and so was much sought after for tillage. It could be sold under the same conditions as the class A land above.
- Lease 2115 of a 10,000acre class B lease at North Bundear. This land was further than 2 miles from a water supply and fetched 10s per thousand acres a year - thus he would have had to have paid 5 pounds for this property - Much of this land had reliable rainfall and so was much sought after for tillage. It could be sold under the same conditions as the class A land above.

He must have hoped that his work in the thriving Sheep industry would do well enough to pay this annual sum of the lease.

⁹³ Source 209 Map by Kevin Norman.

1862 Violence, death and losing the children.

The year 1862 saw repeated instances of violence near Daniel's leases and one could presume that he came into some contact with such events. For example on April 9th 1862 an attack was reported in the "Inquirer and Commercial News" which had taken place at Kockatea Spring.

"From the North we learn that an attack has been made by the natives on the sheep station of Mr John Sydney Davis about 100 miles from Champion Bay. They destroyed a great number of sheep and dared the shepherds to move even to get anything to eat nearly starving the poor men. Eleven of these natives have been caught and were we presume among the gang who landed in Fremantle on Sunday."

If he was present at this event it might explain to some extent why he was not present at the death of his wife at Sand Springs on the very day the article was published .

Figure 16 Death of Caroline Baughan, nee Morley

DEATH Number: Victoria 1946/1862 ⁹⁴								
When/Where	Name	Sex	Age	Rank	Cause	Informant	Registered	Registrar
9 April 1862 Sand Springs	Caroline Baughan	Fem	32		Disease of heart	W. H. Timperley Insp of Police Geraldton	12 April 1862	Thos Symmons Sub registrar.

Daniel must have found out quickly because family records state that **his letter to his wife's parents** arrived some 14 days after the death on April 23rd 1862. ⁹⁵

He obviously had no way to care for his young family of seven year old Joannah Elizabeth, four year old William, three year old Emma, and one year old Daniel, and a decision was apparently made that their grandmother, the 56 year old Sarah Morley should travel to the north to fetch them back to their deceased mother's family in the south. ⁹⁶

A week or so later, according to the family ⁹⁷ (perhaps the 30th of April?) the 56 year old Sarah set off alone with a horse and buggy. The journey was one of about 400km along a bush track and she had to travel 12 hours a day. It took her nine days to reach Greenough and she remained there five days to rest the horse. She carried food for herself, mainly bread, and chaff for the horse. Apart from brief spells to rest, and to water and feed the horse, she travelled for about 15 hours each day from before dawn to dark. The track was ill-defined and it took her nine days to reach Sand Springs.

Many 84 years later, the 91-year-old Joanna could remember her Father's distress at their final parting. They were never to see him again.

According to Joannah's discussions with her grandson Douglas Jecks, the only white men seen on the return journey were the Benedictine Monks at New Norcia and so Sarah was very concerned that the horse would run away during the night and leave them stranded. Both front and back feet were hobbled to prevent this. Then she and three children bedded down on the ground under the buggy.

⁹⁴ Source ?? Death certificate - Victoria District 1946/862

⁹⁵ Source 142 Dr.Douglas Jecks' article on Henry Morely Query – does this mean that the letter still exists? The following information is detailed enough for one to think that the Author, Dr. Jecks, apparently also has access to the letter from Daniel at the time of his wife's death .

⁹⁷ Douglas Jecks' "Thirteenth Generation" specifies that " This discussion is based both on a diary belonging to the Morley family and on discussions with Johannah Wellman, 1937-1948."

The loss of the horse would have been disastrous. A woman and three small children would have little chance of walking to safety. For the trip home, they had baked loaves of bread, and this was the basis of their food as they travelled south.

They reached Chittering on May 24th 1862 and the 800km round trip had taken 25 days.

1863 Re-marriage to Catherine Bridgeman of Greenough.

Daniel junior, without his mother's care and with an absent father died in Chittering within twelve months of his mother's death. The two girls' Joanna and Emma, continued to live at Chittering until 1876 when their grandfather Henry Morley died.⁹⁸

Figure 17 Death of Daniel Henry Baughan

<i>DEATH</i> Number: ⁹⁹								
<i>When/Where</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Informant</i>	<i>Registered</i>	<i>Registrar</i>
2 Mar 1863 Upper Swan	Daniel Baughan	Male	Near 17 months		Teething	Charles Morely The Uncle of the child Upper Swan	6 March 1863	S. W. Viveash

Daniel continued living in this area of the north, perhaps out on his leases, perhaps returning to Sand Springs from time to time.

Whatever he was doing the 35 year-old Daniel returned often enough to arrange a marriage twenty months after the death of his first wife to the nineteen year old Catherine Bridgeman:

Figure 18 Marriage Daniel Baughan to Catherine Bridgeman 1863

<i>MARRIAGE</i> Number: Register book 2 - 2078 ¹⁰⁰							
<i>When/Where</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Condition</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Father's Rank</i>
December 2nd 1863 Greenough	Daniel Baughan	above	Widower	Farmer	Sand Springs Greenough	Daniel Baughan	Labourer
	Catherine Gale Bridgeman	under	Spinster			Joseph Bridgeman	Farmer
<i>Ceremony at: Mr. Bridgeman's, rites of United Church of England and Ireland - by Henry Thornhill</i>							
<i>Witnessed by: Danl Baughan, Catherine Gale Bridgeman, Joseph X Bridgeman ¹⁰¹(his mark), Sarah Bridgeman. ¹⁰²</i>							

According to other descendants of Catherine, ¹⁰³ she had been born in Burghclere in Hampshire on August 7th 1844, and was therefore about 19 at this marriage.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Source 142. Dr. Douglas Jecks' article on Henry Morely

⁹⁹ Source ?? Swan 271/1863

¹⁰⁰ Source ??

¹⁰¹ This could have been her Father Joseph aged 49 or her brother Joseph aged 17.

¹⁰² This Sarah was most probably her sister Sarah, born 1842, married Tom Smith 1865 and died 1918 in Greenough.

¹⁰³ Sources 206 & 2047 WebPages – Jeni Martin suthernx@yahoo.com and John Gale johngale@ozemail.com.au

Her Father Joseph had been born in 1814 in Plymouth and her Mother, Catherine Baggs in 1813 at Hannington in Hampshire. She had siblings Alice, John, Ellen, Katherine, Sarah, and Joseph. See below for fuller details.



Figure 20: Catherine Gale Bridgeman pictured with Daniel Baughan between 1863 and 1865. This picture belongs to the Douglas Jecks family.



Figure 19: Catherine Gale Bridgeman - Daniel Baughan's second wife.

The two photographs of Catherine come from family sources. The first comes from the Jecks family and was taken in Perth, presumably between her marriage to Daniel in 1862 and his death in 1865. The picture states that it is a copy and bears the same company name as one of Johanna in adult years. Maybe she had a copy made of her deceased father and step mother in later years?

The second comes from an unresponsive line web-page.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Source 213

Waldock Franklin Family Webpage http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~waldock/Franklin_photos.htm#Bridgman
(permission being sought) Note between Franklin and Photos is an underscore.



¹⁰⁶Figure 21: Panoramic view of Greenough Flats, (2000 Norman). ¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Source 208 *Kevin Norman in 2000.*

1864 Violence.

The year 1864 (Daniel's 13th. in the Colony) proved very violent as the conflict between the Shepherds and Aboriginal peoples continued in the Kockatea area. For example between February and October 1864, it is reckoned that a total of 29 people were arrested from the "Widi" people, and of these -

21 were convicted of various offences,
5 sentenced to death,
2 to life imprisonment
1 to a penal sentence on Rottnest Island. ¹⁰⁸

It was inevitable that Daniel should experience this violence, and similar problems with law and order. Some material survives to show how directly this was.

The earliest mention we have is on March 12th 1864 when Major Logue of Ellendale and Bundeary recorded in his diary :

*" Heard from him that **Dan Baughan** got shot in the thigh" ¹⁰⁹*

Secondly; in a series of incidents in the Greenough Police Papers ¹¹⁰ Police Constable Goodwin reported a search for a convict named David Wilson , transported in 1853 from Stirling in Scotland, and pardoned in 1861.¹¹¹ Daniel's keeping company with this man might give us a clue as to his social circle.



Figure 22- Hampton Arms (Waldeck)

"14 March 1864 Visited the Hampton Hotel, (see left) also arrested David Wilson ¹¹² - drinking, filthy and obscene language and assaulting me in the execution of my duty.

23 March 1864 Went to an out-station of Daniel Baughan, 80 miles from Champion Bay, to summons a man named D. Wilson, as shown in the articles of the 14th. inst.

24 March 1864 Left Baughan's old station ¹¹³ for his new station ¹¹⁴ and found D. Wilson, thus travelling 50 miles this day. No feed on roads is why I travelled so much.

¹⁰⁸ Source 146 "Eastward Ho!" Bert Keefe Page 11.

¹⁰⁹ Source 161/162 (Quoting source 165 Logue Diary 1850 - 1900)

¹¹⁰ Source 159 Greenough Police Occurrence Book No 385/12. Found by Hendry, supplied Pauline Millar

¹¹¹ Source 176 Dictionary of Western Australians.

¹¹² Source ??

¹¹³ Is the "old station" Sand Springs ? Was it 80 miles from Champion Bay "

¹¹⁴ Would this be Kockatea ?

25th March 1864 Returned from **Baughan's new station to his old station** this day and left there for Mr Brown's station this night.

26th March 1864 returned home to my station this evening from country duty after an absence of 4 days." ¹¹⁵

Thirdly, the Perth Gazette and Western Australia Times, in a letter from Henry Grey ¹¹⁶ entitled "depredations by natives" recorded an incident which must have occurred about the 1st of October in its 14th October edition:

*"At daybreak the morning after the robbery at my hut, I started on the robber's tracks, found where they had deposited part of their booty, recovered about twenty volumes of the books, letters, newspapers, about 250lbs. flour, two guns, one pistol etc., Tracking onwards I reached their huts; the tracks referred to led through a dense thicket. **In their huts I found a kangaroo bag, containing articles as Government Gazettes etc, which they had previously stolen from D. Baughan's station, addressed to him.**" ¹¹⁷*

Mention is also made of the need for a number of outlying stations to receive two mounted Policemen in a regular patrol:

*"Starting north from Long's home sheep-station beside the overland Perth road, in the south passing W.Nairn's sheep-stations, Stokes and Rowlands, Gray and Waldeck's ¹¹⁸, Cooke's, P. Morrisey's, J. Morrisey's easternmost stations, Bell's, **Baughan's**, Bundeer finishing north at Mr. Davis's Kockatea runs: it is useless for any settler in this district going to squat further east, until this or some better police protection is supplied...*

He also refers to the long time lag in any Police movements in the area:

"I had previously despatched a mounted messenger express to Champion Bay to the Resident for Police help; the distance from the hut to the Bay is 100 miles, of course the same back; the messenger arrived at the Bay in about 24 hours, and the Resident immediately despatched three mounted white Policemen and three Police blacks. These Police took two days and a half to ride 70 miles towards my station and it required another 30 miles ride east to reach there."

¹¹⁵ Source 159 Police Occurrence Book

¹¹⁶ Keeper of the General Store at Greenough ?

¹¹⁷ .Source 160 supplied personally by Bert Keefe to KJN

¹¹⁸ Source 205 The Waldeck Story – Family moved to Greenough about 1857.

1865 A broken ankle and death.

Distinct chronological sources allow us to create a picture of the incident that ended in his death.

Firstly, the local police records give us a picture of him going missing.¹¹⁹ Secondly, the diary of a sheep station owner at Ellendale, Mr. Major Logue, records him being found and dying.¹²⁰ Thirdly, an oral account recorded 108 years after the event tells us some of the more personal details of his last few days,¹²¹ and fourthly, there are some references in local newspapers.

Finally, there is the conversation daughter Joanna had with her grandson Douglas Jecks some 90 years later where she told him that *“She told me that he had died as a result of an accident when his horse ran him against or under a tree.”*¹²²

The story begins when Daniel was reported missing by someone on the 15th August in the above mentioned Geraldton Police Records. Calculation from later references in newspapers puts Daniel’s accident and disappearance on this day. Those references also mention he was travelling with others – the missing report must have been made by one of these.

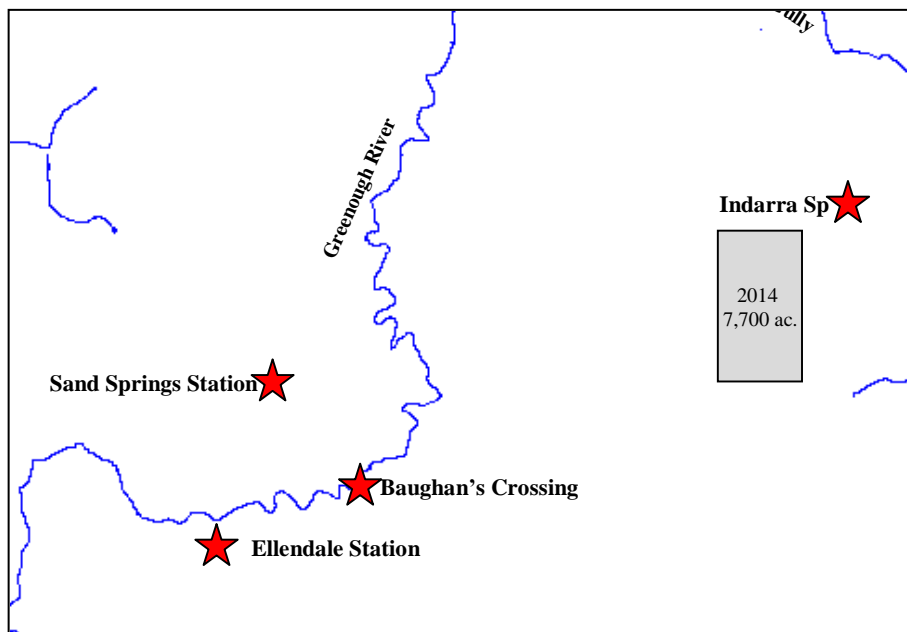


Figure 23: the approximate site of the accident at “Baughan’s crossing” according to Pauline Millar.

A short paragraph appeared in the “Perth Gazette & Western Australian Times”¹²³ which recounted these events of the 15th in more detail:

“From Geraldton we hear that a man named Baughan had been thrown from his horse, by which his ankle (sic) was broken, the bone protruding through the skin. The persons who were with him missed him but neglected searching for him.

¹¹⁹ Source 159. Unreferenced information collected by Pat Hendry and passed on by Pauline Millar.

¹²⁰ Source 165 Major Logues Diary at Ellendale

¹²¹ Source 163

¹²² D douglas Jecks. Thirteenth generation”

¹²³ Source 210 Perth Gazette & Western Australian Times 1st of September 1865- details via on-line newspaper indexing at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/>

Mr Tom Blayney recalled in 1973; ¹²⁴

“He and Harry Eaves were riding back across the sand plain and he had a dog with him, Baughan, well, they split up there,... he was crossing down, well he was going to Sand Springs, but he thought to catch a kangaroo for the dog, and he started chasing, he had a pretty good mare, but she turned over and broke his hip, and it's coming on late, so he crawled into the river, with a broken hip, he got water there, he tried to cut his dog's throat with his knife, but he died at Ellendale, oh Christ yes, he broke his hip, he dug a hole and he was in it, with the water to try and cool the heat of it,”

16th August 1865 Wed. The same Perth Gazette article reports events of the 16th:

“After lying in the bush a day and night, the poor fellow suspended his leg from his neck by means of his belt...”

From the 16th to 19th he made his way towards Ellendale Station- a three day journey of 17 miles (Perth Gazette):

“... and with two sticks managed to drag himself for 17 miles, without food or water other than he obtained in the night as dew...”

Major Logue's diary corroborates this:

“...and had crawled or walked on shin(s) from there...”

18th August 1865 Friday. The Police report states that a Constable was finally sent to look for him:

”Pc. Heggarty, To the bush to try and find a man lost named Daniel Baughan - lost on Tuesday, 15th. Inst”.

19th August 1865 Saturday. The same Perth Gazette (of Sept 1st) reported his finding near Ellendale, some 17 miles from where the Constable was presumably searching in vain:

“...When found he had been four days without sustenance of any kind, , and was on the river bank near Mr Logue's, where he was taken and now lies with some hopes of recovery.”
”

On the same 19th August 1865 Saturday Major Logue recorded all the above references in his diary and that his men had gone to:

“Heard from him that Baughan had got thrown from his horse near Lucky Well (or Hill) and broken his leg and had crawled or walked from there to the horse spring where Bob had found him and he and Green had gone out to fetch him home in the cart. The cart did not return till about midnight. ..

¹²⁴ Source 163

Audio tape copy supplied by Pat Hendry of Bert Keefe 1973 interview with Tom Blayney of Eridu.

20th August 1865 Sunday Logue continues:

Sunday 20th. Baughan very restless and unable to sleep. Kept his leg well bathed and sent a policeman to look for (Dr.) Elliott, also sent young Bridgeman ¹²⁵ for Mrs Baughan.

A Police report was filed on PC Heggarty's return to Geraldton this day, but no reference was made to the unsuccessful search for Daniel:¹²⁶

"Returned from the bush and his journal forwarded to Police Headquarters."

The diary continues:

21st August 1865 Monday *"Monday 21st. (Dr.) Elliott arrived about 2am and by (?Oil?) light we set and fixed his leg. (My) self sawing a part of the bone with a tennant saw by (Dr.) Elliott's directions. (Dr.) Elliott remained all day, went to the garden in the afternoon. Mrs Baughan came at night with her brother ¹²⁷ and is to remain with Baughan.*

22nd August 1865 Tuesday *Tuesday 22nd. M ... gone to work again Wells and McKlusky getting ground ready for melons and pumpkins. Patton making hurdles. (Dr.) Elliott left for the Bay and Brown's. A lot of people from the (Greenough) Flats ... see Bau(ghan?). Mr Howard came in the ... all night. (My) Self leaving for cow to kill but could not find her.*

23rd August 1865 Wed. *"Wednesday 23rd Mr Howard and (My)self rode out to the river and home by the garden. Met Griffin coming for flour and ration. McKlusky ¹²⁸and Wells getting ground ready for melons and pumpkins in the garden.*

24th August 1865 Thurs. *Thursday 24th Dougherty came home. Men digging in the garden carting timber from (? Blomig's) and other jobs. Mr Howard went home in the afternoon and took Amy with him, fine rain set in after dark and continued all night. Sent Dougherty off for the Dr in the night as Baughan is worse and gangrene has set in in the foot.*

25th August 1865 Friday *Friday 25th (Dr.) Martin came about 10am and remained till after dinner but would not amputate the leg. Sent Johny Wells for Dr Elliott at night. Patten commenced laying floor of the shearing shed and other things in connection with it. McKlusky gardening.*

26th August 1865 Saturday *Saturday 26th Elliott came at 10 am himself very unwell. Young Bridgeman came shortly after with a note from (Dr.) Martin. Sent him back with a reply, also note from (Dr) Elliott. Bob came at*

¹²⁵ Source 204 Was this Young Bridgeman her 20 year old brother Joseph... there were no other male siblings of the right age.

¹²⁶ Source 159 Police Occurrence Book.

¹²⁷ Source 204 This will be "young Bridgeman" mentioned earlier – reinforcing the idea it was Joseph.

¹²⁸ See earlier reference to McKlusky under attack in cottage.

Dinnertime. Patten at work on floor and other matters connected with the shearing shed. (Drs.) Martin and Elliott amputated Baughan's leg above the knee. I fear he will not get over it. Young Wells and Dougherty returned at night.

27th August 1865 Sunday *Sunday 27th (Dr.) Martin and Bob started for the swamp before breakfast and Bob returned about 10am but (Dr.) Martin had to go to the (River) Irwin and Basil Smith ¹²⁹ here, brother in law of Baughan. Rams came in .. start of the month which serves ... England.*

28th August 1865 Monday *Monday 28th Mrs. Wilson came about dinnertime. Charley Gale and young ... with cattle ... cows came at .. night on the way to Perth. Baughan was taken very much worse at 8pm and sent for me. I read a prayer with him and got him calmed down a little. I fear he will hardly live the morning. Got in Boss... and Ford in the evening. Men at work in the garden. Patten getting ready both for screens and staying hurdles.*

The same day, the 28th, news had reached Geraldton of Daniel's injury: The "Enquirer and Commercial" newspaper reported:

"Sept 6 1865. News Geraldton. A serious accident befell a man named Baughan while riding in the bush. He was thrown from his horse and broke his leg and it is said, altho' very much injured, walked his way for miles till he was discovered and taken to a settler's homestead. Written at Geraldton Aug 28th 1865." ¹³⁰

29th August 1865 Tuesday Logue's diary continues:

Tuesday 29th. Baughan no better this morning, has wors(ened). Charley Gale started with his cattle for Perth, sent a steer to go with him and kept back one of those he bought. Mrs Wilson went home. Smith came for his man and brought (porenpain?) with him. Mrs Howard came in the am. (My) Self went to look for the rams but found none.

30th August 1865 Wed. *Wednesday 30th Baughan died about 12 o'clock noon. (My) Self and Walter tried to get in a few cattle and a heifer to kill. Mrs Howard went home early in the afternoon, young (Bridgeman?) also went home. Mrs Baughan and Mrs Smith went in our cart with Wells who is going for a load of flour to Maley's.*

Another unattributed source holds that the body was then carried back to Geraldton for a Coroner's inquest, before the burial at Greenough Cemetery. ¹³¹

¹²⁹ There was a Tom Smith who had married Catherine's sister Sarah in 1865 in Greenough.

¹³⁰ Source 166 Enquirer newspaper 6/9/1851

¹³¹ Source 168 Verbal comment by Gillian O'Mara to Pat Hendry. Unsubstantiated.

31 August 1865 Thurs.

Logue continues

Thursday 31st (My) Self and Ellen rode to the (Greenough) Flats, got caught in a shower near Walkaway. Fine rain all afternoon and night. Got wet again coming back from Grey's. (Grey's stores, see picture)

Met Mrs Baughan, her father, mother and brother in law all waiting for the arrival of the funeral which is to take place this evening. Martin came into Walkaway ... having been all night in the wet. We did not call at the parsonage, not having time. Met Wells on his way from the Mill to the Forge."



Figure 24 - Grey's store, 2000 (Norman).

The funeral party was therefore made up of Catherine, her father, Joseph Bridgeman farmer of Greenough, her mother Catherine and her brother in law Basil/Thomas Smith. The Bridgeman family were rallying around the new widow Baughan, and since Logue was travelling from Walkaway the implication is that they were met quite close to Greenough - the site of the burial.

Tom Blayney continued: ¹³²

" well, he's buried in the Greenough Cemetery, he died at Ellendale, ... died about 62 or 3, old Harry Eaves, there was some bricks and an old headstone, sort of thing, he said to me "do you know whose grave that is ? That's Dan Baughan's grave" in Greenough Cemetery, you could see it now if you went there, no nothing (on it).. "

The "Enquirer and Commercial" edition of September 13th, some 15 days after his death, reports:

"The poor fellow Baughan who met with the accident while hunting in the bush and whose leg was amputated the other day has sunk under it and expired. His indeed was a sad end." ¹³³

The final note concerning Daniel comes from the Baughan Family Bible, recently discovered in England. It bluntly recalls, without detail or emotion: ¹³⁴

¹³² Source 163 Audio tape copy supplied by Pat Hendry of Bert Keefe 1973 interview with Tom Blayney of Eridu.

¹³³ Source 167 Enquirer Newspaper 13/9/1851

¹³⁴ Source 156 Baughan Family Bible owned Mr Gordon Woods, of Monmouth School, Gwent. 1999.

“Daniel Baughan died Aug 1865”

So the news somehow got back home to his brothers and sisters in England. His leases, according to Keefe's research, were distributed amongst the other local leaseholders. The Kockatea lease was apparently taken over by John Sydney Davis, the Bundeare lease by Major Logue of Ellendale - and to date the Indarra Spring's new holder is rather unclear.¹³⁵



Figure 25: Jean Norman, 2XGt Niece of Daniel Baughan, in Greenough Cemetery. 2000¹³⁶

The Greenough cemetery was visited by the author in 2000. It overlooks the Greenough Flats and dunes leading down to the Pacific. Daniel's grave is apparently lost.

END

¹³⁵ Searched for by Bert Keefe.

¹³⁶ Source 208 Kevin Norman in 2000.

