Hand painted portrait of William Bradley, by Edwin Dalton c.1855

Source: William Bradley History Collection
STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis is entirely my own work.

This thesis contains no material previously published or written by myself or another person, except where reference is made in the thesis itself. This thesis has not been previously submitted towards a degree or diploma in any university or other higher education institution.

AMANDA DAY
December 2010
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In foot-stepping William Bradley and his family, my numerous travel companions have provided expertise, advice and humour along the journey. As Marcel Proust wrote, it is true, that 'the only voyage of discovery consists not in seeing new landscapes but in having new eyes'.

I applied Proust’s theory to my research. I have looked at documents, photographs, landscapes, letters, newspapers and all manner of material with new eyes. There have been surprises, connections and fabulous ‘finds’, which are the true joy of sustained, ongoing research.

In Australia, the staff of the National Library of Australia in the Newspaper Room and the Manuscripts Reading Room provided excellent assistance and advice. The staff of the Mitchell Library; State Records of New South Wales; Queensland State Archives; the Noel Butlin Archives (in particular Dr Pennie Pemberton) and the Goulburn and District Historical Society (particularly Garry White) have all assisted in helping me to find interesting items and given me the opportunity to look at things with new eyes.

In the United Kingdom, I was privileged to access the records of the Pearse Family at the Guildhall Library, where the librarians were fabulous in helping me find new things to look at. The great bastion of the ‘world’s knowledge’, the British Library, also turned up some new and exciting material. The Public Records Office (Kew) provided resources on a range of issues and the vast military records of Bradley family members. The Victoria and Albert Museum staff were also helpful in locating architectural plans and the collection of George Salting. My thesis was edited by Dr Lisa Lines, and editorial intervention was restricted to Standards D and E of the Australian Standards for Editing Practice. Emily Downie of Downie Design provided the fabulous graphic design.

There are numerous people who have been on this journey with me. I would like to particularly thank: Ron Madden from Wagga Wagga for enormous assistance on a number of issues; the Litchfield family from Cooma, particularly James Litchfield for his interest and passion in this project; Jo Watson, descendant of the Brodribb family; Michael O’Halloran at the Old Goulburn Brewery who so many years ago gave me the idea for this thesis and for his ongoing interest and assistance; Trisha Dixon from Bobundara Station, Cooma; Wendy Hain from Gunyah, Cooma; John V O’Sullivan, Sneem, Ireland; the numerous correspondents who emailed me information or made contact with me; and to the people who have invited me to speak at various historical societies, including Canberra, Yass, Goulburn, Cooma and the Friends of Ireland Society.

My friends need special mention. They have all been patient and undemanding when my thesis has taken over my life. In particular, Kay and Peter Wulf, Kate Fox, Priscilla, Michael and
Emily Jane Wray, Louise McMullen, Sue Northmore, Valerie Sanders, Ben Yuen, Marie Campbell, Christene and George Hyder and Robert Anderson have shared in my adventures (and misadventures) on this journey and they have been a great sounding board.

My work colleagues also deserve special mention, and the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations for providing study leave. My branch and team deserve thanks for being interested, supportive and understanding that sometimes, it is hard to come back to language education issues from the nineteenth century. For supporting my work, I would particularly like to thank Suzanne Northcott, Christine Lucas, Catherine Simmons, Leonie Quartermaine, David Brown, Jane Weston, George Palavestra and Bruce McCourt for their combined understanding and patience. It is hard to mention all the friends and colleagues who have joined me on this journey but to all those who have supported this Magnus Opus, thank you.

My ANU supervisor, Professor Paul Pickering, has been a fabulous supervisor. He has provided the necessary guidance and the right amount of advice about what to leave in and what to leave out. I think he was a bit concerned at times at the level of detail that I managed to find, but in the end, a good compromise was achieved. Paul has been extremely patient, as since 2004 when I began this thesis, I have changed jobs or been promoted at least six times. I could not have completed this without him.

My critical friends, David Brown, Kay Wulf, Dr. Declan O’Connell and Leah Day have all provided outstanding advice and assistance, particularly in the final stages of the thesis. I have appreciated their encouragement, belief and willingness to undertake this crucial role.

My family has been extremely supportive. My parents Leah and Ron Day and brother Matthew Day and his partner, Jessica Wimbush in particular have all been on crazy journeys with me to check out a site, a hill, a grave or a homestead. My parents-in-law, Peter and Rosanne Squire, have supported the activities of the Bradley family as well and I thank them for their interest. Our dear family friend, Chrissie Terrey in Mont Bron, France supported my England adventures in 2006 with trips to Northill and Southill in search of the Fyshe Palmer family. My mother Leah has undertaken research on my behalf, read chapters and given advice along the way and her input has been invaluable. I thank my parents for giving me a sense of history in my blood and encouraging me to choose my own path through life.
My husband, Martin Squire, has been my rock. He has been with me on this journey and has supported, encouraged, assisted (especially in keeping me up to date with technology and new music to write to) and been a source of great strength to this project. He has provided sane advice when I kept wondering why Bradley did something. At times, I think he thought I was quite mad, particularly when I suggested we could visit Rossdohan Island in Ireland in 2009. It has all been a grand adventure and together we have seen some amazing places that without William Bradley and his family in our lives, we would not have contemplated visiting. This thesis would not have been possible without Martin.

Without the Bradley family, this thesis could not have been written. I thank them for allowing me to escape, if only temporarily, into their world and acknowledge that for some time I have trespassed on their lives. I hope I have brought to life the journeys that this family undertook and that my readers can see with me the landscapes, places and things that I have had the good fortune to see.

I have been inspired and motivated by many people to keep my walking shoes handy on this journey and to all my companions, thank you for being a part of my attempts to connect this family.

To William Bradley, who perhaps tapped me on the shoulder one day all those years ago. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to pursue your life story.
DEDICATION

This thesis is firstly dedicated to my parents as you cannot go on a journey such as mine without having a sense of how one’s past has contributed to the present.

It is dedicated to my mother, Leah Day, who taught me that even the largest task can be accomplished if it is done one step at a time and one must have patience to get there.

It is also dedicated to my father, Ron Day, who taught me that the best kind of knowledge to have is that which is learned for its own sake and that not everything can be explained.

This thesis is also dedicated to my husband, Martin Squire, who has patiently taught me that one cannot talk to portraits on the wall and get answers.

Thank you all for sharing this journey with me, for believing in me, supporting me and for the love, care and joy that you give me.
William Bradley's death in 1868 at his home, Lindesay in Darling Point, signalled the end of a remarkable colonial career. A first generation, native-born Australian, born out of wedlock to an Irish convict mother and a former Sergeant in the NSW Corps in Windsor, Bradley was driven by the quest to become a respectable and respected colonial gentleman. While his life achievements are rarely noted in the historiography of early colonial Australia, his story is an important one that shaped a community on the Goulburn Plains and the Monaro and drove important political, scientific, agricultural and pastoral reforms. His story is worth telling.

As the first elected member for the County of Argyle in 1843, Bradley aligned himself politically with W. C. Wentworth and the 'squattocracy', without limiting his self-serving independence. Bradley overcame the 'birth stain' of convictism through the deliberate fostering of a business, political and social network. Eventually, the success of his quest took him to the very heart of the British establishment when he hosted HRH the Duke of Edinburgh in his harbour side mansion and as his colonial born daughters married into the British aristocracy. His descendents still occupy a seat in the House of Lords.

This thesis rescues Bradley's career from the footnotes of colonial history. It charts his application of scientific, economic, social, financial, political, management, humanitarian, and moral principles. It records his quest for the respectability with which his parents did not provide him, both in the country of his birth and in the mother country. It is offered as a case study of the development of the Colony of New South Wales.

The absence of private papers represents a challenge for the biographer that I have sought to overcome in three ways. First, by extensive (and conventional) research of archival and published sources, I have reconstructed Bradley's business empire and assessed his motivation by analysing his actions. Second, I have employed a method known as 'foot-stepping' to understand the context in which his life unfolded. Each chapter begins by recording my footsteps. And, finally, I have accepted and embraced the role of fiction in biography and 'bookended' each chapter with an imaginative meditation. The combination of approaches is offered as an example.
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**Footsteps**

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### ABBREVIATIONS

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<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>Australian Dictionary of Biography</td>
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<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>JRAHS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>LPI</td>
<td>Land and Property Information, a Division of the Land and Property Management Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Mitchell Library</td>
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<td>NLA</td>
<td>National Library of Australia</td>
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<td>NSW V&amp;P</td>
<td>New South Wales Votes and Proceedings</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODNB</td>
<td>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</td>
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<td>HRNSW</td>
<td>Historical Records of New South Wales</td>
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<td>LMS</td>
<td>London Missionary Society</td>
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In September 2000, I sat among the audience of the National Corvette Museum of America at the annual reunion. My days were filled with planning, but my nights were spent with the people of the Corvette story. I realized that I had stumbled upon something special. The history of the Corvette was not just about cars; it was about the people who drove them.

I began to research the history of the Corvette, and as I delved deeper, I realized that the story of the Corvette was not just about the cars, but about the people who were part of the Corvette story. I decided to explore the relationship between the people who were part of the Corvette story and the stories they told. I wanted to capture the real stories of the people who were part of the Corvette story, and I decided to write a book about the Corvette story, and about the people who were part of the Corvette story.

In the fall of 2001, I began to write my book, and I decided to write about the people who were part of the Corvette story. I wrote about the people who were part of the Corvette story, and I decided to write about the people who were part of the Corvette story. I wrote about the people who were part of the Corvette story, and I decided to write about the people who were part of the Corvette story. I wrote about the people who were part of the Corvette story, and I decided to write about the people who were part of the Corvette story. I wrote about the people who were part of the Corvette story, and I decided to write about the people who were part of the Corvette story.

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FOOTSTEPS: IMAGINING WILLIAM BRADLEY

Biography is a kind of pursuit, a tracking of the physical trail of someone else's path through the past, a following of footsteps. You would never catch them... but maybe if you were lucky, you might write about the pursuit of that fleeting figure in such a way as to bring it alive in the present.

In September 2008, I sat among the audience in the theatre at the National Library of Australia to hear the renowned British romantic biographer, Richard Holmes, deliver the annual Seymour Lecture in Biography. As Holmes spoke, it was as if a light bulb flicked on. Holmes described how biography, as a genre, had the potential to chronicle an outward career to reveal an inward life. Holmes masterfully foot-stepped briefly through his various biographies and explained his philosophy that a biographer needed to be not only a scholar, but a storyteller as well. Holmes's theories resonated with me and I realised that in many ways, I too had undertaken foot-stepping adventures. I wondered if, like Holmes, I could be both a scholar and a storyteller.

In the heat of sudden inspiration, I went home and rewrote an introduction to a chapter of my thesis. Suddenly, I felt William Bradley and his family come alive on the page. As I furiously wrote, I realised that I could use my own footsteps into Bradley's world as a starting point. I decided to explore the relationship between Bradley and myself and along the way, demonstrate why it was interesting to capture his life and my adventures in particular. Not only could I chronicle my footsteps in pursuit of Bradley, I could imagine a life. The light bulb in my head burnt brightly and long into the night. My husband kept asking how my 'footsteps' were going; had I reached my destination, or was I yet to arrive? Was I still imagining things about Bradley with my reading glasses on upside down, he asked? What I discovered as I headed down a dual path of pursuit and imagination was that I could reconceptualise my thesis.

In imagining the life of Bradley, I pursued him in an attempt to understand his ambitions and motivations and bear witness to his successes and failures. In doing this, it is possible that I have come to learn more about another family than I know about my own. Having said that, part of my motivation is that Bradley's journey crosses the path of my own forebears.

My family history includes famous explorers and pioneers; first-fleet convicts; family castles; artists and antique dealers; gold miners; sporting types; strong parents who successfully took on a multi-national organisation in defence of their moral rights; and a far flung European and Anglo-centric heritage. Perhaps I have tried to use Bradley’s eyes to see something of my own past. I sometimes think of the Sturt family connection and how my ancestor, Charles, navigated his way down the Murrumbidgee River. It is highly likely that Bradley knew Charles Sturt, as they held adjoining land in Mittagong, the town where I grew up. Another of my ancestors - a first-fleet convict - lived on the Monaro, having leased land from Bradley’s father at Windsor. While the Bradley family has left the Monaro, my family remain there.

As I developed my approach, I recalled my first introduction, in 1993, to Bradley and his family on a visit to the Old Goulburn Brewery. This imposing, three-story building was originally a mill and then a brewery, built by Bradley, whose aspirations were far grander than milling and brewing. The owner, Michael O’Halloran, told me a story about a family who were connected to the colonial elite and the wider British Empire, and I was captivated immediately. His off-the-cuff comment ‘there’s a thesis in William Bradley one day’3 stuck with me through the end of my school days and then through my studies at the Australian National University and the University of Canberra. This comment resulted in an honour’s thesis at the University of New England4. Finally, in 2004, Bradley reached over and tapped me on the shoulder again. I had unfinished business with this family.

There have been shared memories and understandings between myself and Bradley, all of which I have recorded in my notebooks and photographs. I have seen grand homesteads, cottages and mansions; graveyards and churches; crumbling infrastructure that at its height made people sit up and take notice; and with the fleeting shadow of Bradley moving ahead of me, my notebooks developed the dialogue that crossed our shared paths. Walking through his homes and on his land, I realised I had the same mud on my boots.

In thinking about William Bradley, I thought of the questions I would ask him if we could sit down to dinner together. Perhaps I would meet Bradley at Coolringdon, his iconic Australian homestead on the Monaro Plains. The dinner menu would feature some smoked trout from the Snowy River to start, and then a main course of Bibbenluke lamb, followed by a pudding. The meal would be complemented with ale from the Goulburn Brewery and a glass of red from his Snowy Mountains vineyard. Considering what I have learnt about Bradley’s actions, the conversation would be lucid and bright. I would start by asking what was in his library at Lindesay, his Darling Point residence in Sydney.

The Argentine writer and poet, Jorge Luis Borges, once wrote that he ‘always imagined that paradise will be a kind of library’. Would Bradley’s library hold the clues to understanding how he envisaged his own paradises of Goulburn, the Monaro, and Sydney? What types of books was Bradley reading to engage in the construction of a steam-beam engine in Goulburn in 1838? What engineering books and journals did he read? How did he work through some of his ideas on land and animal husbandry? What influence did Telford’s works have on Bradley’s thinking? Did leather bound copies of Shelley, Wordsworth, Keats, Browning and Trelawney sit on his bookshelves? Was he familiar with Bentham, Macaulay, and Smollet? By looking at Bradley from odd-corners, I imagined that the tension between the facts of his life and the need to shape an imaginative outline of his personality could be resolved by creating a suggestive reality of that life.

Although Bradley and I will never share dinner and nor will I browse through his library, I can but hope that in my foot-stepping of his life, I have created what Holmes calls a ‘continuous living dialogue’ between our two worlds. In so doing, like Holmes and others before me, it is a privilege to trespass into someone’s world temporarily, and come to understand the patterns of behaviour that characterised Bradley, his family and his motives. As I came to realise I was both a storyteller and a scholar, my journey with Bradley led me over the ‘hills and far away into the undiscovered land’ of other people’s lives. In the horizon, there is a fleeting shadow disappearing from view. This is the story of my pursuit of William Bradley.
Richard Holmes has argued that 'biography is a celebration of human nature in all its glorious contradictions'. Holmes has also outlined a biographical method that he has famously called 'foot-stepping'. These sentiments summarise an interest in biography that began in my senior years of high school. Studying travel literature, the task I was set was to investigate a journey and an author. I chose Louis-Francis Barrallier, a Frenchman who arrived in the Colony of New South Wales in unusual circumstances and who contributed significantly to the early white exploration of the Colony. Though Barrallier was an unusual choice, his story fascinated me.

Born in France, Barrallier escaped his native town of Toulon when his father, a French Royalist, handed Toulon to the British Navy in the midst of the French Revolution. My paper argued Louis-Francis Barrallier's story of exploration and discovery of the Burragorang Valley, the Wollondilly River and the Blue Mountains region was important culturally, historically and for understanding connections between the past and the present. At the end of Year 12, in the tradition of Richard Holmes, I undertook my first foot-stepping adventure in pursuit of the Barrallier family. It led me to Toulon, where I met relatives, to Paris and the Musée National de la Marine for photographs and diaries, and to Milford Haven in Wales where the Barrallier family lived after their time aboard Lord Hood's ship, HMS Victory. While in exile, Barrallier's father, Jean-Louis, designed the port and harbour of Milford Haven. Almost 200 years later, as a guest of Texaco Oil, I navigated a tugboat down this same harbour. Looking back, I can see that this pursuit set a pattern for me, in which I engaged with other people's lives. Through Barrallier, a man considered a minor subject in Australian historiography, I began to understand what motivated people to live rich, interesting and diverse lives, and how the circumstances of those lives influenced their achievements, failures and their impact on their world, and to an extent, mine.

When I later read Holmes' books, Footsteps and Sidetracks, I came to understand this as a pattern in my own life. He described himself as engaging in the sidetracks of biographical pathways. He moved from one foot-stepping journey to another, following a person's trail, some of which ended up in print and some did not, and Holmes argued that these sidetracks and footsteps were all part of the biographer's journey; they connect to broader themes and purposes within the biographical context.

When I followed Barrallier, my questions were about discovering where he came from and why

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1 Holmes, R. Seymour Lecture in Biography, Speech delivered at the National Library of Australia, Biography: The Past has a Great Future, 10.09.08. See also: Holmes, R. (Footsteps), op. cit.
2 Louis-Francis Barrallier is also known as Francis-Louis Barrallier. The name on his birth certificate is Louis-Francis.
and how he ended up in colonial New South Wales, exploring for the British in their new world. My quest took me on a journey as Holmes describes, both foot-stepping and sidetracking down pathways that gave me a sense of who Barrallier was and why he arrived in Australia. Thus, my current journey into nineteenth century colonial New South Wales and my attempt at biography in this thesis is a combination of foot-stepping and of taking the path less travelled, as I wandered down sidetracks in pursuit of William Bradley, a native-born nineteenth century Australian and his family.

The result is not a definitive biography nor can or should it be, as Ray Monk argues in a recent attempt to explore the relationship between theory and method in biography. There are degrees of uncertainty about interrogating the life of someone from a distance. It goes to the heart of an age-old biography question: how much can a biographer ever really know their subject—in particular, their inner narrative—and how much should they try to know? This thesis seeks to identify the position of William Bradley in terms of his time and place in the colony's history; it examines his impact on society and the landscape and assesses his story in the context of the British world.

When William Bradley appeared before the House of Lords in 1847, giving evidence on behalf of his friend, Caroline Chisholm, he said 'I am a native of the colony.' Proud of his Australian heritage, Bradley gave evidence that revealed only part of his business empire: 40,000 sheep over some 300,000 acres of land in the colony of New South Wales. He was born at Windsor on 1 June 1800, the second son of Jonas and Catherine Bradley. Jonas was a Sergeant in the New South Wales Corps, and Catherine was a former Irish Protestant convict. His mother's crime was an anathema to Bradley and in the early days of the colony, an example of what became known as the 'convict stain' in early New South Wales society. It was difficult to keep it in the closet. My thesis will examine how this first-generation native-born white Australian man, who was never expected to amount to much by the colonial administrators, ended up in the House of Lords giving evidence about the state of the colony. It is ironic that Bradley stood in the House of Lords in 1847 as an example of colonial success, and now, 163 years later, his descendant, the Earl of Erroll, is a member of the House of Lords.

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I will focus on establishing Bradley within his family context in the early stages of colonial development. I will argue that from these foundations, William Bradley became one of the colony's leading nineteenth-century gentlemen, one who did much to shake off his convict mother's birthstain and create a good life for his family, largely unimpeded by the suffering that characterised the penal colony's beginnings and the lives of people around him. He became a wealthy man; his is an unusual story but an important one, for his impact from colonial Goulburn resulted in changes to the political, physical and the societal landscape of colonial New South Wales.

It was through his efforts and those of his peers that the New South Wales Legislative Council came into being, offering male citizens of the franchise the opportunity to vote. Bradley was instrumental in the development of the railway movement in the colony and demonstrated a commitment to scientific and technological development. From his apprenticeship with his father, Bradley learnt how to apply scientific principles to the growing and manufacturing of tobacco and later used this knowledge to develop a cure for scab in sheep, rivalling Farrer's subsequent wheat experiments.

Bradley came to understand the economics of agricultural supply and demand to achieve consistent financial outcomes. He learnt how to manage people (including convicts) and land so that these contributed to wealth generation. Through his experimentation with sheep breeding, animal husbandry and land management practices, he earned an income more than double that of his contemporaries. With his father, he explored new parts of the colony, including the Goulburn Plains.

William Bradley's wealth was founded in the Goulburn Plains. Here, during the depression and drought of the 1830s, he constructed a homestead, steam driven flourmill, brewery and town house that still stands as a reminder of his power in the district. In Goulburn, he developed a clear public voice about independent democratic processes for the colony and advocacy for the rights of the emancipist. This independent voice saw him feted by the citizens of Goulburn as a man who represented their views and aspirations. He turned his attention to the Anglican Church and engaged in projects to support the development of St Saviour's Cathedral. His Goulburn period established his success on the Monaro Plains as a 'monster squatter', a man who owned vast tracts of land populated with sheep and cattle. He constructed homesteads across Monaro that remain today as a reflection of his commitment to progress, achieved at a time when the Robertson Land Acts and the advent of free selection laws threatened his landed empire on the Monaro Plains. He consolidated and diversified his interests, whereby he remained on the plains by actively defending his land.
Bradley treated his workers well and supported their individual progression. This is evident in his employment of William Brodribb, Francis Smith, James Litchfield, Nicholas Phillips and Henry Edwards. His support of emancipated convicts is clear when he engaged Francis Lawless to design his mill and brewery and the number of men who stayed on after their emancipation to work for him, such as the Morrison brothers. The stories of these men are important as minor lives that contributed to Bradley’s success.

Bradley’s peers recognised him as a genuine Australian, ‘one who by his own industry and perseverance has raised himself to the highest pinnacle of colonial prosperity’. Defining what is meant by a genuine Australian is of interest to this thesis. While it could be interpreted as being a convict, for the study of Bradley, it has come to mean a man or person who was a first generation native-born Australian. Often the children of convict parentage, these genuine Australians demonstrated values, skills and aptitudes that were markedly different to those of their parents. In Bradley’s case, not only did he determine to be different from his parents, he ruthlessly pursued and capitalised on this difference.

Central to understanding Bradley and his impact on New South Wales is a discussion on how he developed, maintained and achieved respectability. Respectability, as I came to understand from Bradley’s experience, meant acceptance into polite society and the application of principles such as industriousness, self-help, tenacity and perseverance to his enterprises. In practical terms, it also meant the opportunity to marry his daughters into the British aristocracy. Energy was a key factor in his quest for respectability. Historians such as John Molony and Portia Robinson suggest that honesty, trustworthiness and sobriety are the characteristics that distinguished this first generation of native-born Australians from their parents. Bradley is a case in point. Later accounts of Bradley’s actions and his public worth confirm these as characteristics Bradley adopted. For Bradley, his native-born freedom meant the freedom to exist both in the far-flung outposts of the Empire and within the established bastions of British power. It was a duality he traversed regularly as he sought to ‘emulate the ordered communities of rural England’ in Goulburn, yet concurrently operate within a social hierarchy that saw him seek to improve his position on the already existing British pyramid of civility.


Bradley's death in 1868 constituted a 'public calamity' in Goulburn, and he died a respected colonist. His quest for respectability was lived out through his daughters who integrated into the British world with their father's fortune to back them. Bradley's money gave his daughters options to lives in comfort, whether it was in India, Ireland, the fashionable Isle of Wight, Southsea, Sydney or London. However, he never anticipated the management of his estate would cause his daughters great stress and anxiety as they waited for money to support the lifestyles their father had encouraged them to enjoy.

Bradley wanted to make connections between his world and the British world. He looked to England for the technology and social direction that would grow his empire and give his daughters an entrée card into civil society. He developed a network that supported his ventures and this was important to progress up the colony's social ladder. Bradley positioned himself for a political career and through this, sought affirmation and acclamation that his life was founded on both public worth and private virtue.

Bradley's story is one that traverses two worlds and one that by the end of the nineteenth century had made connections and integrated with the nobility of England, Ireland and Scotland. It is intriguing that a first-generation native-born Australian could raise himself from a hut on the Hawkesbury River to a mansion on Sydney Harbour. Why and how did he do this and what motivated him were questions I wanted to answer in this foot-stepping biography into a nineteenth century landscape. In writing about Bradley, and having been introduced to him at a young age, I simply could not forget his story, and his narrative has in some ways been connected to my narrative.

In his prize-winning novel exploring the dilemmas confronting a biographer, Julian Barnes asks, 'what chance would the craftiest biographer stand against the subject who saw him coming and decide to amuse himself?' In the case of William Bradley, he clearly saw someone coming and decided to be uncooperative. Despite extensive searches, there are no personal papers of Bradley or his family. All that remains of his papers are a handful of letters at the National Library of Australia to Henry Edwards, his Monaro manager. He died leaving a probate proved in 1868 at £103,000, a significant amount, and the few letters remaining tell us little about his views on his business empire.

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8 The Empire, 10.4.1868, p.2, col.4.
The only documentary evidence for a study of his life is public records, newspapers and contemporary accounts, which cover a large volume. In telling Bradley's story, I have attempted to understand him through his actions, but I have tried not to overload the reader with excessive details that came to form part of Bradley's story. My judgement in the selection of sources, and distinguishing the significant from the insignificant, has been critical in ensuring Bradley's story retains its honesty and is not distorted by sources to support a particular hypothesis. Like others before me, I encountered the problem of not knowing what my subject, Bradley, thought. Nor have I uncovered his real motivations. It is largely through his actions that I can assess him as a colonial citizen.

However, we rarely hear his voice. I grappled with this issue many times while writing this thesis. At times, it was liberating, but at other times, it was both challenging and frustrating. I would never come to understand his thoughts or inner life. I came to accept there is nothing definitive about biography: knowing everything about the subject, the facts, figures and details of another's life is unattainable and the knowledge I possess about Bradley is imperfect and incomplete. In one sense what I offer is the story of his public life.

The question remains about how one writes a biography when the sources are public and the person (and family) seems intent on remaining hidden from history. As I pondered this, like Virginia Woolf, I asked, 'My God, how does one write biography?'. I also questioned, as Crick did, what kind of biography I could write about Bradley. Perhaps like Crick, I naively began my research with the hope that I would possibly come to a greater understanding of Bradley's character. However, as others before me have learnt, one cannot enter the mind of another. I could have used a traditional formula to Bradley's story: a life and times trajectory and assessing what happened in between. I could have looked at fixing Bradley within his network and drawing conclusions and theories from this approach. Instead, after years of gathering the material that formed Bradley's public life, I adopted an approach that particularly reflected the influence of Holmes and Woolf on my thinking. In this way I have written what I term a 'post-modern foot-stepping ficto-history biography'. This approach distinguishes my work from biographies of other colonial pioneers such as Macarthur, Wentworth, Boyd, Campbell, Holt and Lowe among others.
First, I adopted a foot-stepping approach in my work, following Bradley and his family through a range of journeys, explorations and contemplations. My footsteps are presented in a personal reflection preceding each chapter. However, as will become clear, foot-stepping Bradley has been elusive and he has always been a footstep or two ahead.

Second, each chapter is book-ended with a ficto-historical account of Bradley and his actions. These narratives are based on historical sources and on my engagement with Bradley and his world. They apply imagination to the story of Bradley as a way of connecting author and subject, and I have titled these 'imaginings.' In discussing her recent novel exploring the life of an emancipated convict on the Hawkesbury, Kate Grenville cited a newer (and superior) form of historical writing. The discussion generated by The Secret River engaged historians in debate about the border between history and fiction. My ficto-historical reflections are not part of the substantive thesis (and nor are my accounts of my footsteps), and they are not offered as affective knowledge and make no claim to supplant historical research proper.

The Grenville debate raises, however, longstanding questions for the historian. Nearly a hundred years ago, Virginia Woolf argued that in seeking to know the inner life of a subject the biographer inevitably crossed the line into fiction. I have attempted to produce a balanced dialogue between author and subject. It is this connection between the past and present that allowed me to chronicle and assess Bradley's colonial career in the hope it might reveal aspects of Bradley's inner life. It was something I learnt when trailing Barrallier. If, in this way, I sometimes cross Virginia Woolf's line, at least, as an historian as well as a biographer, I am aware of the danger and the potential.

Third, I have adopted a traditional biographical assessment of Bradley in each chapter and drawn on the material available through the public domain to shape this version of his life. The combination of approaches—foot-stepping, ficto-history and traditional approaches—is offered as an example. This approach to biography has allowed me to give some account of my own life as a passport for travelling into the lives of others, which Kingsmill suggests is the requirement of a biographer. My passport is stamped with the travels of Bradley more than my own as it was his travels that determined mine. In using this approach, I have been aware of the limitations of being both a scholar and a storyteller, but also encouraged as I have seen the life of Bradley come alive on the pages of this thesis.

18 See Holroyd, M: (Basil Street Blues), op cit.
It was important to tell in filling a gap in the understanding of colonial New South Wales also motivated me.

IV

Despite the reputation and standing that William Bradley enjoyed among his contemporaries, he has attracted little attention from historians. Apart from a short entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, he has no biographer. One of the contributions of this thesis is to add the story of his life to the public record. It is a story worth telling. In the broader scheme of things, his was a minor life. But this is no reason to leave him in the footnotes of history. As Geoff Woolf and Barbara Tuchman argued in their well-known essay, lives, even minor lives, can act as an important lens onto the past. A study of William Bradley offers much to students of the development of the colony of New South Wales, its economy, its networks of power and patronage and its social relationships.

Applying what might be considered a somewhat unorthodox and adventurous approach to historical research and developing biographical dialogue, I discovered a man with great energy and ambition. Bradley was a politician and therefore, some would suggest, a man who craved the approval of his peers and his family. David Day describes politicians as needing ‘acclamation’. Affirmation too, is an important tool in the politician’s armoury. In the nineteenth century, one also needed money, respectability and membership of the ruling elite. Bradley demonstrated his capacity for acclamation and affirmation.

To assess Bradley through his entrepreneurship, it is important to recognise he used a ‘community-centred’ approach. Through this, Bradley sought to ‘accumulate wealth or power for the community by his individual action; and as a by-product he may, and very likely will, accumulate wealth or power for himself’. This was not only a statement about Bradley’s motivations but in some ways characterised how he actioned many things in his life. In assessing Bradley it was the application of principles, be it scientific, humanitarian, economic, social, political, management, moral or investment principles that characterised his approach to life. This principled, community-centric approach dominated his business, family and social interests.

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23 Ibid.
William Bradley's vision for colonial New South Wales meant he transformed environments, places, people's lives, and social structures. The scheme he envisaged was grand, and this is the extraordinary story of a southern son. I hope that readers will follow my footsteps into Bradley's world wandering along the pathway into the 'vast geography of the human heart by which we come to know ourselves'.

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FOOTSTEPS: ON THE HAWKESBURY RIVER

William Bradley was born in a shack on the mighty Hawkesbury River in New South Wales in June 1800. It was winter and conditions were probably quite dismal when Bradley took his first breath. Violence, death, ill-health, and poor sanitation along with other insidious factors, such as a burgeoning rum trade, characterised the beginnings of this colony. He was probably not expected to live long. Yet in the midst of this, this child grew to become a pioneer of ‘immense physical energy and of gigantic bulk and stature’.¹

One hot summer’s day 200 years later, I stood on the wide banks of the Hawkesbury River looking up towards Windsor. While my peaceful view was one of completed buildings, Bradley witnessed new buildings emerging at Windsor, and despite the passage of time, it was not hard to imagine the region in the nineteenth century. The river gave the settlement life, and the Bradley family, like others before and with them, took the land and successively dispossessed the Aboriginal owners, which resulted in ongoing warfare.

I had some notion of where Bradley was born, and I drove down to the Freeman’s Reach Road to search for the shack, which had been described to me as small with green scalloped roofing. I found the shack still standing, but somewhat derelict and unimposing. The Hawkesbury River ran down the back of the property, and it was here that Bradley and his elder brother, Thomas, played. This was one of my first footsteps into the world of Bradley and his family. My journey through Bradley’s early childhood haunts gave me the sense that to survive the colonial conditions, he needed to be resilient and determined.

I wondered what Bradley bore witness to here on the banks of the river, and I began to unravel the essence of his character. Here, he learnt what it meant to be the son of a convict mother, and to have a respected member of the New South Wales Corps as his father. I visited his mother’s grave in the Anglican section at Windsor cemetery and was struck by its simplicity and the unremarkable inscription. From a distance of two centuries, the relationship between Bradley and his mother seemed strained.

My initial footsteps into Windsor and Bradley’s life revealed a life spent close to the seasons and the cycle of life, where the conditions of life soon winnowed out the entrepreneurial spirits from those with less ambition. As I began to delve into this family and come to understand their ambitions and motivations, it was a revelation to me that from these humble beginnings on the Hawkesbury River, there was a fortune to be made and respectability to be gained in the burgeoning colony.
CHAPTER 1

A NATIVE-BORN AUSTRALIAN
Figure 2A

View of part of the town of Windsor, in New South Wales, taken from the banks of the River Hawkesbury: c. 1812-14.
IMAGININGS...

It was early one mid-summer morning in 1822 when William Bradley stood with his father looking out over the tobacco crops on their land at Windsor. The small plants that germinated in August were now ready for transplanting. William’s brother Thomas was already down in the field. William’s job was to look after the one-acre crop in the neighbouring paddock. He readied himself to begin the arduous task of checking around the roots of every plant for the black grub that could destroy the infant crop. He would also weed the plants and prune any decayed leaves. His worn cabbage tree hat would require replacing soon. For a native solution to the ferocious sun, William thought it impressive that the cabbage tree could produce such enormous leaves.

He called to the convicts he was going to supervise in this task and made his way down to the paddock. The humidity was already rising from the dark soil. He could not recall it being this hot so early in the morning. It normally took most of the day to do this job. William’s attention was also on other matters: recently, he had received permission to travel beyond the Limits of Location and the Cowpastures to the Goulburn Plains with sheep and cattle. He was excited to think there was a land beyond Windsor, the Hawkesbury and Sydney. There was much anticipation as he began his work for the day.

The sounds of the bush filled the air as they began working. The swift waters of the Hawkesbury River could be heard rushing down to the ocean after rain the previous evening. A group of five or six Aborigines sat on a ledge and watched as the men pruned, weeded and checked over each plant in the heat. Bradley looked up at them and one in particular caught his eye. Bradley recognised him as an Aboriginal who smoked the tobacco plant one night when he was working the press and sampling the products. His look was all the invitation they needed to come down and assist with finding the black grubs that were anathema to the plants, but not bad bush tucker.
They continued in the heat for some time before William stood up and called for a break. The convicts sat under the cool of the cabbage tree that shaded the lower part of the paddock. They refreshed themselves with black tea and Mrs Bradley’s rock cakes that had been brought by the house servants. The break provided some respite from the backbreaking work. William called them back shortly afterwards and the task began again. Later that afternoon, William joined his father, who was pressing another crop through his home-made press; it was quite simple in design and easy to use. The fragrant smell of the tobacco curing in the big casks under the press cut the air, and William inhaled the smell that influenced their livelihoods.

With the wafting smell of drying tobacco in the air, William Bradley thought about his own story. So far, he thought, his apprenticeship with his father had taught him to apply scientific principles to the challenges they faced. He had watched and learnt how to manage men, sheep, cattle and horses. He had observed the deep respect between his parents and understood the importance of their Anglicanism towards acceptance as a good colonial citizen. His father’s significant acknowledgement as the emerging expert on tobacco growing meant others would begin to emulate his practices. At the age of 22, with his life ahead of him, William Bradley thought about how he might live his own story, and like his father, become a respected colonist who understood the land from which he came.
The third fleet of convict ships left Portsmouth on 27 March 1791 and arrived in Sydney Harbour on 1 August. They sailed despite the warnings from Governor Phillip that the infant colony was struggling to maintain rations, clothing and shelter as well as civility for the convicts and settlers who arrived by the first and second fleets. On board the *Matilda* was a detachment of the New South Wales Corps, including twenty-two-year-old Private Jonas Bradley.

This chapter will examine Jonas Bradley’s actions and motivations and his industry within the colony. Central to an understanding of William Bradley is an awareness of his father as a motivating factor in his life. Jonas provided his sons with an example of how to persevere, harness opportunities, apply scientific information and experiment with ways of improving land and agricultural outputs. He was conscientious, and in William particularly, he fostered the notion of respectability and energy through industriousness, pre-empting Samuel Smiles’ link between industry (on land or sea) and the peerage.

It was as if Smiles’ later ideas of self-help were nurtured in Bradley from an early age. Central to Smiles’ 1859 text was the notion that:

> The most important results in daily life are to be obtained, not through the exercise of extraordinary power, such as genius and intellect, but through the energetic use of simple means and ordinary qualities, with which nearly all human individuals have been more or less endowed.\(^2\)

Bradley came to epitomise Smiles’ view that this notion would appeal to the ‘rising generation’ who wished to make their mark on their world.\(^3\) Many of Bradley’s qualities would also later become synonymous with the young Queen Victoria. Later, as the Victorian era emerged in its own form in the colonies, with its strict moral codes, paternalism, entrepreneurship and virtues that focused on the home and family, Bradley’s consistent enacting of these values contributed to the sense that he was both a respected and respectable colonist.

Laying the foundations for his family in Sydney, Jonas Bradley diligently aspired for his son to inherit a world that afforded opportunities to rise above their station in life. William Bradley’s apprenticeship with his father offers the chance to gaze into a childhood and young adulthood shaped through the conditions of the colony of New South Wales. Importantly, Jonas showed William how to generate, sustain and maintain an influential network of people who could mutually benefit from the relationship with the Bradley family.


\(^3\) Ibid.
Born in 1769 in Lancashire, Jonas Bradley was literate and articulate, and these skills were crucial in developing a life for himself, and later his family, in some of the most deprived conditions of the British Empire. The reasons for his enlistment in the New South Wales Corps in 1789 are difficult to pinpoint, as is the case for so many other Corpsmen. Perhaps his service was an 'in lieu' punishment for a crime committed in England with his parents funding his position in the Corps as an alternative to transportation. This type of enlistment was often an acceptable way for wealthy families with money to ensure that upon arrival in the colony, their loved one, and by extension, their family, would not inherit the shame of the convict stain. However, Jonas enlisted as a private. The portrait of his mother he brought with him is not that of a working woman. Of course, it is possible that he voluntarily joined the Corps despite the colony's reputation, which is likely if he was the second son of a farmer or landowner. Alternatively, he may simply have embarked on an adventure, lured by the excitement of the antipodes. When he left England, he decided to make the most of every opportunity in the colony. Securing a future for himself and his family in New South Wales was his crowning achievement.

Bradley’s first reaction to Sydney is unrecorded, but it is known that his position as a Private in the New South Wales Corps provided a degree of security as well as rations and payment for his services. He was engaged in 'soldiering' until his retirement from the Corps in 1810, when he was allowed to become a free settler in the struggling settlement. Through the successive patronage of Governors King, Bligh and Macquarie and Lieutenant Governor Paterson, Bradley secured land and animals to farm, providing him material wealth as well as security.

The reputation of the New South Wales Corps is mixed. Historians of the New South Wales Corps agree that there were violent and aggressive elements who desired authority and power in the colony. Governor Hunter considered that the Corps comprised 'characters [that would] been considered disgraceful to every other regiment in His Majesty's Service'. One interpretation suggests that the Corps was a 'company of fat rum traders'. However, there are contemporary interpretations indicating that the officers and Corpsmen played a significant and vital role in the development of the colonial economy. Between 1790 and 1810, 1,645 men served in the New South Wales Corps, an average of fifteen per cent of the total population.

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5 See Commonwealth of Australia, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series 1, Vol. 7, Governor’s Despatches to and from England, 1809–1813, the Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1916, Macquarie to Castlereagh, 30.4.1810, p.258. Subsequent references to HRA will be written in the format: HRA.

6 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. 2, Hunter to Portland, 10.8.1796, p.65. Henceforth, Historical Records of New South Wales will be referred to as HRNSW.

Chapter One: A Native Born Australian

Figure 2

Parsons, TG: op. cit., p.302.


Ibid.

Parsons, TG. op. cit., p.302.
There was a popular contemporary view that the 'Rum Corps' were a violent, politically motivated group, but there were men in this group that made 'significant contribution[s] to the survival and progress of the infant New South Wales economy'. Jonas Bradley, as a Private and, upon his discharge, a Sergeant in the Corps contributed to the development of the colonial economy and through individual application and industry, sought to establish himself in the colony. From Bradley's own evidence, he enjoyed a solid reputation as a Sergeant and in 1821, when reflecting on his service to the King in the developing colony, he wrote that his work and diligence gained 'the recommendations of his officers'. It is noteworthy then that Governor King wrote in 1802 that the 'utmost order and regularity has uniformly prevailed among the non-commissioned officers and privates of the New South Wales Corps'. This group included Jonas Bradley.

In the early days of the colony, Bradley was optimistic about his future and sought to distinguish himself through a spirit of industry. In 1793, he settled down with an Irish Protestant convict named Catherine Shiel who arrived on the Sugar Cane. Although no marriage certificate exists, Catherine took the name 'Bradley'. Their relationship was long and endearing. Twenty-two-year-old single Catherine was tried in Dublin in 1792 for stealing a watch and sentenced to seven years transportation. By 1794, she moved in with Jonas Bradley and in 1796 gave birth to the couple's first child, Thomas. On 1 June 1800, their second son, William, was born. She died aged 68 in 1838.

There are numerous accounts of the early settlement of the colony of New South Wales. Events in the month when William Bradley was born were not out of the ordinary for colonial Sydney: a man was executed for sheep-stealing the day after Bradley's birth; plans were underway to take a muster of the colony and writs were being issued against seventy Hawkesbury settlers who could not afford to pay their drinking bills. Less usual was the celebration of King George III's birthday with artillery fire. The young Australian William Bradley was to serve an

11 Statham, P. op. cit., p.46.
12 State Records of NSW (SRNSW): Fiche 3001, 4/1821, Memorial of Sgt. Jonas Bradley of the 102nd Regiment to Governor Macquarie, p.24. When the regiment returned to England, Bradley was granted permission to stay in the Colony by Governor Macquarie.
13 HRNSW, Vol. 4, King to Portland, 1.3.1802, p.726, HRA, Series 1, Vol. 3, King to Portland, 1.3.1802, pp.457–458.
14 Catherine Speers (she also took the aliases of 'Catherine Shiel' and 'Catherine Condron') was born in Ireland in around 1749. See http://members.pcug.org.au/~ppmay/cgi-bin/irish/irish.cgi?requestType=Search2&kid=23501, accessed 27 August 2009. In Baxter, C: Musters of New South Wales and Norfolk Island, 1805–1806, Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record with the Society of Australian Genealogists, Sydney, 1980, she is listed as 'Speers', p.175, entry C1132. Catherine is referred to as 'Spears' in accounts constructed after her arrival, although she does not appear on the ship's list as 'Spears'.
15 Despite extensive searches, there is no record of Catherine Shiel or any other aliases having married or having had children in Ireland.
16 Sydney Morning Herald, 25.1.1838, p.3, col.4. Catherine is buried in the Windsor Cemetery.
apprenticeship involving landed enterprise, cattle, sheep management, tobacco cropping and exploration into the Burragorang Valley. The values and principles he adopted throughout his life were learnt from his father and those around him. In his formative years, Bradley received an education, untypical of the first-generation born in colonial New South Wales. He was literate and numerate and demonstrated analytical ability, and he later held interests in scientific experimentation and animal husbandry.

As an example of industriousness in the colony, the family's fortunes were closely linked to land. Jonas initiated the foundations of a family fortune when he received a land grant and a cow in May 1797 on the banks of the Hawkesbury River. Jonas received this one shilling per year land grant, known as 'Bradley's Farm', with his Corps colleagues, Samuel Whitehead (who arrived on the Matilda with Jonas) and Samuel Higginson. This grant of 25 acres to each of the three men in Mulgrave Place was one of a very limited number given to Corps members. The partnership between Bradley, Whitehead and Higginson continued until Whitehead and Higginson returned to England in 1810 following the Rum Rebellion. The partnership between the three men appeared profitable for Jonas Bradley. Five years later, in 1802, Jonas reported in the colony's muster that he kept 36 hogs on the land and had planted twenty acres of wheat. He also leased some of his land at Mulgrave Place to an emancipated convict called Thomas Akers, whose family later took up land on the Monaro.

By the time of the next muster of the colony in 1805–1806, Bradley extensively expanded his land holdings and his agricultural production. He employed Patrick Conroy, a former Irish convict, tried for false pretences as a labourer. The muster reveals that Jonas continued

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18 Little is known about William Bradley's education. For references about early colonial schools, see Sydney Gazette, 4.1.1807, p.1, col.3; 12.4.1807, p.2, col.3; 16.8.1807, p.2, col.3; 22.5.1808, p.2, col.3; and 22.5.1808, p.2, col.3.

19 SR NSW: Fiche 3267, 9/2731, p.86, 1.5.1797 and NSW Lands and Property Information (NSW LPI), a Division of the Land and Property Management Authority (LPMA) Serial 2, p.197, 1 May 1797, 75 acres to Jonas Bradley, Samuel Whitehead and Samuel Higginson, to be known as ‘Bradley’s Farm’. See also SR NSW: Fiche 3001 4/1821, p.24, Memorial of Sgt Jonas Bradley, 11.1.1818. For an early history of the Hawkesbury, see Barkley-Jack, J: Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed, A New Look at Australia’s Third Mainland Settlement, 1793–1802, Rosenberg Publishing Centre, Dural, 2009. From here on, references to land titles and land grants from this organisation are referenced as NSW LPI.

20 A comprehensive listing of Corps members' land grants is given in Stratham, P: A Colonial Regiment, op. cit. Mulgrave Place was on the Hawkesbury River and while the name is no longer in usage, the opening of this district and the granting of land to settlers and soldiers of the New South Wales Corps was a pivotal and defining episode of Governor Francis Gresco's leadership of the Colony. See for example, Karskens, G: The Colony, A History of Early Sydney, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2009.

21 Baxter, Cj: (Muster 1800–1802), op. cit., p.9, entry AA223.

22 Thomas Akers was a first fleet convict, sentenced to hang for highway robbery. His sentence was commuted, and he arrived on the Charlotte on 26 January 1788. By an uncanny coincidence, I am descended from Thomas Akers. For a history, see http://www.monaropioneers.com/akers-t.htm accessed 29 August 2009. Also see Baxter, Cj: (Muster 1800–1802) p.9, entry AA226.

23 Conroy arrived with Catherine Bradley on board the Sugar Cane. Baxter, Cj: (Muster 1805–1806), op. cit., p.21, entry A0698; see also http://members.pcg.org.au/~ppmay/cgi-bin/irish/irish.cgi?requestType=Search2&id=4666, accessed 29 August 2009.
to sub-lease land to others, realising that he could increase his profits through land rental. Thomas Leeson, another former convict, leased thirty acres from Bradley on the Hawkesbury and planted his twenty-five acres with wheat and barley to support his wife, child and two convicts. A second man to lease land from Bradley on the Hawkesbury was Richard Hicks with a twenty-five acre block. James Sherrad also purchased thirty-three acres from Bradley on the Hawkesbury, running one hundred head of oxen on his land and one hundred and fifty sheep. John Williams also leased one hundred acres of Bradley's land, this time at Baulkham Hills. All these leases were an illustration of Bradley's quick prosperity. Bradley himself owned three cows and five hogs, with an orchard and planted garden. He also planted and processed four bushels of wheat, three of maize, and one of barley. There is no address given for Bradley, and this smallholding indicates that Bradley was not at Windsor at this time, but residing on his Sydney land. Jonas received a fourteen-year lease in 1804 for fifty-six rods of land in Pitt Row, but the size of land was not conducive to intensive cultivation or animal production. This explains why Jonas leased his land at Mulgrave Place and Baulkham Hills. While William Bradley was still an infant, he learnt the basics of diversification, as Jonas' varied interests ensured the family did not endure the suffering that others experienced, particularly when the Hawkesbury River flooded.

It is unclear where the Bradley family were living when in March 1806, the Hawkesbury River flooded, and as the Sydney Gazette wrote, 'many individuals ... lost everything they possessed.' There were severe ramifications for the whole colony from this disastrous flood, with the loss of stock both 'serious and considerable.' People watched as 'upwards of sixty ... stacks of wheat and barley' floated off towards the ocean. The effect of the Hawkesbury Floods on the colony was immediate and disastrous. The reliance crops of wheat, barley and maize suddenly disappeared. Governor Bligh was forced to advance seed to the settlers to grow more crops.

24 Baxter, C.J. (Muster 1805–1806), op. cit., p.65, entry A2609; pp.126–127, entry B0177. The first entry lists Leeson as leasing the land from Bradley; in the second reference, he is listed as having purchased the land. For information on Thomas Leeson (aka Lisson), convicted of theft and transported for 7 years, see http://defaultgatewaynet/genealogy/individual.php?pid=1281, accessed 29 August 2009. NSW LPI, Index of Old Registers from Commencement to December 1824, Serial 1, p.22, entry 110, which indicates Jonas Bradley sold or leased Bradley's Farm to Thomas Lisson.
29 SR NSW: Fiche 3268, 9/2731, p.208, 11.8.1804 and NSW LPI Serial 3, Lease to Jonas Bradley, p.155, 11.8.1804. Pitt Row was later renamed Pitt Street.
30 For more on the flood and the hardships endured by the Hawkesbury settlers, see HRNSW, vol. 6, Marsden to King, 28.3.1806, pp.53–54.
31 Sydney Gazette, 30.3.1806, p.2, cols.1–3.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
and provide meat from the government store." Reverend Samuel Marsden estimated the damage and loss to stock in grain and other property would exceed £30,000—a significant amount for a small colony reliant on the Hawkesbury settlers as the colony's food bowl. While there is no record of the Bradley family's suffering, it is likely that they lost crops and animals agisted at their property. They remained off government stores following the flood, with Jonas only receiving issues of beer from the stores, indicating that the family was not in residence at the time of the floods but domiciled in Pitt Row. Events such as the Hawkesbury Flood ruined settlers in a short space of time, but people with diversified interests, such as Jonas Bradley, were able to survive the environmental effects of wild colonial weather.

The family's removal to Pitt Row in about 1804 appears to have been in response to the need to educate their two sons. Prior to 1806, Sydney had few institutions for the education of settlers' and soldiers' children. Some children were sent 'home' for an education, while others who remained in the colony received no education or only a rudimentary grounding in the basics, often based on their parents experiences, if any, with education. While the Hawkesbury settlers were keen for a school to be erected and Governor King reported on the progress towards this in 1802, not enough money was raised through subscription. However, King was committed to building a school and in 1804, a one hundred foot by twenty-four foot brick building was built in the vicinity at the Crown's expense, to be used as both a school and a place of worship. It seems unlikely that the Bradley boys attended this school as they lived in Pitt Row when it opened.

In November 1806, John Mitchell advertised an evening school for students in Sydney. In 1807, Governor Bligh visited the school to review the students and their masters. Between 1806 and 1809, the Sydney Gazette carried advertisements for other schools. One school commenced in January 1807, another in Chapel Row, Sydney, commenced in April 1807, another at the Rocks in August 1807, followed by an Academy in May 1808. A school run by a London Missionary Society (LMS) member, John Youl, was in operation at Ebenezer, close to Windsor, and perhaps the young Bradley boys took their instruction from him. The Shelley family were closely affiliated with the LMS, and would go on to be significant in the formation of William Bradley's Goulburn enterprises. This period may have formed the beginning of their later relationship.

34 See HRNSW, Vol. 6 Government and General Orders (GGO), 26.3.1806, pp.52–53. See also Sydney Gazette, 30.3.1806, p.1, col.2
35 See HRNSW, Vol. 6, Marsden to King, 28.3.1806, p.53. See also Sydney Gazette, 6.7.1806, p.3, col.2 where the damages are reported as close to £35,000.
36 SR NSW: Reel 6041, 4/1719, p.211 & 216, 17.5.1806 and 1.7.1806.
37 Other floods, such as the one in 1809, necessitated convicts and troops being despatched in a clean up effort at the Hawkesbury. See HRNSW, Vol. 7, GGO, 30.5.1809; and Sydney Gazette, 4.6.1809, p.1, col.1.
39 Sydney Gazette, 4.1.1807, p.1, col.3; 12.4.1807, p.2, col.3; 16.8.1807, p.2, col.3; 22.5.1808, p.2, col.3; and 22.5.1808, p.2, col.3
It is highly likely that William and Thomas Bradley were enrolled in one of these schools as there is no evidence of them leaving the colony to be educated in England. There was also an agricultural education with their father as instructor, involving the care of animals and crops. While the terms of education in Sydney were advertised as 'moderate', it was an expensive decision for Jonas and Catherine Bradley to relocate and provide their sons with an education. The long-term effect of this was far greater perhaps than Jonas or Catherine contemplated. By affording their sons an education, they also gained an understanding of colonial society, and coupled with agricultural skills, provided their native-born children with a future.

While his formal education is difficult to pinpoint, William Bradley's moral education is more accessible, as he was baptised an Anglican by the outspoken Reverend Samuel Marsden, at St John's Church, Parramatta. Perhaps influenced by Marsden's well-documented inhumane treatment of convicts, Bradley set out to be different in his treatment of his own convicts. Certainly, there were parallels with Marsden, with Bradley later a magistrate, although he was not removed from office quite as spectacularly as Marsden. Despite the numerous criticisms of Marsden, the family maintained an ongoing relationship with him.

The fact that the family changed its focus from farming at Mulgrave Place to living in Sydney did not alter Jonas' desire to return to the land. By January 1807, Jonas retained an interest in some land at Parramatta, documented in an advertisement he placed for the return of some strayed cattle. He was prepared to offer a one pound ten shillings reward for the recovery of his cattle, thus indicating that he was in a financial position to offer a cash reward and his herd was larger than the initial one cow granted by Governor King. Jonas acquired a further land grant of two hundred acres from Lieutenant Governor William Paterson at Parramatta in October 1809, and another town block in High Street, Sydney in July 1809. In January 1810, Bradley received two hundred acres at Parramatta. His work in the New South Wales Corps funded his land costs as well as the rents from his leased land. It was a strategy he taught William, who constructed his own multi-layered strategy on the Goulburn Plains.

Bradley's military career as a Sergeant in the New South Wales Corps appears exemplary. He distinguished himself in 1808 when he apprehended the brig Harrington, stolen from anchorage in Farm Cove. Some thirty-odd enterprising convicts took the opportunity to seize the brig and make away at daylight. On realising the desperadoes were absent from their work,
work, the *Halcyon* was immediately fitted out with ten Corps members and Sergeant Windsor, and towed out to pursue the ‘delinquents’.\(^{46}\) Other vessels joined the *Halcyon* but it was so calm within the Heads ‘that it was dark before the *Halcyon* could make any progress’.\(^ {47}\) As the boats turned slowly back towards Farm Cove, a story emerged of the daring plan enacted by the convicts. The chief officer of the *Harrington*, Fisk, was held during the night at gunpoint. Once secured along with his crew, the thieves cut the anchor and sailed out to sea. Fisk and his crew went along for about twenty miles with the convicts before they let them board two smaller boats and sent them back to shore.

Meanwhile, Bradley waited on shore for orders to equip the *Pegasus* to pursue the convicts. Under his command, the crew of twenty Corpsmen and Sergeant Johns left Farm Cove. As the *Sydney Gazette* reflected, it was ‘a fortunate circumstance that the gentlemen [of the *Pegasus*]... are well acquainted with the navigation of the seas’\(^ {48}\) as this was an advantage over the fugitives. The *Pegasus* captured the *Harrington* and returned to Farm Cove with the convicts intact and Bradley fêted as a hero.\(^ {49}\) Bradley’s seizure of the *Harrington* and the recapture of the convicts was recognition that, despite the negative connotations surrounding the Corps, there were elements within their ranks who completed their duties competently. For young William Bradley, it was an exciting example of his father’s competence and diligence.

In 1810, the New South Wales Corps came under scrutiny. Due to the actions of some members following the events of the Rum Rebellion, the Corps were disbanded and the men returned to England. While the events that sent them back to England are well documented, it is worth noting that Jonas remained aloof from the ensuing debacle, and as a result, gained permission to remain in the colony.\(^ {50}\) Jonas served in the Corps for 21 years, with nineteen of those in the colony. It is plausible that Jonas remained loyal to Governor Bligh because of Bligh’s patronage of the Hawkesbury settlers and therefore limited his involvement beyond his dutiful obligation when the Corps’ rebellion erupted.

At the very least, his unblemished record of service, as well as his landed enterprises and family responsibilities, was surely enough for Governor Macquarie to give permission for Jonas ‘to become a settler’\(^ {51}\) in the colony. A request went out to ‘old soldiers of the 102nd Regiment

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47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid. For other accounts of the brig’s capture (and the loss of confidence in Bligh as a result) see HRNSW, Vol. 6, *John Macarthur to Captain Piper*, 24.5.1808, p.644; Bligh’s account of the rebellion, 30.6.1808, p.671; and Macarthur to Johnson, 7.7.1808, p.689.
as have served twenty-one years, and who may be desirous of remaining in this country to place their names with the Adjutant for Macquarie's perusal. By remaining in the colony, the Government allowed Jonas to capitalise on the opportunities he had developed and worked on since arriving in 1791. The Home Government was also spared the expense of paying him a pension, which all former Corps members were entitled to receive. On 15 November 1810, 'no less than five serjeants (sic), seven corporals, one drummer and ninety-seven privates turned out as volunteers from the 102nd Regiment for the Invalids Company,' with Jonas Bradley among their number. This is a significant moment for the Bradley family as it effectively cemented them to Australia for an indefinite period, providing them certainty and stability. It also demonstrated to the ten-year-old William Bradley the importance and positive implications of industry and effort.

Bradley immediately took advantage of this opportunity to remain in New South Wales. Between 1810 and 1822, the family did much to consolidate their land holdings and improve their cropping and animal husbandry techniques. Thomas and William were almost teenagers and capable of contributing to the family's business ventures. The family provided meat to the government stores on a regular basis, and Jonas became active in providing cattle for the Windsor Charitable Institution.

During this time, a number of people came into the lives of the Bradley family and as will be demonstrated in later chapters, this embryonic network provided the base for the business and social networks cultivated by William Bradley in his establishment phase on the Goulburn Plains, and as a politician. The list of names reads as a who's who of colonial New South Wales. William Shelley senior arrived to set up the 'Native Institution' at Parramatta to educate Aboriginal children. William Hilton Hovell and his wife and daughter arrived with John Dickson, who brought the advent of steam to the colony with his apprentices Thomas Barker and Peter Stuckey. Francis Greenway, the colonial architect, busied himself around Sydney designing grand buildings. He appeared before the House of Lords in 1847 to give evidence on behalf of his friend, Caroline Chisholm. Francis Lawless, a former convict bricklayer superintendent, was a man around town with the various buildings he was overseeing.

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53 Ibid, Macquarie to Castlereagh, 30.4.1810, pp.343–344.
54 Ibid, Extract of a letter from Macquarie to General Sir David Dundas, KB 1.5.1810, p.458; sent on 15.11.1810, p.459.
55 For meat to the commissariat stores provided by Jonas Bradley, see Sydney Gazette, 25.3.1815, p.1; 9.8.1817, p.1; 27.12.1817, p.1; and 3.1.1818, p.1. For a donation to the Windsor Charitable Association by Jonas Bradley of one cow see Sydney Gazette, 30.1.1819, p.3.
58 Francis Lawless arrived on the Boyd in 1809 as a convict bricklayer, see Sydney Gazette, 16.2.1811, p.2, col.1; also the Dublin Evening Post, 27 June 1807.

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The native-born William Charles Wentworth (to whom William Bradley later aligned himself politically) established himself as a leading colonial figure. This group of men all exerted some influence on the shaping and developing of ideas in the young William Bradley. While this was mostly informal, Bradley would have observed the mechanisation of the first steam engine in the colony at Dickson's mill, and seen for himself the work of Lawless and Greenway and read about the exploits of Hovell's explorations into the interior of the colony. There was a lot to learn from those who came to the colony with ideas about industrial progress and entrepreneurial success.

It was during this time that Jonas Bradley began his experiments with tobacco manufacture on his Windsor property. The growing and manufacturing of Negro-Head tobacco consumed the local press's interest for many years. Tobacco was highly valued by the colonists as a commodity for trade and barter, as a relaxing pastime and as an indulgence. In early June 1803, the *Sydney Gazette* printed an article by Sir Joseph Banks describing in detail the necessary process and requirements to grow tobacco. Banks, the paper reported, went to considerable expense and trouble in procuring all the information he could about the growing of tobacco as it was 'one of the necessities of life to the labouring and other orders of society'. Banks based his article on the 1786 Treatise of William Tatham, an American settler in Maryland, Virginia. Tatham's treatise was presented to the Committee on Agriculture in Boston the same year. This work provided a blueprint for growing, curing and manufacturing tobacco under the right conditions. A supplementary editorial in the *Sydney Gazette* on 26 June 1803 encouraged the 'numerous readers' to undertake trials of tobacco cultivation using Tatham's methodology in order to avoid paying the large sums of money hitherto sent to America and other nations for the importation of tobacco. It seems that already in the colony, there were a number of people keen to cultivate tobacco. One man who lived four miles from Sydney took up Brazilian tobacco cultivation and was making attempts to roll this into a palatable form for consumers. Another subscriber on the Hawkesbury River informed the *Sydney Gazette* in the same issue that on the border of his land, there was tobacco 'growing spontaneously' that was almost 'six feet tall and bore a 'luxurious appearance'. Quite possibly, this subscriber was Jonas Bradley, as he had been in situ since 1797.

60 *Sydney Gazette*, 5.6.1803, p.3, cols.1–2.
Advertisements for tobacco importation, selling and cultivation continued to appear in the *Sydney Gazette* over the next few years. In April 1804, Brazilian tobacco brought five shillings per pound; in 1806 the cost had risen to eight shillings per pound and by 1807, the price had reached twenty to twenty-four shillings per pound, an increase of about 300 per cent. The price increases are attributable to the monopoly the officers of the New South Wales Corps held over the importation of goods into the colony. When ships docked in Sydney, the officer cartel's purchasing powers were far greater than an individual settler could hope for, and as a result, the ensuing mercantile monopoly pushed the prices of goods upwards.

The *Sydney Gazette* maintained its stance that someone in the colony could make a profit on the cultivation of the tobacco plant due to its annual scarcity and demand by the population. As the price of tobacco soared, the number of crimes committed to obtain the precious commodity also rose. One interesting anecdote about an incident that occurred in September 1805 described the plight of one man with a quantity of tobacco who was persuaded that it would 'recover its wonted strength and flavour by internment'. Watched by his persuader, he buried the tobacco in his garden. The next morning, the man arose to the 'melancholy spectacle of an empty grave.' Shops robbed and convicts charged with the theft of tobacco were commonplace and on one occasion, a prisoner at Newcastle was murdered following a dispute over a piece of tobacco.

It took the settlers at the Hawkesbury almost two years to recognise the monetary influence of the tobacco plant and act on the method outlined by Tatham and Banks. With the strong demand and relative scarcity of tobacco in circulation, it is surprising that more settlers did not attempt to grow this coveted crop. Their counterparts on Norfolk Island realised the value of successful tobacco manufacture and by 1809, after a number of attempts, were successful in establishing a crop of tobacco. The Government, too, had a stake in growing tobacco and work towards establishing a government tobacco industry progressed during Macquarie’s reign.

In 1819, Wentworth estimated that the annual importation bill for tobacco from the United States of America and Brazil was almost five thousand pounds. Wentworth advocated that within three years the colonists could raise a sufficient quantity of their own tobacco.

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63 *Sydney Gazette*, 29.4.1804, p.4, col.2; 20.7.1806, p.3, col.2; and 8.3.1807, p.2, col.1.
64 For a discussion about the officer's cartel, see Pybus, C: *Black founders: the unknown story of Australia's first black settlers*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2006.
67 Ibid.
68 SR NSW: Reel 6067; 4/1807 pp.49, 51–52. 16 August 1819, John Williams, a prisoner at Newcastle was murdered.
69 For a discussion about tobacco, see Pybus, C: op. cit.
In September 1819, acting perhaps on this information, an ex-convict called Richard Fitzgerald wrote to Governor Macquarie seeking permission to establish a depot at Emu Plains, near Penrith. This depot was to be a centre for holding convicts and developing agricultural industries, including the development of tobacco crops, to sustain the colony's population. Permission to develop the 'agricultural settlement' at Emu Plains allowed Fitzgerald to begin his tobacco trials, and Macquarie promoted him to superintendent of the new government farm. In his reports into the colony in 1822, Commissioner Bigge mentioned the success of the Emu Plains settlement. He commented that there was an 'immense crop' of tobacco growing at Emu Plains in February 1822 and advised that someone with skills to cure the tobacco should take charge of the tobacco industry at Emu Plains. Bigge also suggested that the tobacco labourers should build drying and curing houses. In 1823, Sir Thomas Brisbane admitted his role in the development of a colonial tobacco industry when writing to his friend in Ireland, mentioning that he had 'introduced the real Virginia tobacco' into the colony with plants that 'were so fine that we may be independent of America when we please.' Being independent of America was a key factor in developing the crop at Emu Plains.

Into this mix of people experimenting and developing techniques for cultivating tobacco stepped the Bradley family. The claim that Jonas Bradley was the 'first successful grower of tobacco in the colony' is contestable by a man named McGee who in 1806 'succeeded in the tobacco plantation' on the Hawkesbury River. Prior to the river's flooding in 1806, he sold his colonial grown tobacco for a bushel of wheat a pound. The flood, however, decimated his several acres of remaining crop. These early attempts, together with that of the Government Farm, indicate that Jonas Bradley was not the only person cultivating tobacco. However, it seems that Jonas was more successful in developing a more consistent outcome, and established a manufacturing process for Negro-Head tobacco.

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71 SR NSW: Reel 6048, 4/1742, p.421-422; 2.9.1819; Richard Fitzgerald to Governor Macquarie.
74 NLA MS1502, Sir Thomas Brisbane to N. Barnard, County Cork, Ireland, 2.2.1823, from Belfast Public Records Office, Record # D20767/58.
75 See O'Halloran, M. Remembering the first time, Francis Howard Greenway at work in Australia, Goulburn Brewery Publishers, Goulburn, NSW, 2006, p.10. It is claimed Jonas 'succeeded in growing the first tobacco crops in Australia' with a bale sent to England. This is contradictory to government attempts and reporting on tobacco growing which suggested at the Emu Plains establishment, Macquarie had succeeded in having a small tin box of tobacco sent home to England. See HRA, Vol. 10, Series 1, Macquarie to Bathurst, 21.7.1821, p.533.
77 Negro-Head tobacco was also known as Cavendish tobacco. The term used in colonial New South Wales was Negro-Head. See Atkinson, J: An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales, J. Cross, London, 1826. This edition, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1975.
In October 1822, the Agricultural Society of New South Wales (later the Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales) resolved to present Jonas Bradley with a suitably inscribed silver tankard as a 'testimony of the high opinion' in which the Society regarded him in recognition of his successful cultivation, curing, and manufacture of Negro-Head tobacco in the colony. Fêted as the 'first successful grower of tobacco in the colony', the Agricultural Society recognised him as their 'prize-tobacconist'. In January 1823, he read his paper to the Society, titled On Growing, Drying and Manufacturing Negro-Head Tobacco, which cemented his status as an expert on the cultivation of tobacco in New South Wales. His paper outlined the methodology, equipment and labour needed to successfully cultivate tobacco. He described the impact of the weather on the tobacco plant, the insects that could possibly attack one's crop, and his homemade tobacco press. His information is significant as it gave other settlers the opportunity to emulate his cropping techniques as well as giving an insight into early agricultural practices of the colony. Two significant ideas emerge here for an analysis of William Bradley: He witnessed his father succeed in the growing of tobacco where others had failed, and he observed the respect with which his father was held by his contemporaries.

This example of Jonas' industry is important, as the skills that allowed him to succeed in his tobacco venture were largely self-taught. It was important for William Bradley to see this success, as it exemplified his father's diligence, perseverance and the ability to capitalise on an opportunity. Through this approach, one could be respected, and so it became a pattern of behaviour that William Bradley later adopted.

A hundredweight of the Negro-Head tobacco grown by Jonas Bradley went 'home' to England on board the Bathurst, and the Agricultural Society later received a very favourable report about its quality. The Sydney Gazette published Bradley's paper and significantly, in 1826, James Atkinson recognised the importance of Bradley's endeavour and reproduced the article in his work, An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales. Atkinson believed there were 'very few persons ... in possession of proper sheds and conveniences for drying and curing' tobacco. As the colony encountered crop failures, drought and other threats to its survival, tobacco cultivation as a sustainable and marketable commodity was not a high priority. However, the Bradley family could expand their operations to supply the colony with tobacco, and their collective contribution to tobacco growing in the colony cannot be

79 Sydney Morning Herald, 2.11.1841, p.3, col.3.
80 Jamison, J: First Anniversary Address (By the President); List of Members; and Rules and Regulations of the Agricultural Society of New South Wales, instituted on the 5th of July 1822, Sydney 1823, p.14.
81 Bradley's address was published in the Sydney Gazette, 20.2.1823, supplement, p.1, col.1; and in Atkinson, J: op. cit.
82 Marsden, S: Second Anniversary Address (by the Vice-President) of the Agricultural Society of New South Wales, instituted on the 5th July 1822, Sydney, 1824, pp.5–6.
83 Atkinson, J: op. cit., p.47.
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overestimated. Not only did it serve as an indulgence, it also formed a cure for scab in sheep. As a result of Bradley's growing reputation as the expert on tobacco cultivation in the colony, opportunities for advancement came his way.

In 1823, Jonas Bradley and his sons petitioned Governor Brisbane for land in the Burragorang Valley. In a joint memorial, the family stated that they had 'brought the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco to the highest perfection it has yet arrived at in this colony.' The memorial described the land on which they lived as 'too poor and too limited in size to cultivate' tobacco to the extent they desired. The memorial requested a grant of land at Burragorang where the family 'will be able to cultivate tobacco to a considerable amount as the soil is extremely suitable for that purpose.' This memorial is important because Jonas, Thomas and William were seeking direct patronage for an achievement that was a family enterprise and one that indicated agricultural success, thereby providing the Governor with the confidence that this family would succeed if provided further indugences.

From 1798, the Burragorang Valley's white exploration included John Wilson, George Bass, Louis-Francis Barrallier, John Warby, George Caley, Governor Macquarie and Captain Hovell. In return for 'discovering' the Burragorang Valley, the Governor granted Novell five hundred acres of land. While no records exist of Novell's activities in the Burragorang, it is reasonable to suggest that between 1823 and 1824, the Bradley and Hovell families came into contact through their interest in settling in the valley. Settlement outside the Limits of Location was still illegal, and even non-authorised exploration further than those limits was discouraged.

It is conceivable that Jonas and his sons ventured into the Burragorang Valley following the course of the Nepean River and observed the fertile soils available for the cultivation of tobacco. It is also conceivable that they obtained first-hand information from Hovell that the soils were suitable for tobacco cultivation, which would explain the statement to this effect in their memorial of 1823. The development of a relationship between the Hovell and Bradley families is likely in this period. From this point forward, land, cattle, and eventually marriage linked the two families.

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85 For an account of tobacco growing in Australia, see NLA MS 4660, Stuart Donaldson, Observations on the Cultivation of Tobacco in the Australian Colonies, 1828, London, 29.11.1828.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 For a detailed account of the early exploration and discovery of the Burragorang Valley, see Andrews, A. Earliest Monaro and Burragorang, 1790 to 1840, Tabletop Press, Canberra, 1998.
In any event, there was no access to land in the Burragorang Valley until the completion of a survey, and as a result, the Bradley family sought land in a different location. Recognising that ‘some considerable time may perhaps lapse’ before the survey occurred, in July 1824, they petitioned for land on the Goulburn Plains in order to ‘commence operations on a larger scale’. The same memorial informed the Governor that they already occupied a cattle station on the Goulburn Plains, and this enterprise had been in operation for some three years.

The two Bradley family memorials of 1823 and 1824 provide an insight into the developing nature of the family’s enterprises. The details of both memorials list ages, names, and dates of events in the family’s life as well as the numbers of sheep and cattle they raised. In 1823, they ran twelve hundred sheep and two hundred head of cattle. By 1824, due to their ‘perseverance and industry’ they were running some seventeen hundred sheep (an increase of almost forty-two per cent over twelve months). There is no mention in either memorial of Catherine Bradley, who, significantly, had been mentioned in an earlier 1818 memorial by Jonas Bradley to obtain an eleven hundred acre land grant and the second memorial was also largely rejected. The first memorial denied the family access to the Burragorang Valley. The second (1824) memorial granted them only one-hundred acres of land each on the Goulburn Plains, which were not the large land grants they sought. This did not hinder their efforts to expand their operations, and the capacity for perseverance was a characteristic of Jonas that William inherited.

In July 1824, the family again petitioned the Governor for more land on the Goulburn Plains. This time they requested a grant by purchase of two thousand acres for Jonas and one thousand acres each for the sons. They informed the Governor that the three hundred acres offered previously was ‘inadequate to their stock’, now comprising two hundred head of cattle and two thousand sheep. They also petitioned Reverend Samuel Marsden to support their application. He wrote that the family ‘always attended to stock and farming and there can be no doubt that they will make proper use of any indulgence that may be granted to them in any way’. This time their petition was successful, with four-thousand acres granted on the Goulburn Plains. At this time, the family’s operations turned from tobacco cultivation towards the south-west frontier and development of Goulburn as a strategic base for their future operations. In time, Macquarie’s decision to allow Bradley to remain in the colony

92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.
95 SR NSW: Fiche 3001, 4/1821, #24, Jonas Bradley to Governor Lachlan Macquarie, 11.1.1818.
96 SR NSW: Fiche 3079, 4/1836A, #89, pp.479–486; 5.7.1824; Petition of Jonas, Thomas and William Bradley.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid.
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reaped economic, agricultural and social advantages for all the settlers. Evidenced in Table 1.1 below is the land granted, purchased or leased by Jonas Bradley between 1797 and 1831, demonstrating continual amassing of land to support his family.99

TABLE 1.1 LAND GRANTS TO JONAS BRADLEY 1797 - 1830

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.5.1797</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bradley's Farm, Mulgrave Place on the banks of the Hawkesbury River.</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.8.1804</td>
<td>56 roods</td>
<td>Pitt Street in the Township of Sydney.</td>
<td>14 year Lease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.7.1809</td>
<td>30.5 roods</td>
<td>High Street in the Township of Sydney.</td>
<td>14 year Lease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10.1809</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.1810</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.1811</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.1.1816</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1.1818</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>Bathurst</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.7.1824</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Windsor Road</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.1831</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>County of Argyle. This was the official land grant for the 2000 acres occupied since 1822, but not confirmed until 1831.</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 2826 acres

From the time of early settlement, the Colonial Government controlled the grant and purchase of land, limiting early settlers in their choice of settlements on the Cumberland Plain. As a result, by 1804 the Cumberland Plain was settled to such an extent that Governor Philip Gidley King needed to explore new areas that would be suitable for settlement, and this was something his 1802 instructions encouraged.100 The Government soon realised that in order to maintain the population and to provide for the new settlers arriving, new land needed to open for settlement. This meant that areas untouched by white civilisation slowly began to open up to pioneering settlers. These areas included the western frontier of Bathurst, the upper Hawkesbury River area and the Illawarra coastal plain to the south. While the Bradley family expanded to the west at Parramatta and Windsor, and also into the heart of Sydney, these were not the areas chosen by Jonas Bradley when considering the next moves of his family.

When Jonas arrived on the Goulburn Plains in 1821, it was to this region that the Bradley family

99 Source: SR NSW and NSW LPI. See NSW LPI serial 2, p.197, 1.5.1797; serial 3, p.155, 11.8.1804; serial 4, p.139, 3.10.1809; serial 5, p.142, 1.1.1810; serial 6, p.166, 13.1.1818; book 27, pp.198-199, 8.3.1831; and SR NSW: Fiche 3266, 9/2652, p.4, 4.11.1811; Fiche 3266, 9/2652, p.29, 16.1.1816.

came to make their fortune. Despite orders from Governor King, and again in 1812 and 1817 from Governor Lachlan Macquarie, that the Cowpastures and the land to its south, known as the southwest frontier, were to remain uninhabited, cattle trespassed into the area. Various orders decreed by the Governor prohibited stock from grazing and people from entering the Cowpastures. By 1817, the settlers were in defiance of this order. These trespassers were subsequently given a month to leave the area without risking the impounding of their livestock. Their search for new land was a response by the stockowners to the droughts, floods, and lack of grass that plagued the increasingly populated Cumberland Plain.

By 1820, the Colonial Government faced a dilemma regarding the next phase of settlement and expansion. Land opened up in Bathurst was not as successful as anticipated. This was partly due to access, as people were unwilling to traverse the forbidding mountains to reach the area; the cold climate and the lack of feed for stock meant regular droving over the mountain ranges. Absentee landowners and those described as 'hostile natives' also restricted the development of this frontier. The government's objective in limiting the expansion of settlement was to minimise the economic costs of providing infrastructure for the settlers. A severe drought in 1820 compounded the problems the settlers were facing and in November 1820, after Macquarie's expedition to the area, the government decided to allow access to the area south of the Cowpastures as 'temporary relief to the graziers.'

Macquarie's visit to the southwest was not only important for the development of the colony, but also for William Bradley's future land expansion. Macquarie described the area to Earl Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary in London, as affording 'ample scope for the speculative grazier and farmer to exercise their industry to their own benefit.' Macquarie commented that the area was 'highly suitable to all the purposes of pasturage and agriculture.' This was contrary to the actions of the government in 1797 when ex-convict John Wilson led a party through the region and the government sealed the land off as a complementary settlement to the Cumberland Plain. The area was now re-examined, with a cautious Government allowing

101 See Sydney Gazette, 24.4.1812, p.1, col.1, and Sydney Gazette, 4.1.1817, p.1, cols.1–2. Macquarie was still trying to limit access to the Cowpastures in 1819; see HRA, Vol. 10, Series 1, Macquarie to Bathurst, 24.3.1819, p.91.
102 See HRA, Vol. 9, Series 1, Macquarie to Bathurst, 4.4.1817, pp.366–369.
106 For an account of Macquarie's tour to the Southwest, see Journal of a Tour of Inspection to the Western and Southern Countries some time since discovered by Chas. Throsby Esqr.-16 October 1820 - 6 November 1820. See original at ML MSS A782 or online at http://www.lib.mq.edu.au/all/journeys/1820/ accessed 11 April 2010.
107 HRA, vol. 10, Series 1, Macquarie to Bathurst, 19.7.1819, p.179.
109 While the area was not opened to settlement, various explorers had made use of the Cowpastures as a departure point for southern expeditions. For other explorers, see ML MSS 3002, Weatherburn, AK: The exploration and surveys of James
minimal occupation of the land within a further expanding economy.

The effects of Macquarie's decision to open this area were twofold. Firstly, settlers were able to feed and water their livestock adequately and the pressure on the overused grasslands of the Cumberland Plain was eased. There were limits placed on prospective graziers: they were required to quit the area within a month if ordered and grazing was restricted to the area between the Bargo Brush and the Cookbundoon Range. The government was clearly still determined not to allow any permanent settlement south of the Cowpastures. This determination was not to last. A month later, in December 1820, the orders were abandoned and graziers were allowed to move further south onto the Goulburn Plains and the Breadalbane Plains. It was during this important period of land access expansion that in January 1821, the Bradley family made their move southwards to the Goulburn Plains.

The second effect of Macquarie's actions was the beginning of the mass movement southward, which had a direct and positive impact on the colony's economy. As graziers such as the Bradley family increased flock and herd sizes, they contributed more to the expanding pastoral economy of the colony and allowed new opportunities to develop in these settlements. Goulburn, therefore, emerged as a rural centre past Berrima, and within this broadening regional setting, it evolved into a gate-town for people to launch onto the Monaro, to the west and further southwest, and eventually towards Port Phillip.

The settlement beyond the Cowpastures evolved into a permanent and successful expansion southwards. The Bradley family achieved Macquarie's goals and ambitions for this land, which were that southward-venturing settlers would cultivate land; ease pressure on the convict situation in Sydney by taking responsibility for a number of convicts; and contribute positively to the colonial economy. There was no road to the southwest frontier and the physical features of the area ensured a long and arduous trip for settlers. The physical geography of the region consisted of steep mountain ranges, gullied areas and a large sandstone plateau. The area to which the Government had for so long restricted access became a nucleus of change in the colony for both white man and the indigenous populations.

While not engaged in violent frontier clashes that characterised other settlement attempts, the Aboriginals were displaced from their traditional hunting, meeting and living grounds. This statement reflected the views of both the sitting Goulburn Magistrate Francis Macarthur, and

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Meehan between the Cowpastures, Wingecarribee River, Goulburn Plains, Shoalhaven River and Jervis Bay, 1805, 1818 and 1819; Sydney, 1974.

110 Sydney Gazette, 9.12.1820, p.1, col.1. This was in addition to the so-called 'caterpillar plague' of 1815 which drove some Cumberland Plain settlers over the mountains.

Chapter One: A Native Born Australian

the Bungonia Magistrate.\textsuperscript{112} With regard to race relations, the Goulburn Plains during this early period appear to have been ‘remarkable for being [a settlement] at which there was no feud between black and white races. The first settlers were circumspect and kindly to the natives who responded amicably.’\textsuperscript{113} Research into the Aboriginals of the Goulburn Plains indicates that Goulburn was a ‘cross-roads with six or more different bands within a day’s travel of the present town site.’\textsuperscript{114} It was into this landscape that Jonas, Thomas and William Bradley arrived.

‘I saw the first bark hut that was put together in this town’\textsuperscript{115} stated William Bradley on his departure from Goulburn for England in 1846. He reflected that since he lived there, the township had become ‘the most flourishing inland town in the whole country.’\textsuperscript{116} In addition to the first bark hut, William also witnessed the vast treeless plains of Goulburn and the environment maintained for centuries by the indigenous population slowly transformed forever with the coming of Bradley and his contemporaries.\textsuperscript{117} The Bradleys’ association with early land settlement in Goulburn began in 1821 when a pass granted to Jonas and Thomas allowed them to travel southward and westward of the Bargo Brush with sixty-two head of cattle. Working in partnership with Jonas Bradley were two former convicts, Hugh Kelly and George Best, plus one other man called John Williams. The partnership had a total of 295 head of cattle that they moved to a location in what would later become the County of Georgiana.\textsuperscript{118} A month later, the quartet received permission to erect a stockyard twenty-five miles to the west of the Goulburn Plains.\textsuperscript{119} Three convicts were placed in charge of the run.

On 15 January 1822, William Bradley and his father received permission to travel further south to the ‘county lying to the southward and westward of Cookbundoon Range.’\textsuperscript{120} The party comprised four hundred sheep, four rams, the convict shepherds John Smith and David Ronan, and Jonas and William Bradley. Despite these indulgences, Jonas Bradley again petitioned for more land in 1823, stating that his possession of a little run was ‘with no other tenure than a pass.’\textsuperscript{121} Bradley described his four flocks of sheep comprising six hundred head, and his

\textsuperscript{112} See also Clendinnen, I: Dancing with Strangers, Europeans and Australians at first contact; Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005; for an account of Hawkesbury encounters see Grenville, K. op. cit. See also Karskens, G. op. cit.

\textsuperscript{113} Cited in Wyatt, R T: History of Goulburn, Council of the City of Goulburn, Goulburn, 1995, p.110.

\textsuperscript{114} Smith, J: Aborigines of the Goulburn District, self-published Goulburn, 1992, p.3.

\textsuperscript{115} Sydney Morning Herald, 9.6.1846, supplement p.3, col.1.

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{118} SR NSW: 6079, 4/3503, p.173, 15.3.1821; Hugh Kelly also provided meat to the commissariat stores, see Sydney Gazette, 22.11.1817, p.3, col.1 and Sydney Gazette 29.11.1817, p.1, col.2. George Best was a former convict convicted of stealing a silver watch and arrived in the colony in 1791. See http://members.ozemail.com.au/~par1art/Best101.htm, accessed 30 August 2009, for a biography of Best. It is unclear whether John Williams was a convict or a free man.

\textsuperscript{119} SR NSW: Reel 6012, 4/3510, p.655, 21.4.1821.

\textsuperscript{120} SR NSW: Reel 6068, p.301, 15.1.1822.

\textsuperscript{121} SR NSW: Fiche 3036 4/1834A # 31, p.183, 12.6.1823.
convict overseers. One of the latter, Thomas Morrison, had a significant role in developing the later Bradley property of Bullanamang on the northern end of the Monaro.\textsuperscript{122} It is significant that within a short period on the Goulburn Plains, the Bradley family’s attention to sheep and wool production had increased their flocks. Jonas’ petition resulted in permission to depasture stock on an adjoining 4,000 acres on the Goulburn Plains.\textsuperscript{123} This later became a land grant, and was confirmed in 1825 with the land titled Lansdowne, Gundary and Murrhwary.\textsuperscript{124}

The Bradley family recognised that Goulburn would become the gateway to the southwest frontier.\textsuperscript{125} By making Goulburn the centre of their enterprise, the family could then launch operations further into the more southern regions of the colony. This was central to William Bradley’s later success as an agent of change on the Goulburn Plains and Monaro, and ensured a strong economic foundation for his other commercial ventures. As the first generation of native-born Australians, William and Thomas Bradley were not, according to Commissioner Bigge, expected to amount to much. Bigge characterised these young Australians as being people who preferred ‘a miserable existence upon the land granted to their parents to that of serving as labourers and overseers on the farms of more opulent inhabitants’.\textsuperscript{126}

William Bradley (and to a lesser extent his brother Thomas), did not conform to Bigge’s stereotype. William Bradley’s ambitions and subsequent actions on the Goulburn and Monaro Plains, with a program of aggressive land acquisition from 1825 onwards, contradicted Bigge’s prediction. He chose to become a member of the colony’s ‘opulent’ society, became a politician and ensured his family’s eventual integration into the British aristocracy.

It is evident from the early days at Windsor that William Bradley learnt a number of principles from his father that he later implemented in his plan to join the ranks of the opulent colonials. He witnessed perseverance, diligence, opportunism, industry and the development of character; the moral qualities of his father were as important as his common sense approach and the desire to improve his position in life. Within the family and business network there were other examples of perseverance and opportunism that pointed William Bradley in a direction of a lifetime of continual improvement.

\textsuperscript{122} The role of Thomas Morrison is covered in Chapter 5.
\textsuperscript{123} SR NSW: Reel 6010, 4/3508, p.516, 14.6.1823.
\textsuperscript{124} SR NSW: Fiche 3260, 2/1925, 3.5.1825, also NSW LPI Book 20, Serial 27, Land grants to William Jonas and Thomas Bradley, 8.3.1831, pp.196–197 and pp.200–201.
\textsuperscript{125} For a discussion about the southwest frontier, see Jeans, DN: An Historical Geography of New South Wales to 1901, AH & AW Reed, Sydney, 1972.
\textsuperscript{126} Bigge, TJ: Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on the state of agriculture and trade in the colony of New South Wales, House of Commons, London, 1823, p.75.
The influence of Dickson, Hovell and Wentworth, all men of character, provided William Bradley with examples of how to behave, work in partnership, and generate trust and respect through hard work and diligence. He also learnt the value of partnership in achieving wider goals.

This important apprenticeship gave him the skills, values, attitudes and beliefs that allowed him to work within the colony’s emerging social and business structures to carve his own name in the settlement. It also afforded him the opportunity to gain recognition for being a genuine Australian. Bradley’s dominance was about to take shape in the remoteness of the Goulburn Plains.
William Bradley stood with his father and brother on the top of Lansdowne Hill and looked out over the Goulburn Plains. There was no town yet, just a few huts scattered here and there. The land was undulating and some fine wheat stood in one of the paddocks, planted by the family's convicts. The landscape was different to Windsor, where a mighty river sustained life; the Goulburn Plains were often dry, dusty, and inhospitable. There were no trees to speak of and the landscape was barren and unforgiving. Out to the Cookbundoon Range, the tips of the eucalyptus trees were just visible and their ghostly white limbs stretched skywards. The cool waters of the Mulwaree Ponds provided the only respite as they meandered down to the Wollondilly River, glistening in the hot sun. The ponds had recovered from the drought of 1820 and a host of native geese swam along their edges. His father had brought his champion stud breeding horses down from Windsor, and they frolicked in the long grass, looking fat and contented.

William Bradley thought about his mother and Windsor as he stood there that day. She remained on the Windsor farm and never visited this outpost, with its lack of infrastructure and female company. William was fully aware of her heritage and in his own way he wanted her to be a part of his life, but in reality he left his mother and her convict past behind him in Windsor. His desire to prove the critics of the native-born Australians wrong in their assumptions allowed him to capitalise on the opportunities afforded him on the Goulburn Plains. This ambition, instilled in him by his father's ideas about respectability and being a good colonial citizen, influenced his plans. His elder brother was not as staunchly driven, but he was just as committed to making the Goulburn Plains a worthwhile and profitable venture.

William began to plan his vision for a grand home on the Lansdowne Hill and the establishment of a self-sufficient and reliant farming community. He wanted to be the 'opulent inhabitant' of Goulburn, with a country estate that supported an upwardly mobile lifestyle directed towards the locus of both tradition and progress. On this day, however, he contented himself with thinking about how to progress this burgeoning hamlet, now a gateway for adventurers, explorers and pioneers alike. He breathed in the clean air, allowing the smell and heat of the Goulburn summer to swallow him up and give him inspiration for the new beginnings he wanted to create on the Goulburn Plains.
FOOTSTEPS: LANSDOWNE PARK

Having visited most of the other Bradley homesteads and properties it was time to visit Lansdowne Park. It was time for the thrill of walking on foundational Bradley land and feeling connected to the footsteps that his boots left on the Goulburn soil.

In December 2008, I stood, as Bradley did before me, on the veranda at Lansdowne Park, Goulburn. It was a hot summer’s day as Neville Lee, the current owner, showed me around the vast estate that was once Bradley’s home and refuge from the world. Trees partially obscured the view, but it was still possible to look down upon Goulburn and the Mills and Brewery built by Bradley. It was an unexpected view; at first sight, the bluff on which the Homestead sat did not appear high, but it was from here that Bradley commanded a view of the township, with the sense that he was the squire looking down on his landed estate. This viewpoint could be construed as arrogant, but it was certainly a respectable position from which to monitor the shaping of Goulburn.

The massive cedar front door with its wide entrance way was large enough to accommodate the wide, nineteenth century dresses that would have been in fashion. I imagined the Bradley children running up and down the hallway as they played in this home. The sheer size of the homestead was surprising; there were multiple rooms and the main bedrooms were all adjacent to the veranda. Wryly, I noted the fact that even in bed, Bradley could look down upon his estate.

A surprising number of outbuildings remained standing; they were weathered, but still functional. Lee explained that one cottage was probably the site of the family’s first dwelling. We toured the stables and ballroom and looked at the summerhouse erected by Bradley’s manager N.C. Phillips, perhaps as a glorious folly to escape the Goulburn heat. Seeing the gaol reminded me that convicts worked and roamed here. The convict ‘stain’ was part of this story.

I saw the potential of Lansdowne Park. I imagined Bradley leaving the back entrance of the Homestead, walking around his property, checking the fences, planting the row of pines and making the place a home. I could imagine the daughters, particularly Kate, Alice and Minna, hosting balls in the purpose built ballroom. Their friends, including Blanche Mitchell, would have stayed with them often.

There was something about Lansdowne Park that remained with Bradley’s children. The house name ‘Lansdowne’ is shared with other homes in England and remotest India. Bradley’s choice of name was an assertion that the colony was still part of the British world. The idea of the various “Lansdownes” scattered around the world encapsulated
the ambition of this wealthy colonialist and native-born Australian for respectability, if not for himself, then for his daughters. While there is no established connection to the Marquis of Lansdowne and his eponymous estate at Somerset, I wondered how this Lansdowne Park compared to the original. Were there similarities, had the Bradley family modelled their lifestyle on the celebrated Lansdowne Park in England? I wondered what they would think of Lansdowne Park today, and how they would react to the changes the property has witnessed over time.

Figure 2.1

There was a calm and understated sense of place about this property. It differed from the other Bradley homesteads that I visited in that it exuded a sense of connection to the colonial ambition of its original owner. There was more of a sense of connection to Bradley himself than the other homesteads had exhibited. Lindesay was impersonal and cold, the original Bibbenluke homestead was no longer in existence and Bradley never really lived in his Monaro properties. Here in Goulburn, I felt a palpable sense of Bradley's achievements; I felt that he had come to life in a way that had eluded me in the archives. I saw a devoted family man compelled to make sacrifices, driven to build on the glimmers of new beginnings.

My mother took a geranium cutting from Lansdowne Park, as a connection to the soil of that historic place, with the intention of starting a new beginning.
CHAPTER TWO

ADVANCING AUSTRALIA
Figure 2.2
Photograph of Goulburn Brewery on the Mulwaree Ponds, post 1841, by Richard Noble.
Source: ML Small Picture File, ZDG 262.
Note the homestead to the right of the brewery tower. It is too close to the Ponds to be Lansdowne Park, although Noble may have taken some artistic license with this. Note the spire of St Saviour’s Cathedral, indicating a late 1840s painting.
From the veranda of Lansdowne Park, Bradley surveyed the developing township of colonial Goulburn. He smiled as he recalled the time when all that could be seen from this vantage point was the first hut erected in the town. He was still only thirty-three years of age. Even in this colony, where so many had seized the opportunity for rapid advancement, how many men had come so far?

Contemplating this view with him was Emily, his wife of two years, their first newborn daughter, Emily Jane, his father Jonas and brother Thomas. His mother, Catherine, was missing as she lived permanently at their Windsor property. It was perhaps better that she remained there, thought Bradley. His father had never married her and this was now a new chapter in the family’s life, leaving the past behind was not that uncommon in New South Wales. Securing the family’s wealth and social status pulled him back to the present. His father-in-law, the energetic explorer William Hilton Hovell and his wife, Esther, happy grandparents now, were staying at the homestead. Little did Bradley know that this township would serve to advance his colonial ambition and ruthlessness and provide him with opportunities for the progression of Australia.

The homestead was a hive of activity; his gaze fell upon his convict labourers, who were hard at work despite the fierce Goulburn weather. It was a strange winter, differing greatly from those in England and Ireland. Brisk, freezing nights broke dawn with high sunshine and blue skies in the daytime before returning to squally night winds that roared through the gum trees. The line of pines planted to the east of the main house was growing, and the park-like atmosphere was slowly taking shape. The frost was heavy and crunched underfoot in the emerging sunlight.

Turning his gaze again to the panorama below the bluff of Lansdowne Park, Bradley contemplated the next steps in the development of his empire. The flat-lying land adjacent to the Mulwaree Ponds had a constant supply of water. William thought there was potential for an industrial complex on the site.
His mind was clear: he wanted financial independence from Sydney, and freedom from his heavy reliance on its merchants to provide supplies. With his mind's eye, he saw a grand, steam-driven flourmill, and a brewery to meet the demand of settlers in the district. Income could be generated by an inn in the town to sell his beer. From this base, he thought, he could move further down the wild Monaro Plains, acquiring land for his growing Goulburn flocks. He wanted his wheat and tobacco crops to grow on a large scale across the Plains. He would turn Lansdowne Park into an outpost of developing British civilization. He would be a respectable citizen, a local lord of the manor like the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Home Secretary.

He wondered how many of his Sydney acquaintances understood why he had called the homestead Lansdowne. In his desk, he had a cutting from the Sydney Gazette reporting that the Marquis had steered a Bill through the House of Lords designed to put colonial trade on an equal footing to that of the Mother Country. This was his entrée card into the world of British commerce, but he was oddly ambivalent. He loved New South Wales, but he looked forward to the day when he could walk the streets of London without feeling like a 'cornstalk'. He wondered how many other first-generation native-born Australians felt the same way. In the meantime, he was determined to nurture the town of Goulburn, and to engineer it to his needs.

Standing beside him on the veranda was his father, Jonas. William was a 'doer', Jonas thought; he had grand plans that would take the family to new heights in the world of commerce and colonial society. Jonas found the grand vision seductive, but he was also cautious about William's ambitions. He had tried to instil his hard-working, diligent nature into his sons as they developed their various enterprises, but he worried about difficult times that were likely to test them over the next few years.
The new beginning provided to the Bradley family by the Colonial Secretary, Frederick Goulburn, on the Goulburn Plains in 1824, paved the way for the development of an ambitious plan to implement the scientific, economic and political change that came to dominate this landscape. There was no welcoming party for the Bradley family on their arrival into Goulburn, but it was in this town that the family established the foundations of their wealth. The town provided them with opportunities to expand into ventures that set them apart from their contemporaries. This chapter will examine the period between 1825 and 1845, which was a critical time for the Bradley family as they constructed, consolidated and implemented a strategy for progressing Goulburn. It involved the accumulation of great wealth and power in a community that benefited from William Bradley’s vision. His strategy included the construction of a steam-driven flourmill, a brewery and inn, progression beyond Goulburn to depasture stock and the cropping of wheat and tobacco. The strategy ensured that while building this empire, the family developed its growing respectability. From 1825 onwards, Jonas and Thomas Bradley were silent partners in the ventures, as the motivation and actions of William drove the realisation of the family’s plans.¹

This chapter will examine how William Bradley, fresh from his apprenticeship with his father on the Hawkesbury River, emerged as a significant, ruthless player in the development of Goulburn. The strategy he developed for Goulburn helped William to apply his knowledge, build his ideas and finesse his character traits, all of which allowed him to become a wealthy, independent, gentleman squatter. This period of activity saw Bradley apply diligence, perseverance, energy and courage to the creation of his life on the Goulburn landscape. He adopted a humane and urbane approach to his application of industriousness at Goulburn, particularly when expecting the best from his convict workforce.

Being mostly self-taught, Bradley paid attention and applied himself. He ensured that accuracy and methodology were present in all his ventures. Through this approach, he made certain that his Goulburn Plains strategy allowed for the self-improvement of his fortunes and those of his family. This period (1825–1836) saw him begin his quest for respectability, a mission founded on diligence and industry.

Bradley’s approach to securing future financial gain was grounded in land acquisition. If the speculative businesses failed, there was always the value of the land to rely on, plus its utility as a reusable asset. It was a strategy he used from the beginning on the Goulburn Plains, and in this way, he was becoming a true businessman: diversifying risks and consolidating holdings. Understanding the primary need for a flourmill in the Goulburn region to meet the demands of the growing community, Bradley decided to construct a brick mill, and crucially, to fit it with

¹ Jonas also spent time in Windsor managing the farm with his wife Catherine until her death in 1838, after which he moved permanently to Goulburn with his son. See Australian, 28.7.1839, p.2, cols.4–7.
a steam-driven engine. This made him competitive, quick, and able to monopolise the district’s milling and grinding markets. The task took time and required a high level of engagement and attention to detail. For this reason, the plan was not realised for some years. It was an ambitious plan for 1833.

In planning his steam-driven flourmill, Bradley needed a flat block of land with easy access to water and clear accessibility for the public. The land he selected was a six hundred acre lot that lay opposite his holding near the Mulwaree Ponds, for which he paid six hundred pounds in June 1833.² From this land, Bradley selected an eleven-acre, fifteen perches portion, serviced by a regular water supply. Here, he built his flourmill, followed by a brewery and a series of integrated structures designed to maximise the use of the land and yield a regular income.

Known today as the ‘Old Goulburn Brewery’, the site that currently comprises Bradley’s complex is a good example of a nineteenth century industrial site that performed multiple functions. The site has not undergone significant change in terms of any new buildings but rather, buildings have been adapted to suit various contemporary purposes, including a residence. Amongst other buildings, the site included a mill house with an engine room and boiler room to the rear, a tobacco drying kiln, maltings and a malt kiln, cooperage and a brewery hall and tower. Off the brewery hall were a series of cottages including the brewer’s dwelling. Adjacent to the mill were a series of mews that made up a further collection of workers’ cottages.³ The site is remarkable for remaining intact since the mid-1830s.

The buildings tell a story of survival and ambition, as it was clear that in the mid-1830s, Bradley was taking a significant risk in beginning such an ambitious project. In the midst of a drought with low wheat production and millers across the colony limiting their grinding, Bradley began to construct his mill. The first contract let was for the construction of the flourmills, which was worth about five thousand pounds—a substantial investment—and was to be a three-story building with capacity for grinding two thousand bushels (approximately fifty-four modern metric tons) of wheat per week.⁴ Although there are no records to confirm it, the successful contractor is likely to have been an ex-convict. The costs of the steam engine were probably in addition to the main contract, and this part of the project was sourced separately.

² NSW LPI Serial 33, No.92, Grant to William Henry Broughton 600 acres 5 December 1833 and Book F, No.105, purchase of land by William Bradley, 19–20 June 1833.
³ See O’Halloran, M: Old Goulburn Brewery, Notes on the Architecture, self-published, Goulburn 1995; and O’Halloran, M: Old Goulburn Brewery, the Brewing Process, self-published, Goulburn, 1995 for more information on the use of these rooms and their functions.
⁴ NLA MfM G 27758, Diaries, 1839–1840, Franklin, Lady Jane, p.196; this was told to Lady Jane Franklin by Bradley’s neighbour, Dr Andrew Gibson and it is the first contemporary mention of any price for the building. For conversion rates of bushels to tons, see http://www.sagis.org.au/Flatpages/CONVERSIONTABLE.asp, accessed 3 January 2009; measure used = 1 bushel of wheat = 60 pounds; therefore 2000 x 0.027216 =54.4 tons.
Having secured the land, and with his family’s capital supporting his venture, Bradley was in a position to look for the designer of his mill. Any history usually contains elements of mystery, conjecture, and debate, and Bradley’s establishment of a flourmill and brewery in Goulburn is not immune from intrigue. This thesis proposes some alternative conclusions to those found in the oft-quoted local literature. A re-examination of the latter reveals a number of flaws in the arguments, and it is important to assess these briefly. The evidence suggests that in understanding and contextualising Bradley’s economic, humanitarian and developmental effects on Goulburn, there is a need to reassess the core structures that provided him with the financial stability to advance his strategy.

Figure 2.3
Layout of the Goulburn Brewery and Mills complex.
Chapter Two: Advancing Australia

The main issues from the ‘evidence’ for discussion focus initially on terminology: two central questions assess the likely designer of the buildings and ask whether the flourmill was initially conceived and designed as a ‘complex set of integrated buildings’.

Supplementary questions focus on who actually built the mill and brewery, technical details such as when milling and brewing began on the site, the installation of the steam-beam engine and its operational status. Further, there are issues around inaccuracies in reportage about Bradley’s later business partner William Shelley. There is a need to assess the historical narrative about the two different ‘Goulburn Breweries’, which provides conflicting evidence about Bradley’s competitors.

Within the limited Goulburn literature, there is conflicting information on many of these questions. In following source material to its origins, it is clear that initially inaccurate records were not re-examined in subsequent texts. This thesis proposes a new contender to the claim of designer and builder, and provides evidence of milling and brewing commencement dates. It also proposes evidence about the steam engine, its importation to Australia and its operational status. The thesis also addresses the confusion between the various ‘Goulburn Breweries’, assesses the Shelley and Bradley partnership, and briefly addresses the issues raised from the terminology used. It is important to re-evaluate these questions when writing about Bradley, as his legacy has created these questions. Re-evaluating the evidence will demonstrate that Bradley’s actions at the site were examples of his perseverance, diligence, energy, industry and business, all features of a principled application to self-improvement and the development of respectability. Bradley’s commitment to the Goulburn venture was also the beginning of a developing ruthlessness in his character which was later exemplified on the Monaro Plains.

There were two distinct stages of construction on the site. The first stage involved construction of the mill building, which had a steam-beam engine and was operational by August 1838. The second stage was the construction of the brewery buildings, which began after October 1838. The building of the mill and brewery is contentious for a number of reasons, with two prominent central issues: the dating of the buildings and commencement of operations, and the architectural heritage of the buildings. There is also the subordinate question of the importation of the Maudslay steam-beam engine and its operational status as the catalyst for change in Goulburn, which ensured Bradley’s monopoly on the local flour milling industry by effectively removing his competitors. It is important to date these buildings, establish an operational period, understand Bradley’s motives and ambitions beyond the building of this strategic flourmill in the Goulburn district, and assess other aspects of Bradley’s life.

6 O’Halloran, M, (Remembering ‘The First Time’), op. cit., p. 2. The terminology issues relate to the joining of the words ‘Mill and Brewery’ and the word ‘complex’. In most cases, the buildings are considered one unit and in some cases identified as being built concurrently. Bradley sought to limit his risk by investing firstly in the mill, then the brewery. The ‘complex’ was not a complex until the brewery came into operation in 1841. The mill and brewery are referenced separately in this thesis and reference to the ‘complex’ is used to describe the series of buildings operating from and after 1841.

7 Appendix 1 outlines the issues and compares the literature surrounding various issues associated with the Mills and Brewery.
Bradley’s industriousness was ever-present at the Goulburn site, and the chronology of construction is essential to understanding how the foundations of his later landed empire began, and to assess the exposure of risk undertaken at any one time. It is also important to use this chronological evidence to determine whether the buildings, as claimed by the current owner, Michael O’Halloran, were the work of the convict architect Francis Greenway.8

In planning a series of buildings such as the mills, and later, a brewery with an integrated steam engine facility, Bradley required a plan that allowed him to build in stages, as finance became available, and to ensure the local brick-making industry could support the venture. What emerges from Bradley’s actions in this period is a consistent pattern of engagement when developing new and emerging enterprises. A plan exists (at some level), and his steps in realising the plan are undertaken in controlled, sequential and connected parts, so that his risk of failure is minimised. In planning the site, it is unclear whether Bradley envisaged a brewery, but he was certainly aware of the profitability of unused wheat for distillation.

Evident in this phase of Goulburn development is the diligence and energy that Bradley applied to his enterprises. Bradley observed other successful men around him, including James Atkinson of Oldbury, Sutton Forest. Bradley studied the effect of Atkinson's steam mill on his competitors and knew Atkinson's views on using grains like wheat to procure a distilled product. In 1829, Atkinson presented a pamphlet to Sir John Jamieson, the Patron of the Agricultural Society, which generated public debate about how a settler could use unsold grain for distillation purposes.9 Atkinson argued that distillation would encourage better land management practices among the settlers. By understanding the necessary mechanics of his mill and brewery, Bradley ensured successful investments that were capable of generating long-term wealth. He is likely to have read widely about new technology and approaches to traditional pastoral industries. Within this context, he conceived his plan to develop the site. He did not rush, but waited until 1836 to begin construction.

The design of the complex of buildings was important to Bradley’s vision, but this issue is a matter of debate among historians.10 It is unclear whether Bradley initially envisaged a brewery on the site, and whether this was part of his specifications in commissioning a design. Further, it is still unclear whether the buildings were designed by Francis Greenway. The most recent

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work of Michael O’Halloran, the current owner, states, ‘There is a distinctive signature that can be recognised in Francis Howard Greenway’s work. The internal evidence of the built work of the Bradley Grange itself supports the view that it is a design of Francis Howard Greenway’. O’Halloran’s argument focuses on the premise that the confluences of ancient, modern, scientific and philosophical methodologies at the Goulburn site are the same as other Greenway buildings. At first glance, this is persuasive.

Exploring Greenway as a potential architect, O’Halloran asks his readers to engage with a variety of his research methodologies, including a discussion about cubits, the functions of the buildings, their orientation, and Ancient Egyptian mythology. O’Halloran focuses on the numerical cipher of the building, which he claims verifies Greenway’s authorship of the design. He argues that the cipher or numerology of Francis Howard Greenway’s name along with the corresponding measurements of the mills and brewery buildings is evidence that Greenway left his mark on the complex.

As there are no known Bradley family papers or plans on the public record, it is difficult to prove or disprove O’Halloran’s complex scientific, ancient and mathematical argument. However, when the argument is deconstructed, it appears somewhat less convincing. Bradley witnessed Greenway’s Sydney work, and he understood how Greenway operated through the public organ of the Sydney Gazette, which makes the proposed hypothesis questionable.

Greenway is unlikely to have visited Goulburn and there are no records of his arrival. Nor is there evidence of engagement with the builders, which is contrary to Greenway’s normal pattern of behaviour. The literature does not indicate who actually built Bradley’s mills and brewery, or who superintended the work. Greenway was known to have drawn his plans on a brick during the day and removed this at night in order to prevent others from plagiarising his work. It is perplexing to attempt to marry this approach with Bradley’s commission.

By the time the mill construction began in 1837 Greenway was a virtual recluse at his Raymond Terrace property, and he died long before the completion of the mill. It is difficult to understand how the builders and contractors could have worked on a project the size of Bradley’s without Greenway’s constant supervision. It seems unlikely that Bradley, with his diligent, industrious and measured approach, could have tolerated Greenway’s modus operandi. Bradley was in the country rather than in Sydney, and therefore likely to have needed the work to continue without a supervising architect. It was also important that the plans were accessible to a layperson. Bradley had access to a consulting engineer (his friend John Dickson until 1833), but not a supervising engineer, who did not arrive on the site until May 1838. It is therefore worthwhile considering whom Bradley could have employed to construct his mill from Greenway’s plans.

11 O’Halloran, M: (Remembering ‘The First Time’), op. cit., p.2; and (Notes on the Architecture), op. cit p.6.
bearing in mind that Greenway may not have been the right man for the job.  

On 10 January 1829, the Sydney Gazette carried an advertisement from Greenway outlining his professional fees. For three per cent sterling (of the total cost of the building), Greenway would design plans, estimate and give bills of quantities; at five per cent sterling, he would superintend and survey the building and for eight per cent sterling, an accumulated total, he would design, estimate, give bills of quantities and superintend the construction.  

His earlier advertisements in December 1814 informed potential clients that he would make models and design architectural details 'in the most correct manner' for distant builders to execute. However, by 1829, Greenway had learnt that people were unscrupulous about using his designs and he no longer offered these services. Bradley could not, therefore, rely on Greenway to supply a model and possibly, by extension, a plan for his remote mill.  

There were a number of lean periods in Greenway's public search for work, and a commission by William Bradley would have assisted his fortunes. Given the abject poverty in which Greenway died, Bradley does not appear to have been a benefactor of Greenway's designs. The issue is complicated by the question of whether or not Greenway physically attended the site on any occasion, to perform a survey or to supervise the work. If the buildings are the complex and intricately designed structures they are purported to be, it is surprising that Greenway did not travel to Goulburn or supervise the work on site to ensure that the construction met his meticulous standards. The early workmanship on the mill is known to have been inferior to that at later stages. It is hard to reconcile Greenway's association with a building that failed to meet his high standards. If Bradley had employed him to complete the work, it may have served Greenway's interests to produce comprehensive plans, a model, survey maps, bills of quantities, and superintend the construction.  

13 Francis Greenway's transportation to New South Wales in 1813 for life for fraud was ironic, as his buildings were later the subject of other forgers. His work as the Colonial Architect (1816–1822) is documented elsewhere. For biographies of Greenway and assessments of his work, see Broadbent, J (et al): Francis Greenway, Architect, Historic Houses Trust of NSW, Sydney, 1997; Ellis, MH: Francis Greenway, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1949; and Herman, M: The Early Australian Architects and Their Work, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, Second Edition 1970; Francis Greenway, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1964.  

14 Sydney Gazette, 10.1.1829, p.3, col.6. As a condition of his employment, Greenway was not to be held responsible for or 'harassed by the caprice of the workmen, either arising from their interest or ignorance'. See Sydney Gazette, 10.1.1829, p.3, col.6.  


16 Pennay noted the inferior workmanship on the early part of the mill building, indicating an initially unskilled labour force at work. A former convict called William Keeley arrived in Goulburn sometime in 1837 to establish brickworks. Bradley's list of convicts from 1836–1838 at (Appendix 2) does not assist in this task, as most were unskilled labourers. Other literature about the mill's construction does not refer to issues such as brick making or sources for bricks. Someone with a degree of engineering skill and aptitude must have overseen the construction of the building. For early brickmakers in Goulburn, see Wyatt, RT: op. cit., p.264. See Pennay, B: op. cit., p.14.  

17 There are claims that Greenway designed the complex in 1832, prior to the Bradley family's purchase of the land. If the complex was designed in 1832 and construction under way by 1833 or 1834, it is odd that the income gained from the design of the Bradley buildings did not assist Greenway out of his well publicised financial distress. See O'Halloran, M: (Remembering 'The First Time'), op. cit., p.43, which indicates an 1832 design and p.42, which indicates 'about 1832'. http://users.tpg.com.au/adslcy22/Brewery/History.html indicates construction was underway in 1833, accessed 7 June 2010.
A further issue in the Goulburn design is the use of a 'security code' that Greenway allegedly used to protect his designs. Greenway may have used a similar code at both the Liverpool Hospital and the Hyde Park Barracks. The foundations of the Liverpool Hospital required re-building, as the builders could not deconstruct Greenway's code, although others argue that the rebuild was a result of 'wretched materials and workmanship'. If this security code was in place in Bradley's mill, there must have been an artisan with an intimate working knowledge of Greenway's designs on site. Noting Greenway's likely absences from the site, it is worth considering how Greenway could have worked successfully with Bradley.

It seems unlikely that Bradley employed Greenway. Greenway's erratic, unpredictable nature and lack of supervision on his work sites is documented by others and underlines his unsuitability for Bradley's employment. Bradley was clear about his goals: to construct his flourmill and then perhaps a brewery. As a man with a growing business network, Bradley or his colleagues possibly knew about Greenway's public record of late delivery and inflated budgetary costs. Given the risks involved in the Goulburn venture, it is unlikely that Bradley would employ a known troublemaker in the colony. It is equally implausible to suggest that Greenway, once the celebrated architect of Sydney, would allow a builder, engineer, or overseer to construct, if one believes the literature, a complex series of buildings founded on ancient methodologies, with secret codes that would baffle even the most literate engineer or master builder.

Figure 2.4

Three other architects with access to Bradley are worthy of consideration. They are John Verge, Ambrose Hallen and Francis Lawless. The most likely contender had the acknowledged capacity to build on Greenway's lines, having been intimately involved in forging his designs and constructing other Greenway buildings. Francis Lawless will be the focus of the following discussion. Any colonial architect could access any number of the various pattern books of design printed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These pattern books include design features replicated in the design work of all three architects and Greenway. One example is John Carter's 1774 *Builder's Magazine*, which was designed for builders, architects, carpenters, masons and bricklayers. This publication explained how to build villas, churches, stables, and amongst other buildings, a malt house, with an uncanny resemblance to Bradley's mill.20

![Figure 2.5](image)

It is the proposition of this thesis that Francis Lawless, ex-convict, was of significant interest in the design and construction of William Bradley's mill and later brewery. He had the means, skill and motivation to profit from Bradley's patronage. Moreover, Bradley knew him. Irish born Lawless arrived on the *Boyd* in 1809, convicted of being a highwayman.

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19 The other two architects (John Verge and Ambrose Hallen) have fewer claims to the title of designer of Bradley's Brewery and Mills, and these are addressed in Appendix 3.

20 Carter, J: *The builder's magazine: or monthly companion for architects, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, ...*, London 1774[-78]. See plate XXXV—plan of a Malt House. See also Laing, D: *Hints for Dwellings* (1800) for evidence of some of Greenway's designs; Middleton, C: *Architect and Builders Miscellany* (1799) and Rawlins, T: *Familiar architecture*, London, 1795. See bibliography for full titles.
With some Irish luck, he escaped the gallows and received a life sentence to New South Wales. Two years after his arrival, Lawless again incurred the maximum penalty, this time for forgery and uttering a promissory note for two pounds.\textsuperscript{21} Banished to Newcastle with hard labour, Lawless again cheated the hangman's noose. His excellent bricklaying skills secured his return to Sydney after six months, where he became an enterprising and useful member of society.\textsuperscript{22} The promissory note was not the last forgery Lawless undertook. He began a career in the construction and design of buildings that were, in some cases, quite competent forgeries of other colonial buildings, most notably the buildings of Francis Greenway.

Lawless reinvented himself when he left Sydney. His character referees for a land grant included the merchant Simeon Lord, who 'believed him to be a sober and industrious man'\textsuperscript{23} and George Smith, the Surveyor of Chief Engineers, who wrote that Lawless was a 'most honest, hardworking man'.\textsuperscript{24} As well as bricklaying and supervising the brick gang, Lawless worked freelance as an architect, advertising himself as a man with the skills to construct a quality building with his business partner, William Stone. In early 1820 'Stone and Lawless' appear in the \textit{Sydney Gazette}, having received eighty pounds for the construction of the Carter's Barrack (attributed to Greenway) to house the convict gangs working on the brickfields as carters and brick makers.\textsuperscript{25} They also received payment for brickwork completed on the wall of the burial ground, the new barracks and the Turnpike Gate and Lodge for the Government.\textsuperscript{26}

Bigge commented on the design of the Sydney Benevolent Asylum, Lawless drew up the plans and then undertook the construction work.\textsuperscript{27} It is clear that in the early 1820s, Francis Lawless had undergone a significant Greenway apprenticeship, and could build and design on Greenway's lines and principles. His design of the Convict Barracks at Parramatta is remarkably similar to the Hyde Park Barracks designed by Greenway. Lawless used the same roofline design on the Sydney Benevolent Asylum and St Peter's Church at Campbelltown.\textsuperscript{28} His Convict Barracks were 'a good example of the simpler Georgian building, depending solely upon good materials and good proportions to produce a pleasing effect'.\textsuperscript{29}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} \textit{Sydney Gazette}, 16.2.1811, p.2, col.1; see also the \textit{Dublin Evening Post}, 27 June 1807.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Of Lawless' eleven years in Government service, he spent six years as the overseer of the Bricklayer's Gang. After his second reprieve, Lawless settled down, married a native of the colony, had a family, had ninety head of horned cattle, and provided by 1817 some two thousand pounds of meat to the Commissariat stores. See SR NSW: Fiche 3024; 4/1824B No.443, p.633–634, Memorial of Francis Lawless. No date, but official archives listing for Lawless states date is 1820. See also \textit{Sydney Gazette}, 22.11.1817, p.3, col.1; 29.11.1817, p.1, col.2.
\item \textsuperscript{23} SR NSW: Fiche 3024; 4/1824B No.443, p.633–634, Memorial of Francis Lawless. No date, but official archives listing for Lawless states date is 1820. ^
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{25} \textit{Sydney Gazette}, 8.1.1820, p.2, cols.2–3.
\item \textsuperscript{26} \textit{Sydney Gazette}, 18.3.1820, p.2, cols.2–3. For more on the turnpike gate see Broadbent, J: op. cit., p.69.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Bigge, T: op. cit., p.58.
\item \textsuperscript{28} For more on the Benevolent Asylum see ML 4/1744 SR NSW CSIL Bundle 14, Nos 1–59, pp.255–256.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Herman, M: op. cit., p.100.
\end{itemize}
Perhaps Lawless’ closest design to Greenway’s was St Peter’s Church at Campbelltown.\textsuperscript{30} Greenway often complained of ‘pickers and stealers’\textsuperscript{31} of his designs. In this case, perhaps Greenway was right; Morton Herman, an historian of colonial architecture, suggested that ‘this competent little building owes a lot to plagiarism, for we see Greenway’s features used most liberally’.\textsuperscript{32} Lawless, a master forger of Greenway’s works, could well design and build Bradley’s Goulburn enterprises.

Lawless demonstrated success in applying Greenway techniques to the design and construction of St Peter’s Church, the Asylum and to the Convict Barracks. His experience in developing a complex of buildings that served multiple purposes—the Turnpike Gate and Lodge were near the Asylum and Carter’s Barracks—all demonstrating an integrated series of buildings, was useful background for employment with Bradley. He left his business with Stone during the early 1820s, as there are no further contracts recorded for the pair after 1823 and Stone’s death was recorded in 1825. Lawless took up agricultural pursuits before becoming a publican

\textsuperscript{30} See SR NSW: Reel 6055; 4/1760 p.5) 1822 Apr 1 Re plan and specification of church and schoolhouse at Campbelltown; Sydney Gazette, 8.11.1822, p.1; 17.7.1823, p.2, col.1; and 15.1.1824, p.1, col.3.

\textsuperscript{31} Herman, M: op. cit., p.104

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
in Pitt Street. His connection to William Bradley is another factor in support of his claim.

In 1821, Lawless appeared on a memorial to the Governor alongside Bradley and several others. The memorial disassociated the group from Edward Hall, the editor of the Monitor, after he misrepresented Lawless and Bradley. Lawless shared mutual interests in the Burragorang Valley with the Bradley family, and there were further opportunities to become involved with Bradley. Lawless offered some advantages. He could make bricks and work a gang of men to construct buildings. He demonstrated potential as a building designer and he knew the context of the Bradley land, having lived in and around Goulburn following his emancipation. He saw and no doubt studied a number of Sydney buildings for architectural inspiration, such as the Hyde Park Barracks and the utilitarian mill of Thomas Barker. Through his design of the Parramatta Convict Barracks, Lawless most clearly demonstrates the capacity to design the Bradley Mills and Brewery. He may have gained access to the architectural pattern books Greenway used in his designs through a quantity of books sold at auction by Lawless’ supporter, Simeon Lord. Perhaps Greenway, embroiled in ongoing disputes with the Government, was unaware that the building Bradley was contemplating for the outpost of Goulburn would be similar to his own signature style. As noted earlier, Bradley called for tenders for the mill construction, and it is likely that Lawless was the winner. Lawless’s background made him suitable to manage this project for Bradley. Moreover, Lawless’ success at procuring the Bradley contract further established him in the area. A five-thousand pound contract would have set Lawless up for life. Lawless was, therefore, the most likely contender for the design and construction of the mill, and possibly later, the brewery.

It is important to consider when milling and brewing commenced, as this assists in understanding Bradley’s pattern of development on the site. This too has been the subject of conflicting evidence. There are seven sources to consider, with all authors having an interest in the dating of both the mill and the brewery. There is nothing conclusive, however, about any evidence or narrative presented. All authors suggest varying dates for the construction of the buildings and their operational status. A re-examination of the evidence is vital to this story of William Bradley, as it demonstrates Bradley’s concurrent industriousness at Goulburn, Windsor and on the Monaro Plains.

The primary evidence of travelling reporter Charles MacAlister established 1836 as a start date for Bradley’s enterprises, with the claim that ‘Bradley’s Brewery, [along] with Bradley’s Mill had

33 Sydney Gazette, 25.2.1826, p.2, col.5. Lawless was charged in 1826 with having a convict imbibe in his establishment.
34 SRNSW: Reel 6016, 4/5781 p.27, Conveying thanks to Charles Throsby for past favours and disassociating himself from Edward Smith Hall and his representations against Throsby, August 8, 1821; See also Ibid, Letter from Francis Lawless, dated 8 August 1821.
36 Lawless took up land at Gunning and is buried in the Gunning Catholic Cemetery.
been erected in 1836. MacAlister provides no further evidence to validate his recollections. In 1916, Frank Walker stated that 'a Brewery was in full working order in the year 1836' in Goulburn. Walker does not state who owned this brewery, nor is there any mention of Bradley's mill. There is evidence that at Riversdale, Matthew Healy was developing a different 'Goulburn Brewery' in 1836. In the 1940s, Ransome T Wyatt, a respected Goulburn historian, attributed Walker's statement to Bradley. Wyatt noted, 'Bradley's Goulburn Brewery was established and built by William Bradley as a brewery, malt house and flour mill in 1836. Stephen Tazewell stated, without any evidence and on consecutive pages, that the mill and brewery were built firstly in 1836 and then in 1838. Bruce Pennay concluded that the ‘construction of the Mill appears to have started in 1836 as the date plate still proclaims' and that ‘it is difficult to establish when the maltings and Brewery were built'. Most recently, Colin Brady indicates that construction commenced in 1834, and the Mill was completed by 1836 and operational in 1838.

This thesis proposes that the first stage of construction following the 1833 purchase of land focused on the mill building and its initial non-mechanised operation, followed by its mechanisation. The plaque on the outside of the third floor of the Mill states 'A.D 1836'. There is no clear evidence to suggest that this was the end of construction date. Moreover, convincing evidence that it was a start date comes from Lady Jane Franklin, who travelled overland from Sydney to Port Phillip in May 1839. She wrote of the 'red brick steam mill for grinding flour erected by Mr Bradley' sitting below his house, Lansdowne Park. Franklin noted in her diary that even though she saw an 'oval stone in front with inscription A.D 1836', the mill had only been in operation for a year, making it an 1838 start. Other evidence from travelling reporters confirms the steam mill's construction in 1837. Thomas Walker, who took a 'party of gentlemen' on a tour of the settled parts of the County of Argyle, visited Bradley and made comments about his land holding and future plans on 18th April 1837.

37 MacAlister, C: op. cit., p.100.
39 This brewery is discussed in the next chapter. See Russell, P: This Errant Lady, Jane Franklin's Overland Journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2002, p.100.
42 Pennay B: op. cit., p.10.
43 Ibid.
45 Russell, P: op. cit., p.98.
46 NLA MfM G 27758, Diaries of Lady Jane Franklin, 1839–1840, p.196.
Walker noted that Bradley, 'a native of the colony, is building a granary and steam-engine flower-mill [sic] of sixteen horse power'. Walker's diary provides evidence that construction of the flourmill commenced in 1837, with plans for the incorporation of a steam engine on the site. In October 1836, James Backhouse, a Quaker preacher, described Goulburn as having a scattering of brick buildings, a hospital, and other slab huts. He does not mention Bradley's mill, and if it was in the concluding stages of construction, this building would surely have commanded comment as the single most prominent feature of the built environment of 1836 Goulburn. Comparable buildings were almost non-extant in Goulburn at the time. Mrs Jane Steer, the wife of Duncan Mackellar, who owned a horse-powered driven flourmill on his town allotment, confirmed this view. Her recollection of seeing Goulburn for the first time in 1836 included the note that there was 'nothing in the shape of a roof of a building or the smoke of a chimney that met my gaze except that of the hospital and the late Dr Hanley's store'.

Figure 2.7
Plaque at the Old Goulburn Brewery.

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47 Walker, T: A month in the bush of Australia, London, 1838, p.6. Walker observed Bradley’s land was more valuable than some others were as he had selected land adjacent to the township and the investment would improve with the average price of half-acre allotments in the town being £15 each. This large land occupation by Bradley and the subsequent wealth of the land would hinder the later development of Goulburn.

48 Backhouse, J: A Narrative of a visit to the Australian Colonies, London 1843, pp.439-441.

The timing was right for Bradley to construct his mill in 1836. He had accumulated landed wealth through the passing of his brother in 1835; maintained a steady workforce in his convict labourers at Windsor, Goulburn, and the Monaro; and was newly married with a growing family. Lawless was in the district and Bradley was poised to begin the next phase of his colonial career. While he was building both a mill and a brewery separately, the expected result was an integrated series of buildings, steam powered to allow him to capture the flour and ale markets in Goulburn. Bradley's large mill demonstrates his intentions to bring Goulburn into the industrial revolution by importing both a sixteen horsepower steam-beam engine and a smaller four horsepower engine, making it a twenty horsepower enterprise. This information concurs with Walker's 1837 observations of Bradley's enterprise. By importing steam-powered machinery to the very edge of the British world in the first year of Queen Victoria's reign, Bradley enacted some of the values that would later become synonymous with the Queen's name: industry, perseverance, self-help and entrepreneurship.

Bradley followed his sense of enterprise and utilised a network of associates and experts to assist his progression. As noted earlier, his social circle included John Dickson, engineer, brewer and manufacturer, who arrived in Sydney in 1813 on board the Earl Spencer with Bradley's future father-in-law, William Hovell. Dickson brought two apprentices with him, Thomas Barker and Peter Stuckey, both of whom were later associated with the development of Goulburn. Dickson also brought goods, steam engines, and machinery valued at about ten thousand pounds. His tools and turning lathes alone were worth over five thousand pounds, which was a small fortune at the time. Macquarie described Dickson as a man of 'enterprising spirit and persevering industry' and believed him to be a 'great acquisition to the colony'. Taking two years to construct, the steam engine's sole purpose was grain milling. Ten years later, Dickson began a steam engine brewery and was therefore able to advise Bradley on purchasing when he considered a steam engine for his site. Dickson's engines and apprentices were already well known to Bradley. Like others, Bradley observed Dickson's steam engine in operation and witnessed the potential such a machine would afford his future flourmill and brewery complex. Bradley was also able to access the technical expertise of Peter Stuckey, who settled at Longreach (now Brayton) at Marulan, and no doubt viewed the engine of his long-time

50 The 1837 Blue Books of the Colony lists public flourmills in the Goulburn region. These were public mills and private mills may not be captured, however, it is clear that in the Goulburn district, there were horse and windmills operating before, during and after Bradley's steam mill began its operations. See SR NSW Blue Books, 1837, p.290; SR NSW, 4/7267, Colonial Secretary Special Bundle, Mills and Manufactories Returns; ML MSS A338, CY 875, Goulburn District Flour Mills, 1837 and SR NSW: Blue Books, 1838, p.340. It is noted that the 1838 Blue Books entry for Goulburn is misleading, as it does not mention four additional horse mills and a windmill operating in the Goulburn district. They did not cease operating just because Bradley's steam mill began. The correct version is at SR NSW: 4/7267, Colonial Secretary Special Bundle, Mills and Manufactories Returns, 9.2.1839. With thanks to RJ Madden for assistance and research into early Goulburn mills.

51 HRA, Series 1, vol. 8, Macquarie to Bathurst, 28 April 1814, p.159.

52 Ibid.

Bradley purchased a Maudslay Steam Engine from Maudslay, Sons and Field in London, but there is no record of correspondence between Dickson and Bradley to suggest that Dickson was involved in the purchase on Bradley’s behalf. It is at this point, however, that the relationship between Thomas Barker and Bradley becomes clearer. Barker, Dickson’s former apprentice, provided Bradley with information about steam engines without Dickson. Barker established himself as a flour and woollen miller with a utilitarian designed mill on the Sydney foreshore. It was the beginning of a long professional relationship. Both men shared mutual interests, including their advocacy of the Sydney-Goulburn Railway Company.

Manufactured in 1837 in England, the sixteen horsepower steam engine arrived in Sydney via the Andromache on 31 October 1837, some five months after being loaded at Gravesend. The enormity of the machine cannot be underestimated, and while London was well equipped with derricks and cranes to load and off-load machinery, the same was not the case at the Sydney wharves. The engine and its accompaniments made its way to Sydney, arriving with

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54 Sydney Gazette, 211.1837, p.2, col.1. It has been fully restored and is currently in the Powerhouse Museum Sydney. O’Halloran indicates the engine’s manufacture in 1837, then purports the engine was installed in 1836 in Goulburn, a great feat but impossible. While this dating appears to support a particular theory, the engine had not arrived in the colony by 1836. See http://users.tpg.com.au/adslcy22/Brewery/Mill.html (accessed 2 September 2009).
a millwright. It would take some time to off-load the engine, wheel, and boiler and prepare for a journey to Goulburn via bullock dray. Travelling through the country at the beginning of summer, the journey over the Razorback and Mittagong Ranges before arriving at the Cookbundoon Range and Goulburn was arduous, totalling an estimated 128 miles, and took the drays at least six to eight weeks of travel time in good conditions. In her 1839 diary, Franklin refers to the engine alone arriving in Goulburn by land, and it is unclear how the wheel and boiler travelled. The journey from Sydney to Sutton Forest took at least twelve days return with a team of bullocks.

Unloading the machinery at Goulburn was potentially complex and time consuming. The engine is likely to have arrived in Goulburn in mid to late February 1838 at the earliest. As there was no technical assistance available to assemble the engine and construction of the mill building was not yet complete, it may well have sat idle until the arrival of the Engineer, Andrew Turnbull, in May 1838. Others with an interest in this engine have not calculated these considerations, which are only projected estimates at best. John Dickson took two years to erect his steam engine at Cockle Bay; having the Maudsley operational within ten months of its arrival in Sydney was an extraordinary achievement and is testament to Bradley's drive and ambition.

The literature quotes an 1837 operational date for the mills. However, on 17 August 1838, the Australian ran an advertisement for Bradley advising the 'inhabitants of Argyle and the Southern Districts ... that the Goulburn Steam Mill is now in full operation', and the Colonist ran a similar advertisement the following day. In anticipation of his mill being operational in 1838, at the end of 1837 during harvest season, Bradley started advertising for wheat deliveries to the Goulburn Steam Mills. While the mill did not commence steam-powered operations until August 1838, it was prudent to purchase available wheat, and stockpile this in readiness for the operation to begin.

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55 NLA MfMC 27758, Diaries of Lady Jane Franklin, 1839–1840, p.196.
54 See evidence of James Atkinson in the Sydney Gazette, 30.5.1829, p.2.
57 The misquoted date from the Australian was for 17 August 1837. There was no issue published on this date, and dates around this issue do not contain Bradley's advertisement stating that his steam mill was operational. However, On 17 August 1838, Bradley's advertisement appears. See the Australian, 17.8.1838, p.3, col.3; the same advertisement also appeared in the Colonist on 18.8.1838, p.3, col.6. The mistake has been copied from one historian to another. See O'Halloran, M: (Notes on the Architecture) op. cit., p.35 based on the non-existent Australian newspaper of 17.8.1837 and Smith, M: The Maudsley Beam Engine, Sydney, Museum of Applied Arts and Science, 1981, p.5. See also Tazewell, S: op. cit., p.98.
This advertisement also reveals the introduction of a partner to Bradley's mill. It has been widely accepted that Bradley and William Shelley began their partnership in October 1838 when they signed a Deed of Co-Partnership. However, there was an earlier relationship between Bradley and Shelley. During 1837, Bradley invited Shelley to become a partner in his venture, and while there are suggestions that following his brother's death in 1835, Bradley lacked the funds to build the mill, financial records surrounding land transactions do not support this, and neither do details within the Deed of Co-Partnership itself. Having a partner in the business appears to have been a strategic rather than a financial decision. It allowed Bradley to maintain a site manager and thus decrease his involvement, which allowed him to pursue other activities. While the financial arrangements between Bradley and Shelley prior to the Deed are unknown, Bradley's money purchased the land, ordered the steam engine and a smaller engine and laid the foundations for the ongoing development of the establishment. The Deed confirms how the site was to be developed, and outlines the terms and conditions under which the firm 'Bradley and Shelley' would conduct business. Each brought £15,000 to the deal, which is the equivalent of some $2.2 million today. This was in addition to the approximate £13,000 that Bradley had already invested.

William Shelley was born in Tahiti in 1803. His father, also William Shelley, joined the original London Missionary Society mission to Tonga, arriving in April 1797 aboard the Duff. In 1799, Shelley Senior fled to New South Wales after the Tongans killed three missionaries. After a short stint back in England, he travelled to Tahiti. From there he travelled to Sydney to marry Elizabeth Bean, before returning to Tahiti where William Shelley Junior was born. Shelley Senior worked to support the Tahiti mission by secretly making rum in the mission's still for use as barter, although the presence of a still in the mission is a mystery considering the Society's temperance ideals. He engaged in trade with John Macarthur and Garnham Blaxcell, establishing a trade of pork as well as Island rum.

The family took up permanent residence in Australia from early 1810, and Shelley Senior was on intimate terms with Marsden, Macarthur and Macquarie. However, it seems that William Shelley Junior's fate was not preaching in the congregational church, or in the secret stilling of rum, as was his father's lot, but was tied up in legitimate brewing, land acquisition and pastoral pursuits. Ironically, Jonas Bradley was a member of the infamous Rum Corps, and he had a role in the Rum Rebellion, no doubt fuelled in part by Shelley's supply of rum to the colony.

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60 See Appendix 4 for more details on Bradley's projected costs. Calculated by converting £15,000 from 1838 to 2007 (limits of conversion available) using the retail price index via: www.measuringworth.com. This was then converted to AUDS via www.xe.com on 11 January 2009.

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Shelley Junior was a few years younger than William Bradley, and in 1823, records show him seeking a ticket of occupation for land in the County of Argyle. Bradley and Shelley became friends when both settled land on the Goulburn Plains at the same time. Like Bradley, Shelley accumulated vast acreages of land and stocked them with sheep. Bradley later expanded to the southeastern reaches of the colony, whereas Shelley went southwestwards to Tumut with his brother George. Shelley, a short, thickset man, was also an adventurer and quite spontaneous, which set him apart from Bradley. On one occasion, he tore across the Goulburn Plains on a borrowed horse in competition for a new hat, and he discovered the Bungonia Caves in 1830, going underground some twelve hundred feet via a rope which ran out before he reached the bottom. He undertook this with George Allen, the solicitor who drafted the Deed of Co-Partnership and acted as a trustee for the land held by Bradley and Shelley.  

Shelley was determined to find the bottom of the caves, which he did in 1832, and Shelley's Cavern within the Bungonia system bears his name. Shelley's second trip underground was unrecorded, but his nephew, the Reverend James Hassall, reflected on Shelley's speleological tendencies when showing the Reverend W. B. Clarke the cave system in late 1851. In his reflection, Hassall describes an incident that turned out to be the last spelunking adventure for Shelley. After descending into the caves, Shelley's companion dropped the steel for the flint after some bats put out the party's candles, and Hassall records that none of the men ever returned to the caves after their fortunate return to the top. Bradley chose this man as his business partner.  

The land identified in the Deed, was a one-acre, one rood and twenty perches portion of the land purchased by Bradley from Broughton in 1833 with a small drawing providing indicative buildings on the land. There was no compensation added to the contract for Bradley's input up to that point, before the inclusion of an additional £15,000. As Shelley's role included the ongoing management of the concern, it is likely that compensation for Bradley's initial outlay was not required. Bradley signed the Deed allowing his land and premises to be valued and sold (initially to the other party) in the event of death or expiration of the other without him firstly seeking adequate reimbursement for his outlay. The profit split was 50-50, with Shelley living at Lansdowne Park. The acquisitive Bradley family were already planning their removal from their 'house on the hill' as it was too cold. They moved to a new redbrick town house on the corner of Auburn and Clinton Streets, Goulburn. The house had initially been planned as an inn, but was never used for that purpose. In 1839, Jonas Bradley wrote that everything was

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64 Hassell, J: op. cit., pp.84-85.
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in 'great style' as the Bradley family moved into their new home in November 1839, although he indicated that the comforts and accessories that outfitted the new house took some getting used to. In her diary, Franklin commented that the new Bradley family town house was a substantial 'red-brick building of two stories and many windows' and 'the most remarkable house in Goulburn'. Franklin's evidence indicates two buildings of large proportions for Goulburn: the mill and the inn or town house. It is notable that Bradley built these two large structures almost simultaneously.

The Deed of Co-Partnership is confusing in both its intent and purpose. There is an ambiguity as to whether the flourmill was operational in October 1838. The Deed stated that 'the said business shall be carried on at the Mulwaree Ponds ...together with the Steam Flour Mill Stores and other buildings necessary to the carrying on [of] the said business and which shall be erected thereon'. The next page states that upon signing and after respective deposits into the Commercial Bank, 'a steam flour-mill and other necessary stores and buildings shall forthwith be erected on the said land'. This generates questions over whether the buildings were constructed or if they were about to be constructed. In addition, a small map from December 1836 shows an L-shaped building on Bradley's land and a freestanding building titled Bradley's Mill and Brewery, which further confuses the issue. It seems that these were predicted buildings rather than erected structures, as evidenced by the travelling reporters. The evidence provided earlier indicates that the flourmill was built and operating by the time the Deed of Co-Partnership was signed, so the use of the word 'shall' in both sentences is, as Pennay suggests, a mandatory clause in the Deed rather than a forward-looking word. It is possible that the word was a mistake.

The agreement further stipulated that upon either death or expiration of the contract, the other partner could have the property with the 'premises and Mill engine and other partnership effects' valued and sold to them, which suggests that the steam engine was already in situ. Given the evidence of the Australian in August 1838, advertising the operational status of the engine, it seems likely that this was a feature of the already constructed buildings. Moreover, in light of the longer nature of the Bradley-Shelley relationship (from at least December 1837),

66 ML MSS 5658 Add On 2063 (2) of 7; Blomfield Family Papers, letter from Jonas Bradley to Mrs Hale of Windsor, 19 November 1839; see also Hassall, J. op. cit., p. 45.
68 Ibid.
70 Ibid, p. 2.
71 SR NSW Map 2893, Plan Showing Goulburn Reserve and Villa Allotments by Johnson, 15 December 1836, G 948.
72 Pennay agrees that this was a predicted building and not one already erected, see Pennay, B. op. cit., p. 10. Franklin and Walker confirm there was no actual mill or brewery on the site. M. O'Halloran in an email to me on 16 November 2009 indicated that the map was accurate.
73 See Pennay, op. cit., p. 11.
the Deed may have simply sought to formalise ongoing costs and management between the two men. George Allen (their solicitor) resided in Sydney, so allowing for the drafting of the document may also explain some word usage that conflicts with the established timeline.

The document does not include details about the construction or operation of a brewery, apart from in the name of the joint business, which was called 'Bradley and Shelley, Millers and Brewers'. Accepting the mill's operational status, there is an indication of the future planning for the site in the statement, 'the Mill stores and other necessary buildings shall be erected and the general business of the said Firm shall be carried on under the superintendence of Andrew Turnbull'. Turnbull has a further role to play in Bradley's enterprises. It is clear that from October 1838, the construction of a brewery would be next in any complementary development of the complex. Moreover, Turnbull arrived in Goulburn bringing with him the skills and expertise to shape Bradley and Shelley's later dominance in the area's flour milling market.

An English emigrant, Turnbull oversaw the technical design of the building from mid 1838. His installation as the superintendent of the mill site with additional responsibility for the building of the new section of the complex was indicative of the engineering skills required by Bradley and Shelley for their operations. His skills were extremely important to the viability and success of the mill and the following construction of the brewery. An engineer by trade, Turnbull came to the Bradley enterprise after a short stint in Sydney. Before this, he completed a contract with the Australian Agricultural Company (AAC) in Port Stephens in 1836. His employment secured for Bradley a strategic and useful man who understood the mechanics of the steam-beam engine and had the capacity to construct the brewery complex, and, if necessary, other associated buildings. He also exhibited characteristics that Bradley was coming to admire in his colleagues: their own sense of purpose, self-help, perseverance, and enthusiasm.

At the AAC, Turnbull worked as the Colliery Engineer and was responsible for the development of a threshing machine. He drew designs for a water-powered flourmill, and his supervisory role included the construction of millstones and the supervision of wheel patterns for casting.
There is evidence to suggest that Turnbull had a good working knowledge of steam engines, with the capacity to develop a network of suppliers in Sydney, no doubt beneficial when repairs were required for the steam engine. Turnbull provided Bradley and Shelley with technical skills, allowing him to superintend the improvement of the Maudslay steam engine from a 16 horsepower capacity to the current 28 horsepower.

It seems likely that Turnbull relocated to Sydney during the period 1835 to 1838, by which time he was working for himself. In 1839, the New South Wales and Port Phillip Post Office Directory described him as an Engineer of Goulburn Street. There is also the possibility that Turnbull worked for Edward Biddulph, either as a contractor or an employee at the Phoenix Foundry in Sydney (subsequently bought out by William Bourne) in about 1835 and worked on converting steam engines for paddle steamers. There was plenty of work for qualified engineers in Sydney at that time, as the number of locally built steam engines was increasing. In March 1838, the Sydney Morning Herald ran an advertisement by a man with experience in both milling and engines seeking work as a superintendent of a mill.

Men with both milling and engine skills were limited in the colony, and Turnbull's experience was crucial for the success of Bradley and Shelley's enterprise.

Turnbull and his wife had arrived in Goulburn by May 1838. On 25 May 1838, Turnbull purchased two roods of land complete with a house and all other buildings for fifteen pounds in Auburn Street from Bradley's friend Severin Salting. Turnbull was ordained as a Presbyterian Elder by the Reverend William Hamilton in Goulburn on 17 June 1838, and he and his wife conducted a Sunday school in the town. These beginnings resulted in Turnbull developing speculative land dealings and other activities in Goulburn, including his role as the superintendent of Bradley and Shelley's Mills.

As an engineer, Turnbull needed a plan for the site and this again questions the emphasis on Francis Greenway as the architect. When all the evidence is considered, it is clear that the

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77 NSW and Port Phillip Post Office Directory 1839; NLA mc N 591, 1839. Note this data would have been collected in 1838 for an 1839 publication and may be out of date by the time it was printed.


79 Sydney Morning Herald, 12.3.1838, p.3, col.4.

80 NSW LPI, Book N, No.85, p.90 Severin and Louisa Salting to Andrew Turnbull, Engineer of Goulburn, 24&25.5.1838.

81 NLA MS 2117/1/1, the Papers of the Reverend William Hamilton, Folder 1, Letter 1, Hamilton to Mr Clow of Goulburn, dated 25.6.1838.
combination of Lawless and Turnbull acted as builders, designers and engineers of Bradley and Shelley Mills and Brewery.

William Bradley's vision for Goulburn in the mid to late 1830s saw him create infrastructure that allowed for the development of a colonial economy, thereby supporting wider colonial development. During this stage of his colonial career, Bradley took an active role to progress his interests, and this is evident in his actions in Goulburn. He ensured that projects were viable, employed the right people for the job and ensured that they were integrated and connected to the wider family strategy of land accumulation. Bradley also increased his visibility in the township, laying the foundations for his later election campaign and his identification with Goulburn. Bradley's achievements in this period suggest that he was comfortable with progression and hard work. Again, the notion of industriousness is relevant to the interpretation of Bradley's actions in Goulburn. He also developed a social and business network, affording him opportunities to gather information, seek advice, and become part of the emerging landed gentry of Goulburn.
Chapter Two: Advancing Australia

MAGININGS

The dimming sun of a late autumn afternoon in April 1839 shaded the veranda of Lansdowne Park. William Bradley surveyed his land. His mill, with its redbrick and whitewashed walls, was vibrant against the glowing sun and the hum of his Maudslay steam engine punctured the still air. The successful harvest of the wheat crop meant food for workers and their families. Adjacent to the mill, Bradley was about to have his new brewery constructed. His grand townhouse already dominated the main street of Goulburn. There was also a human side to his success. His brother now lay in the cemetery out near Riversdale, and his mother lay at Windsor. He could hear his three young children, Emily, Esther and William, laughing in the paddock as his friend William Shelley led them on an adventure with their new pony.

Much had happened since the cold June day in 1833 when he had devised his plan for the mill and brewery. Lansdowne Park was now a true homestead and his wife was happy, although the house was in a cold spot and he looked forward to the new townhouse where she would be more comfortable. Her father now lived in his cottage in the town, and they would soon be neighbours. The pine trees were growing and there was a sense of permanence about the landscape that reflected progress, which Bradley identified as a measure of the settlement’s success.

As he looked towards the Old Township out near the River and the New Township in development, Bradley saw new homes, homesteads, and fencing. The small bark hut he had seen on his arrival all those years ago was long gone, replaced by a more substantial home. The sense of vastness and emptiness he had witnessed all those years ago had been replaced by hope for the prosperity of this town, and the chance for many to have a new beginning.

As the wind whipped up around the homestead, Bradley thought about his life and as his father came out to join him, he reinvigorated his hopes and dreams of what could be achieved in Goulburn and beyond to advance the country he called home. They made a toast to ‘Advance Australia’ and with renewed vision; Bradley began to think about the next phase of his colonial career.
A sunburst of light broke on his grave, as we sang the parting hymn. A blessed omen surely.¹

An echo of the physical presence of William Bradley is all over the Goulburn and Monaro Plains. In pursuing Bradley's past, I have come face to face with his contemporary presence. It was exciting to see his letters in the National Library of Australia; I hoped they would reveal his inner thoughts, plans, and aspirations. There was a glimmer of his personality in the material I read, but I wanted to know more about what he thought and felt. As has been the case with this journey, his thoughts and feelings eluded me. I turned again to the physical pursuit of Bradley and wondered if I could understand him through his family. There was no better place to start what Richard Holmes has called a 'personal adventure of exploration and pursuit'² than with a tour of the graves associated with the Bradley family.

My fascination with graveyards began as a child when my parents began to trace their ancestors, taking my brothers and I on expeditions to cemeteries dotted around the countryside. Gunning, Cooma, Adaminaby, Tumut, Narrandera and Bulli are just some of the more memorable graveyards I recall visiting as a child. Visiting graveyards (and having picnics in graveyards) is still a part of my life. What is attractive for me about graveyards and their monuments is the hidden lives the headstones hold. A gravestone and an epitaph can tell a story of a man, woman or child.

When faced with the fact that there are no living relatives of William Bradley in Australia with any deep interest in their past, it seemed a natural progression for me to begin my pursuit with a search for the graves of his family. I did not realise that it would take me on a journey to London, Northill, Southsea, Cooma, Rome, Windsor, Sydney, Goulburn, the Isle of Wight and Rossdohan Island (Ireland). My immediate family suffered along the way, with trips to obscure churches and graveyards, but these are part of the rich tapestry of life and death. For me, this is the ultimate foot-stepping. Moreover, I travelled full circle, from Bradley's birthplace to his resting place, and all the places in between, including his family in Goulburn, his daughters scattered throughout England, and his beloved Emily Elizabeth in the Rome Foreign Cemetery.

¹ Pearse, G.C. The Pedigree of the Family Pearse, of Plympton St. Mary, South Devon, England, from About A.D. 1530-1738, also a Pedigree of Descendants of the Aforesaid Family, who derive From Daniel Pearse, of Cork, Ireland: A.D. 1690, also a Biographical Sketch of the Members of the Family for the last 260 years, unpublished, London, 1897, p.28. Reflection by General Pearse at the burial of his brother, James Langford Pearse at Ryde Cemetery, Ryde, Isle of Wight, 1892.
² Holmes, R. (Sidetracks) op. cit., prologue, p.1.
Slabs of white marble adorn William Bradley's grave in St Stephen's Anglican Churchyard, Camperdown. Amidst the graffiti, vandalism and general disarray of the cemetery, his grave, along with his friends, Thomas Barker and Sir Thomas Mitchell, is in remarkably good condition. I left some flowers at the base of the monument to 'William Bradley, Esquire, of Lansdowne, Goulburn and Bibbenluke, Monaro who died at Lindsay, Darling Point'.

Note: this is an inaccurate spelling. Bradley's home was 'Lindsey' not 'Lindsay'.

Figure 3.1
William Bradley's grave at St Stephen's Church, Camperdown, NSW
A simpler grave at Windsor commemorates Bradley’s mother. At the family plot at St Saviour’s Goulburn, a large sandstone monument recognises Jonas Bradley as the ‘father of William Bradley’. At Jonas’ grave, I realised William’s ambitions had, by 1841, eclipsed those of his father to the extent that Jonas was to be remembered for being the father of William. His own achievements were not listed. Given that Jonas had established the foundation of William’s empire, the irony of the inscription has lost none of its force over the years.

On a cold Sunday in January, I stood at the gates of Brompton Cemetery near Chelsea Football Stadium, listening to the crowds going wild for the Blues. The noise was incredible. As I entered the gothic, twenty-hectare cemetery, a surreal quiet complemented the bitter cold. At first glance, I felt that there was little prospect of finding anyone during this first visit, but by chance, I found Bradley’s good friend Severin Salting and his family. The Brompton Cemetery’s remarkable gothic colonnades were somehow out of place and a reminder of a glorious Victorian age that Sunday, as Chelsea was winning. There were many men lurking around, which was quite unnerving to start with but as I later discovered, Brompton is a notorious location for men to meet other men. I returned a week later to meet with the archivist who gave me a map to locate a number of Bradley relatives, and once in the cemetery, I pulled back ivy and moss to reveal the Bradley family names that time had obscured.

I do not always telephone cemetery authorities ahead of time to find out where people are buried, because arriving unannounced creates an opportunity to wander through the lives of people whose graves may have lain undisturbed for years. At Ryde, on the Isle of Wight, however, in growing darkness on another midwinter Sunday afternoon, I fleetingly regretted my decision to arrive without an appointment. I knew what I was looking for: Emily Jane Pearse, Bradley’s eldest daughter, was buried here alongside her husband, James Langford Pearse. A fabulous description from James’ brother, General George Godfrey Pearse, had guided me so far, but not to the plot of earth itself. Pearse wrote that during James’ internment, the sun broke through the trees just as the large Celtic cross that adorned the grave was blessed and mourners sang the last hymn.⁴

Someone looked after me that day. I found the Pearses as the shadows were growing longer in the limpid English winter sun; they were buried together under a large Celtic cross with a tree about to bloom above it. The sun broke across the trees as I took photographs and copied the inscription. It was at this moment, standing at the gravesite of the Goulburn born Emily Langford Pearse, that I realised I had almost come full circle. I had visited all Bradley’s children’s graves, his own and that of his parents, and even some obscure Fyshe Palmers, connected by marriage, who lay at rest at Northill,
Bedfordshire. My footsteps to the obscure and distant graves of this family demonstrated the interconnected ties of flesh and blood, kinship, wealth and heritage to the British world that were a central part of the Bradley family’s story. How many times, I wondered, had the relatives and friends of these daughters met them at Gravesend on their way home to Australia or welcomed them back to British shores? 

Figure 3.2
James and Emily Langford Pearse’s grave at Ryde, Isle of Wight, UK.

Only Emily Elizabeth remained in Rome and it was fitting that her grave, as the mother of these children and the grandmother and relative to others that I discovered, was the final destination. The Rome Foreign Cemetery is a gated, high walled cemetery near Pyramid Station. It was peaceful and serene away from the noise of Rome with its screeching mopeds; three rows in from the entrance lay Emily Elizabeth Bradley.

As I stood at Emily's grave, I reflected on the sacrifice William Bradley made on returning home to Australia to continue his enterprises. It must have weighed heavily on him to leave his wife lying in Rome, wondering if he would ever return and knowing that if he did not, perhaps no one would ever visit her grave. Given that she had Italian connections, Emily's burial in her ancestral homeland reflected a woman crossing two worlds. I laid flowers and took photographs as I thought aloud about how I had visited all her children’s graves. While it was a little odd to talk quietly to a grave, I felt a strange sense of connection to this family and their lives. It was as if I was pulling the threads of these separated family members together. Whether by choice or forced circumstances, these people were buried worlds away from their early lives at Goulburn.

Something more than my research drove me to footstep these burial sites: I wanted to understand these people emotionally as well as investigate their lives. While I did not know if they would have welcomed my gaze, I felt the time was right to bring them back to life, at least in part, through my work. Having come full circle visiting the main family members, I felt happy that by my footsteps I had reconnected them, even if only fleetingly. Like Godfrey Pearse at his brother’s burial at Ryde, there were often sunbursts at just the right moment.

Figure 3.3
Emily Elizabeth Bradley’s grave in the Rome Foreign Cemetery, Italy.
CHAPTER 3

THE SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION TO ADVANCE AUSTRALIA
Figure 3.4
The place was a hive of activity. The steam engine rumbled noisily on its footings inside the mill; the little malt house engine was going at full pace. In the yard, people came and went; men lifted casks and sacks of flour onto carts to be delivered; a cart on the Lansdowne Bridge headed towards the complex with bushels of barley piled high. Andrew Turnbull gave orders to the miller about some new wheat that was expected that afternoon. William Shelley directed the men harvesting the tobacco crop and heating the tobacco kiln. The mews were being whitewashed again, the stables mucked out and the gravel racked outside the mill. Chooks ran loose around people's feet and barking dogs chased the geese attempting to land in the Ponds.

Bradley arrived from his townhouse via horseback; his dog yapped at his feet as he dismounted. There were some nods towards him and a few men waved. Andrew Morrison, recently returned from Bradley's Monaro station of Bullanamang, came over and took his horse. His Irish brogue as rich as ever, Morrison told Bradley about the health of the stock down south and how he had curbed the recent catarrh outbreak on the Monaro. Morrison also reported that the recent rains had partially filled Lake George for the first time since 1838. He spoke of the improvements he had made to the stockman's hut he called home, and the new settlers moving to the Monaro despite the increase in bushranging activity and harassment of settlers.

Bradley headed to his office. He passed through the excise yard and inhaled the smell of fermenting hops and barley. The fires were hot and the boilers were working at full capacity. All around him people were working. The labourers and convicts worked side by side, amid constant banter. Bradley recently sent one of his convicts to the Berrima Bench to stand trial for murdering a fellow convict. The unfortunate victim, Lynch, lived in the same shepherd's hut as his murderer. Bradley pondered the use of his ale the two men appropriated prior to the murder, and wondered how he could prevent this from happening again. He paid his employees in rations, clothing and money rather than ale, and so far, this approach seemed to work.
He witnessed convicts and their families developing pride in themselves as they worked to reverse the poverty so many of them encountered. It felt good to assist in changing the fortunes of those who desired change for the better. He resolved to talk to Shelley and Turnbull about limiting the access to the barrels and casks that were sometimes an overriding temptation for his convicts.

The agenda for 1842 was already full. Recently, Bradley had received a request to represent Argyle in the newly formed Legislative Council of New South Wales, as he was deemed 'honourable' and a man of 'sterling worth'. He accepted an invitation to attend a ball planned to celebrate the beginnings of democracy, and this kept his young daughters and wife busy at the townhouse, designing and making their gowns. A second son, recently born, was welcomed into the family. He smiled with pride. He was determined to enhance his reputation as a philanthropist; the committees, donations, and even organising the annual Goulburn races kept him busy. It was time well spent, he thought.

Shelley arrived in Bradley's office and despite the early hour, sent for ale from the cooperage as a new recipe required tasting. Bradley was in his element listening, advising and instructing Shelley on a range of issues: the tobacco crop, the cattle out on the Cookbundoon range, the recipe of the current ale, the steam engines, the transport to Sydney of flour and the supply of ale to the local hotels. In the past, Jonas often joined Shelley and Bradley in their daily morning meetings. Bradley recalled how Jonas would bring his granddaughters down to the mill to watch the steam engine at work and see the barley being made into malt. He remembered his father reminiscing with Shelley about meeting Shelley's father when he exported rum into the colony from the illegal still in Tahiti. Without his father, Jonas, his mother, Catherine, and his dear brother Thomas who he had buried in recent years, it was now up to him to continue the venture that the family began so long ago at Windsor, and make a success of the opportunities that chance and circumstance provided him. He felt the burden of expectation on his shoulders.
With Bradley and Shelley’s Mill operational by 1839 and influencing the local milling scene, as part of his vision for the Goulburn Plains, Bradley began to consider the construction of a brewery on the site. He decided against building an inn in the Goulburn township, having made the proposed inn into his townhouse. The move into the township of Goulburn was a respectable one that removed his growing family at Lansdowne Park from the meanness of life at the mill, and away from the necessary convict labour that worked his property. Bradley’s father-in-law now lived in the town, which afforded him regular contact with his children. While Bradley had grown up amongst convicts, his own children did not necessarily need exposure to the rougher elements of colonial life. Removing his family from Lansdowne Park reflected his journey towards respectability. During this phase of Bradley’s colonial career, he sought activities that allowed him to become community-centric. A key aspect of this strategy was the accumulation of power and wealth that would benefit both the Bradley family and the wider community. It was a phase of great activity and engagement with a range of issues, with Bradley emerging as a key player in the positioning of the County of Argyle at the forefront of colonial development.

This chapter will examine how Bradley capitalised on the achievements of the first forty years of his colonial career and how in Goulburn, he translated the rhetoric into reality. This period saw Bradley develop great land runs, consolidate his ventures and champion those less fortunate, particularly emancipists. It was also a time when he began to take a more active role in the community, which shaped his future and that of Goulburn. As well, Bradley began numerous journeys to St Saviour’s Cemetery on the outskirts of the Old Town of Goulburn as he buried his family members and to Windsor where he buried his mother.

The colony greeted the beginning of 1839 with a severe shortage of wheat, and in the Goulburn and Yass districts, catarrh afflicted thousands of sheep.\(^6\) The Sydney prices at Barker and Hallen’s mills rose to forty-three shillings per one hundred pound for fine flour.\(^7\) It is unclear what Bradley and Shelley charged, but the effect of the wheat shortages on other local producers was significant. Andrew Gibson at Tirrana charged fifteen shillings the bushel for grinding\(^8\) and Samuel Kinghorne, who held an early mill, lowered his rate from one shilling to ten pence per bushel.\(^9\)

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\(^6\) Sydney Gazette, 18.5.1839, p.2, col.3.

\(^7\) These prices were from Thomas Barker and Ambrose Hallen’s Sydney mill.


\(^9\) Sydney Gazette, 15.8.1839, p.1, col.3; this costing is supported by David Waugh’s diary which indicates he had it ground for one shilling at Kinghorne’s mill in 1837. See Waugh, DL: Three year’s practical experience of a settler in New South Wales, being extracts from letters to his friends … from 1834 to 1837, John Johnstone, Edinburgh, 1838, letter dated 31.7.1837, p.45. This edition is also online at www.nla.gov.au/nla.aus-f2674.
In addition, the projected sale of the Futter family property, *Lumley*, at Bungonia, and the lease and then the sale of the *Oldbury*, the Sutton Forest property of James Atkinson, reflected the difficult times. *Oldbury*’s mill engine ground eight bushels a week, while the four-horse flourmill at *Lumley* was ‘capable of grinding wheat for the whole consumption of the district’.

Later that year, the previously operational horse mill erected by Duncan Mackellar, which was claimed to be ‘the very first of its kind … in Goulburn’ and operated for about two and a half years before Bradley’s Mill, was sold in the Goulburn market place. Against this backdrop, Bradley and Shelley began building their brewery, malt-house and other buildings to support the brewing of Goulburn ales.

Bradley was not the only brewer in Goulburn to have the name ‘Goulburn Brewery’ attributed to his premises. Another competitor in the market, Matthew Healey, a former Irish convict and a hotel licensee, also claimed this title. He started brewing operations at *Riversdale* in the Old Goulburn Township around 1833. There is no formal evidence in the government *Blue Books* to support the establishment of a brewery in Goulburn at this time, but in 1838, *Riversdale* became the location of the first Goulburn Brewery. In his licensed premises, Healy dispensed the ‘Colonial Jamaica’ and ‘barley brew,’ which old hands used to say ‘helped build up their cast-iron constitutions’. Healy maintained the brewery until he sold the land to John Richards in December 1838 for £350. Richards, it seemed, took possession of the land earlier, as in November 1838, he advised in the *Sydney Gazette* as follows:

> Having purchased the above extensive concern [Goulburn Brewery], which has been fitted up on the most improved principle for Brewing and having engaged an experienced and competent brewer he most respectfully solicits the Publicans and the Public in general for a trial of the Beer now ready for sale.

Richards also offered his services for Dairy and Coopering in general done on the shortest notice and on reasonable terms. Richards died, however, in late November 1838 without undertaking brewing operations, leaving his wife to manage his affairs. After her husband’s death, her business partner, Charles Jones, continued the brewery operation.

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10 For references to *Lumley* see *Sydney Gazette*, 5.2.1839, p.1, col.6; and for *Oldbury* see *Sydney Gazette*, 1.10.1839, p.4, col.2.
11 Goulburn Evening Penny Post, 16.10.1875, p.5, col.1. These are the memories of Jane Steer whose first husband was Duncan Mackellar.
12 Wyatt, op. cit., p.308. *Riversdale* is now owned by the National Trust.
13 The 1833 Blue Books do not list Goulburn as having a brewery. Consistently throughout the 1830s Sydney and Windsor were the brewing centres in the Colony.
14 MacAlister, C. op. cit., p.12.
15 NSW LPI Register S, No.132, Conveyance, Matthew Healey to John Richards, 15–16.12.1837.
death, Ann Richards employed 'a qualified person, Mr J Walton,' to be the superintendent and brewer of the Goulburn Brewery. John and Ann Richards also held licences for inns in Bong Bong and at the Surveyor General Inn in Berrima, confirming their interest in brewing operations. In January 1839, Richards took out an advertisement in the Sydney Gazette stating, 'the brewery at Goulburn [now has] a large quantity of beer ready for delivery.' Richards operated at least three businesses after her husband John died. She maintained a coach service from Yass, Goulburn, Marulan, Bungonia, Berrima, and Campbell Town three times a week; she continued to keep her stores at Berrima, and managed the Goulburn Brewery. However, times proved difficult and she implored her husband's former patrons to continue the 'patronage and support for herself and family' which had been so 'liberally bestowed on her late husband.' Records do not indicate when the Goulburn Brewery at Riversdale ceased operations, but it probably continued until about 1840.

Bradley and Shelley subsequently filled the brewing space in Goulburn vacated by Richards. In 1841, an advertisement in the Sydney Morning Herald advised the 'Goulburn Brewery' had a licence to sell beer in quantities not less than two gallons. Five days later, further notices in the paper stated that ales and ports were now on sale and advised farmers they were now purchasing barley in any quantity. There were also advertisements for labouring hands 'accustomed to the trade' and for a cooper. For numerous reasons, it seems likely that these advertisements relate to Bradley and Shelley's Brewery rather than Richards's. Firstly, advertisements for Richards's brewery invariably used the family name. Secondly, the advertisements suggest a large scale enterprise, because not only are they calling for a cooper, but also for labouring hands. The final factor was the call for the delivery to the brewery of barley in any quantity. Richards did not call for such quantities previously, nor were there public descriptions of ports made on the Riversdale site. The repeat advertisements indicate a wealth and backing consistent with Bradley and Shelley's enterprises.

19 NLA MS 8368, the Papers of Rachel Roxburgh, Series 5 General Research Material, 1822–1986; Series 5, Box 12, Folder 1, ML Archives, Books of Inn Licensees, Goulburn. John Richards, Argyle Inn at Bong Bong, 1836 and Ann Richards 1839 & 1840 Surveyor General Inn, Berrima.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Sydney Morning Herald, 22.4.1841, p.3, col.2.
25 Ibid.
The proposition that Bradley and Shelley began brewing operations between April and May 1841 is consistent with the arrival in Goulburn of Thomas Capel. A former convict, Thomas Capel is an elusive character. Some claim Capel was one of Melbourne's foremost brewers, having started the Britannia Brewery in 1838 before moving to Sydney. He then worked for Bradley and Shelley for a number of years before working for the Thorn Brothers, who were competitors to the Bradley and Shelley enterprise. However, the relationship between Bradley and Capel appears to have remained amicable, as he returned to work for Bradley in the mid-1850s.

Further support for brewing operations beginning in 1841 is the report of the Reverend James Hassall on his visit to his uncle, William Shelley, sometime between 1840 and 1842. Hassall wrote that Shelley 'entered into partnership with Mr William Bradley, one of the earliest settlers in the Goulburn district, in a flour mill and brewery, and was living at Lansdowne, managing the concern'. Hassall does not provide dates of his journey to verify this expedition, but his travel coincided with his time as a student at the Reverend Robert Forrest's school at Campbelltown during the early 1840s. His journey took place prior to Shelley's death in 1844.

As with the mill, Bradley and Shelley chose a difficult time in which to launch their brewery. In the early 1840s, New South Wales was beset by a financial depression, the effects of monetary confusion and a lack of labour. However, in April 1842, the Goulburn correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote that the 'general depression which has so long bedimmed our commercial vision' in Goulburn looked set to be relieved. The correspondent wrote of the flourishing township of Goulburn, the establishments providing great benefit to the townspeople and the increasing numbers of people arriving in the township. Amongst those establishments bringing great benefits, was the 'spacious flour mill and brewery of Messrs Bradley and Shelley who deserve great praise for their bringing into operation such mechanical power which saves all the delay generally occasioned by post mills, for the settler can spend an hour getting their flour'.

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26 See www.familysearch.org for information about Thomas Capel; accessed 19 January 2008. Deutsher (see footnote below) claims (with no evidence) Capel's pregnant wife followed on the brig *Britannia*, which was shipwrecked en-route to Sydney with Mrs Capel the sole survivor. She was allegedly captured by Aboriginaals and 'incurably insane' when found. Notes on Mrs Capel's disappearance also appear in O'Hallorran, M: *People Associated with the Old Goulburn Brewery—a selection of their pioneering achievements*, unpublished, in Goulburn and District Historical Society File 'Breweries', Circa 1984. O'Hallorran states Mrs Capel 'took up with' Aboriginaals following the shipwreck of the *Britannia* in 1839. No shipping records exist for a brig *Britannia* leaving Melbourne for Sydney in 1839; it left on 7 January 1840. See http://www.blaxland.com/ozships/ for the listing of the *Britannia* leaving Melbourne on 7 January 1840.


28 The role and nature of the Thorn Brothers' enterprise is covered in Appendix 6.

29 Hassall, J: op. cit., p.45.

30 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8.4.1842; p.2, col.7 & p.3 col.1.

31 Ibid.
The correspondent continued, ‘through the exertions of Messrs Bradley and Shelley, the commerce of this town has even carried down to the capital and up to every station in this vast district’.32

Bradley and Shelley’s enterprise made a significant impact on the Goulburn economy. Employment options Bradley and Shelley offered included labourer and technical jobs at the mill and brewery, at Lansdowne Park, Bradley’s townhouse, Shelley’s Grampian Flats property, and Bradley’s vast Bullanamang run on the Monaro plains. These employees needed accommodation, food and other necessities, along with the stores needed for the operation of the mill and brewery. Further, people were employed outside the operation in taking goods to and from Goulburn to Sydney. At the same time, farmers wanting to cash in their barley and wheat crops had a ready market for their produce.

The Sydney Morning Herald’s correspondent provided a snapshot of some Goulburn employment in 1842. Establishment of a Medical Hall occurred with three medical men in residence, an attorney, a tanner and currier, a cabinetmaker from Sydney, painters and glaziers, saddlers, smiths and farriers, joiners, wheelwrights, bakers and confectioners, butchers, tailors and shoemakers, all of whom contributed to the development of the town’s commerce and industry.33 In addition, there were numerous bricklayers and brick makers servicing the town, along with three inns, four large stores (with another set to open) and a branch of the Commercial Banking Company. A Scotsman, James Sinclair, (later to develop his own flourmill) supervised the construction of the Goulburn Gaol, again employing a number of labourers and contractors.

The census of 1841 also provides a snapshot of the County of Argyle. With 2,434 males and 963 females (total 3,397), the largest age group for both sexes were those aged between twenty-one and forty-five and a significant portion of the women, (fifty-six per cent), were unmarried.34 The effect of this number of people in the County included the need for goods and services, including churches, housing, and employment. The census indicates the following occupations within the County of Argyle.35

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32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Note the data does not differentiate between those of marrying age and those under marrying age; therefore the data is inconsistent and may include females under marrying age. Sydney Morning Herald, 7.9.1841, p.4, cols.1–3.
35 Ibid. The Colonial Secretary’s Office advised that the category of gardeners, stockmen, and persons employed in Agriculture ‘cannot be relied on as perfectly correct’.
### ABLE 3.1 OCCUPATIONS WITHIN THE COUNTY OF ARGYLE, 1841

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Landed Proprietors, Merchants, Bankers and Professional Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Shopkeepers and other Retail Dealers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Mechanics and Artifices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>485</td>
<td>Shepherds and others in the care of Sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>797</td>
<td>Gardeners, stockmen and persons employed in Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>Domestic servants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,584</td>
<td>All other persons not included in the foregoing classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,397</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *Sydney Morning Herald*’s report and the 1841 census reveal that the County of Argyle and the Goulburn Township in the early 1840s were active places. The social fabric of Goulburn was developing. Balls, picnics, and social activities were a part of this developing social scene. The economic benefits from these events contributed to the economy, particularly the hosts, such as Mr Moses, the Royal Hotel and Mandelson’s establishment amongst others.

A number of people managed the mill and brewery complex. Shelley lived at *Lansdowne Park* and managed the day-to-day operations of the complex until his death in 1844. Bradley did not engage another partner after Shelley. Turnbull worked as the mill superintendent until his death in 1853. In 1856, three years after Turnbull’s death, the *Goulburn Herald* ran an article on their visit to the mills and brewery. It reported that in managing the milling enterprise, Bradley employed six men, including the miller and engineer to produce between one hundred and one hundred and fifty bushels of flour daily. These figures were well below calculations in 1834 that described a profit point to engine grind and dress between eighteen hundred and two thousand bushels per week. Even operating seven days per week and grinding a maximum one hundred and fifty bushels per day, the output of the mill may have caused Bradley and Shelley some financial distress. By diversifying his interests, Bradley exploited his land so that his income was not solely reliant on the output of the mill. If Bradley had relied on the mill’s grinding, he would surely have been disappointed. By 1855, Bradley only realised fifty pounds per ton for the finest quality flour.

While Bradley and Shelley were not immune to fluctuating commodity and labour prices, they maintained their dominance through the significant money they each brought to the enterprise. Apart from the £15,000 in the Deed of Co-Partnership as noted earlier, Bradley

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36 Shelley is buried in the old St Saviour’s Cemetery, Goulburn.
37 *Goulburn Herald*, 1.3.1856, p.5, col.6.
38 See Appendix 4.
also inherited £10,000 from his father’s estate upon his death in October 1841. Jonas Bradley was included on a contemporary ‘business rich list’, and this inheritance provided the Bradley and Shelley enterprise with cash at a time of financial distress.

In addition to Turnbull and Shelley, Bradley needed a labouring workforce. This involved mostly convict labour initially, with people remaining in Bradley’s employ following their emancipation. Some processing aspects required skilled labour, and constant attention was vital in activities such as tobacco cropping. Bradley’s need for good labour was critical to his success, and allowed his managers to meet the demands he undoubtedly placed on them. A range of jobs was available at Lansdowne Park, his townhouse and the mill and brewery. The image of this enterprise was Bradley as a community-centric employer. Not only did he develop a community, he generated wealth and power from the same.

To manage the properties, Bradley and his father maintained a number of convicts on their Goulburn, Windsor and Monaro land. A cheap labour force enabled Bradley to progress his interests quickly, and from the historical records, it is clear he treated his convicts well. Throughout his career, Bradley demonstrated a positive, liberal attitude towards emancipists. As will be discussed later, his management style appealed to emancipists as he afforded them new beginnings and provided support for their endeavours. He later became a staunch anti-transportation league advocate, and was one of the first men in the County to pledge that he would not pay wages in liquor or allow the purchase of spirits for the supply of his employees.

It was this understanding that although the convicts he employed came to him with varying levels of misfortune, there was no need for a continuation of this in their new land. In many ways, Bradley’s benevolence towards his convicts ensured a generally reliable and trustworthy workforce.

Bradley’s success as a master of convicts can be measured through the relatively small number of escapees from his properties published in the Government Gazette during the years 1836 to 1839. During this three-year period, a total of nine convicts absconded, all of whom were apprehended and returned to Bradley. One of the more interesting stories of Bradley’s convicts concerned the theft in 1850 of a cabbage tree hat by a convict who was later found wearing the stolen item. Another incident recorded in the Goulburn Herald wrote of the loss to Bradley of nine dozen shirts recently purchased in England, as well as the theft of stores and slops when thieves entered his stores at Lansdowne Park with a set of false keys.

40 See later chapters for the Morrison brothers’ story; and Wright, W. D. Canberra, John Agnew & Co., Sydney, 1923.
41 The Australian, 1.5.1838, p.2, col.3.
42 Bradley’s convict escapee rate has not been compared to other landholders in the area. This data has been collected from issues of the NSW Government Gazette from 1836-1839.
43 Goulburn Herald, 9.3.1850, p.4.
44 Goulburn Herald, 16.2.1850, p.4, col.5.
The fact that he had nine dozen shirts was newsworthy in itself. Near Bradley's brewery there was highway robbery and thefts of drays from the camping ground near his bridge. One convict, only recently in possession of a ticket of leave, stole two watches from Lansdowne Park and had his ticket revoked. The Goulburn Herald also reported numerous thefts in the town, on outlying properties and of cattle on the Monaro. A combined list of the Bradley family convicts appears in Appendix 5 and provides data on seventy-five convicts during 1829 to 1838. Convicts were placed at the Windsor arm of operations, at Goulburn and on the Monaro. Bradley gave great responsibility to a number of his more trustworthy convicts.

The occupations of the convicts on the Bradley Empire included maltsters, labourers, cooks, housekeepers, housecleaners, basket makers, joiner, and carpenter, iron brazier's assistants and brewery labourers. At Windsor, convicts grew, harvested and manufactured the family's tobacco enterprises. Bradley employed entire families of both convict parents and their free, native-born children. Bradley sustained a large population of people on his properties during an economic recession, and people continued to work for him once their sentences expired. This demonstrates a capacity on Bradley's behalf to work with convicts rather than against them. As part of his power and wealth accumulation, and working within the pattern of enacting his values of perseverance, diligence, and industry in an outpost of British civilisation, it was important for Bradley to maintain his reputation and authority as a master. While Lansdowne Park boasted a convict jail, the evidence regarding its frequency of use is inconclusive.

Bradley also employed immigrants and free settlers as station overseers, managers, and superintendents. He advertised for coopers and for the tender of supplies of barley. In 1842, Bradley undertook two public ventures to seek labour for his growing enterprises. As noted earlier, the first was with his friend, William Pitt Faithfull, who owned Springfield Station. He offered to pay for twenty-five families and ten single women recently arrived in the colony to come to Goulburn to ease the labour shortage. The second was to sign a circulating petition for investigating the options for permitting Indian labour (known as Coolies) into the colony. Amongst the 772 signatures were those of his partner, Shelley, and his Monaro manager, William Brodribb. Bradley was not alone in his need for labour at whatever cost, despite the social and political ramifications of Coolies, who were viewed as cheap slaves to the growing labour shortage, and of their perceived capacity to dilute the largely homogenous society of New South Wales. He was in conflict with his church leader, Broughton, who deemed imported

45 Goulburn Herald, 16.3.1850, p.5; Goulburn Herald, 23.3.1850, p.5, col.2; Goulburn Herald, 27.4.1852, p.4, col.3.
46 There was also a case of alleged insubordination at Lansdowne Park, which Bradley denied. See Sydney Monitor, 23.10.1833, p.2, col.2-4. There was also an unsubstantiated accusation of rape (amongst convicts). See Sydney Gazette, 12.11.1833, and Sydney Gazette, 26.11.1833.
47 Sydney Morning Herald 27.4.1841, p.1, col.5.
48 Sydney Morning Herald, 8.2.1842, p.3, col.5.
49 ML MSS A2029, CY Reel 1017, Petition regarding Indian Labour, 1842, Frame 31. The role of Brodribb is covered in chapter 5.
labour undesirable. In addition to his Church affiliation for opposing transportation, the ongoing effects of convict thefts of his property, as noted earlier, and the time Bradley and his managers expended following up petty crime on his various properties certainly contributed to his opposition to transportation. The murder on his property of one convict worker by another surely influenced this position.

As an emerging pastoralist and later squatter, Bradley needed cheap labour to address the chronic labour shortages and concurrently expand his landed empire. It was a situation unshared by his friend, S K Salting, both a townsman and squatter himself on his vast Murrumbidgee properties. Salting condemned the greed of the squatters, being sensitive perhaps to the perceived de-civilising effects of the importation of cheap labour into the colony.

Bradley's public opposition to transportation directly affected his economic interests, and it is clear that the role of the Anglican Church influenced him. Publicly opposed to transportation, the Church emphasised that transportation hindered efforts to make good their 'solemn pledge and obligation to maintain and set forward quietness and peace' in the colony. It was a contradictory view for Bradley, as for many years he used the convict system to his own advantage and employed convict labour. Importantly, his mother was a convict. By 1848, when the labour shortage again intensified, wages for immigrants in Goulburn ranged from seventeen to twenty pounds for single men and for families, twenty-six to twenty-eight pounds per annum. Immigrants arrived into Goulburn regularly during 1848, and with new steam mills, breweries, a hospital, and a proposed railway, the need for labour intensified. For Bradley to develop further his aspirations to own land on the southern Monaro, he needed to ensure the viability of his Goulburn interests. Part of his strategy was to have good managers in place, which would allow him time to invest in new and developing enterprises. Some of the more successful of Bradley's free settler managers included Brodribb, Henry Edwards, Francis Smith and James Litchfield, who feature prominently in the history of Bradley's Monaro phase.

Following the death of Shelley in 1844, Bradley employed Nicholas Charles Phillips, a retired naval captain, as manager. He lived at Lansdowne Park and was in charge of Bradley's properties in and around Goulburn and on the Monaro. It is unclear how the contents and land were valued under the terms of the Deed of Co-Partnership, but Bradley continued ownership of

50 For more on this and Broughton's other views, see Roe, M: *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835–1851*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1965, p.18.
51 See also *Goulburn Herald*, 1.5.1852, p.4, col.4.
52 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22.3.1842, p.2, col.7.
53 Ibid, pp.72–73.
54 Ibid, p.17.
56 The *Goulburn Herald* reported on 26.8.1848, p.3, col.1; 14.10.1848, p.3, col.3; and 28.10.1848, p.3, col.2 that immigrants had arrived in the town.
the site. Phillips, noted as 'a gentleman much esteemed by the citizens of town and country', held this appointment until his death in December 1863 from rheumatic gout after attending a concert to raise funds for the Church of England Assistant Minister's residence. The community remembered him as a most 'public-spirited man... [who] set an example to the neighbouring gentry'. In the manner of his employer, Phillips contributed to the Church of England, the Agricultural Society and allowed the use of Bradley's men and teams for the greater good within the township of Goulburn. Phillips's daughters were friendly with Bradley's daughters, and together with Blanche Mitchell, the daughter of Sir Thomas Mitchell, they formed a companionable set when visiting Lansdowne Park.

During Phillip's tenure as manager, he employed a new brewer, John Blackshaw in 1845, following Capel's departure to the Thorn Brothers. Blackshaw was an assisted immigrant who arrived in Sydney on June 26 1844 with his wife and eight children on board the Britton. Initially employed by Captain John Coghill at Bedervale, Braidwood, as a shepherd with his elder sons, the Blackshaws came from Foston, Derbyshire. The main occupations of the locals were farming and labouring. There are claims that Blackshaw was a brewer in England, but there is no evidence to support this.

Blackshaw soon gained employment in Goulburn and he received much praise for the ales he brewed at Bradley's brewery. Under Phillips's supervision in 1845, Blackshaw was 'a good man at the business'. The beer made from malt supplied by the local farmers for one shilling and three pence per bushel took two months to brew, but 'it was very good quality'. These observations about the supply of malt from local farmers are consistent with Bradley and Shelley's advertisements in 1841 requesting bushels of barley.

On 5 February 1845, a severe thunderstorm wreaked havoc in Goulburn. During the hailstorm, every piece of exposed glass, including six-hundred panes of glass at Bradley's mill and brewery, were 'smashed to atoms'. Inns, hotels, homes and shops all suffered the effects of the storm, as well as crops and animals. The damage to the brewery was severe. The total number of broken windowpanes in the town (including the mill and brewery) was some 3,253, and the expense
and time in repair work for all Goulburn residents was considerable.\(^\text{66}\)

The summer months of 1848–1849 were a good time for the *Goulburn Herald*’s reporter to start sampling the pots of ale on offer at the brewery. The reporter received some ale from Bradley’s brewery and ‘having tested its quality’\(^\text{67}\) declared it ‘a very good article and an excellent substitute for imported ale and ports’.\(^\text{68}\) Keeping the local press engaged was a clever marketing strategy. The *Goulburn Herald* reporter could not have known that Bradley’s plan was for Goulburn residents to reduce their reliance on imported ale and beer. The reporter suggested that in order to ‘Advance Australia’\(^\text{69}\) residents should partake of the product at Bradley’s brewery. Two months later, he reported that beer was now on tap and asserted its excellence, claiming the beer manufactured at Bradley’s was ‘as good a sample of draught ale as we have tasted since leaving the Mother Country’.\(^\text{70}\)

By 1848, the brewery and mills complex were central to the Goulburn landscape. Certainly when Governor Augustus Fitz Roy visited Goulburn, Phillips, in Bradley’s absence, escorted the official party around the complex and Lansdowne Park.\(^\text{71}\) The *Goulburn Herald* continued its fascination with the ales in March 1849, reporting during some recent cool weather that they often regaled themselves with a glass of ‘Mr Bradley’s excellent ale, which possesses the same body as the English beverage’.\(^\text{72}\) The reporter recommended Mr Bradley’s ale, claiming that it contained ‘all the virtues of the best imported malt and hops’\(^\text{73}\) and that it was a ‘cheap and wholesome drink’.\(^\text{74}\) Even though Bradley himself was not in the country, the papers called the ale Bradley’s ale or brew and did not name the ale after either Capel or Blackshaw or acknowledge the role of Phillips in its development.

Concurrently, as Bradley operated his brewery and kept an eye on his brewing competitors (the Thorn brothers), he pursued other interests and developed a public profile that resulted in his election to the Legislative Council as the first member for the County of Argyle.\(^\text{75}\) The 1830s saw Bradley engage with the social and business network, which ultimately served him in his aspirations to have political representation in the colony by colonists. Recognising the lack of medical care available in outlying towns, and perhaps as a safeguard for his lame

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\(^{66}\) Ibid.

\(^{67}\) *Goulburn Herald*, 14.10.1848, p.3, col.3.

\(^{68}\) Ibid.

\(^{69}\) Ibid.


\(^{71}\) *Goulburn Herald*, 3.2.1849, p.2, col.1–3. Note Sir Charles Fitz Roy’s will is written as Fitz Roy. His will is registered at http://www.hmcourts-service.gov.uk/index.htm.

\(^{72}\) *Goulburn Herald*, 3.3.1849, p.2, col.5.

\(^{73}\) Ibid.

\(^{74}\) Ibid.

\(^{75}\) An assessment of Bradley’s political career is in chapter 4.
mother still living on the family’s Windsor property, he signed a petition to Dr William Sherwin to have medical practices set up in Parramatta. Later he was instrumental in the committee that established the Goulburn Hospital.

One of the first steps he took in developing his profile was to join with other leading colonists, such as William Hovell, William Wentworth, Edmund Lockyer, Robert Campbell Junior and James Norton in calling a public meeting for the purposes of establishing a patriotic association to seek representative government. The result of the meeting was the foundation of Australia’s first political party, the Australian Patriotic Association (APA), which, until 1842, advocated for the rights of former convicts and the less well-to-do in New South Wales. Bradley was a representative for Goulburn, subscribing one pound. The following year he donated ten pounds.

The men who formed the association held liberal views and, in the eyes of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, were a ‘motley crew of Jew pedlars, tailors, tinkers, and gentlemen in Parramatta jackets’. While the *Herald* derided the efforts of the APA, the efforts of Bradley and his contemporary ‘Botany Bay Whigs’ as they were colloquially known, resulted in the passage of the Constitution Act of 1842 allowing emancipists the right to vote and the Act of Incorporation of the City of Sydney. Aligning himself to the APA meant that Bradley’s politics were liberally based and as noted earlier, supportive of emancipists. He also acted in his own interests. Bradley later joined with some of these men to form the Pastoral Association, as discussed in Chapter Six.

In 1836, he joined the Southern Association, which formed to suppress stock stealing in the Southern Districts from the Cowpastures to the Monaro. Representatives from Goulburn included Bradley, Shelley, Murray, McAllister, Gibson, Campbell, and McFarlane, all names...
fast becoming synonymous with recognition as the colonial gentry of the southern districts. Bradley had good reason to join this association, as in November 1835, thieves liberated eighty-six ewes, and two rams from his stations at Goulburn. He offered a fifty-pound reward for their safe return. He contributed to the statue for Sir Richard Bourke, pledging again his support for the liberal views held by Bourke. Joining with his familiar colleagues, including James Atkinson, James McFarlane, Robert Futter, and William Hovell, Bradley publicly refused to pay his employees in part or full in liquor. This continued his already public stance on alcohol as a form of payment. For a colony dependent on alcohol as a form of payment, this was a step towards an improvement in local society.

Bradley also began to take a prominent role in ecclesiastical affairs, representing Goulburn on a sub-committee to progress Protestantism in the colony. Through his ecclesiastical undertakings, Bradley demonstrated his commitment to the moral and social principles that later came to define the Victorian era by undertaking the shared responsibility for the construction of the old St Saviour's Church. Bradley already demonstrated favour with colonial church leaders, such as Marsden who supported the family's application for 4,000 acres on the Goulburn Plains in 1824.

To begin his own public identification with the Church, Bradley presented on behalf of the town's people, an address to Bishop William Broughton in January 1837, extolling the Bishop's virtues and requesting aid for a school for the education of the young people of the Goulburn community. The Bishop's reply was to hope for the establishment of a school in Goulburn before he left the town and he did take some steps towards this. However, the site chosen for the church by the townspeople was rejected by the Bishop in favour of a new site where the current Cathedral stands. The final selection of the site enabled the construction of the first Church to take place and in August 1837, an advertisement appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald calling for persons to contract for the masonry and carpentry of the building to send tenders to Dr Hamlyn or William Bradley. Both men held the proposed plans and contractors were called for the stone and timber for the building.

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83 *Australian*, 11.3.1836, p.1, cols.5–6. Captain Charles Sturt from Mittagong was also on this Association and many of Bradley's contemporaries from the Monaro, including Ryrie and Styles.
84 *Australian*, 30.1.1838, p.3, col.3 (Bourke subscription); 1.5.1838, p.2, col.3 (wages).
86 SR NSW Fiche 3079, 4/1836A, #89, pp.479–486.
88 For further reading on St Saviour's Church see Wyatt, RT; *History of the Diocese of Goulburn*, Revised Edition, 1998, Anglican Parish of Binda, NSW.
89 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7.8.1837, P1, col.4. See also SR NSW Colonial Secretaries In letters, 1842, 4/2560.1, located in NLA MSS 8368, the Papers of Rachel Roxburgh, Series 15, Box 12, Buildings, Houses, Folders 1 of 2, Erection of Church at Goulburn.
The need for a place of worship for Goulburn townspeople was augmented by the publication in February 1837 of a colonial census. The census, taken on 2 September 1836, listed the protestant population of Goulburn as some 1,618 people. This was just over sixty-six per cent of the total population, which comprised almost equal numbers of convicts and free people. Undoubtedly, the high number of convicts was an incentive for the construction of a church in Goulburn. Despite the land being selected, it was not until 1842 and 1843 that it was formally ceded to the trustees of the United Church of England. William Shelley, Francis Rossi and John Macarthur joined William Bradley as Trustees. Two grants were made on 9 May 1842 to the Trustees: one parcel of three acres, two roods and a parcel of one acre. The first parcel was in the township near Bourke Street and the second was the site that became the Old St Saviour's Cemetery. On 19 June 1843, the Trustees received a third parcel of land measuring forty acres bounded by Sloane Street and William Broughton's land grant. The land where the Cathedral is sited is the first parcel granted in 1842 on the Bourke Street site. It took ten years for the new timber and stone church to be erected. It had a spire and overlooked the

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90 Australian, 7.2.1837, p.4, col.3-4: Free people in Goulburn in September 1836 totalled 1,275, while convict numbers comprised 1,142 with a difference of 133 between the two groups.

91 NSW LPI, Serial 330, p.8, Land granted to the Trustees from the United Church of England and Ireland for St Saviour's Church, Goulburn, 9 May 1842, 3 acres, 2 roods; NSW LPI Serial 333, p.1, Land granted to the Trustees from the United Church of England and Ireland for St Saviour's Church, Goulburn, 9 May 1842, 1 acre.

92 This cemetery is no longer used and is situated behind the Goulburn Gaol, opposite the junction of the Mulwaree Ponds with the Wollondilly River at the Old Township of Goulburn.

93 NSW LPI, Serial 333, p.15, Land granted to the Trustees from the United Church of England and Ireland for St Saviour's Church, Goulburn, 19 June 1843, 40 acres.
township of Goulburn on land secured by lease in 1842. The foundation bricks of the old church formed the basis of the new cathedral.

With the arrival of the new Lord Bishop of Goulburn, Mesac Thomas, in April 1863, a position he held until his death in 1892, it became evident that the limited church space hindered development. Goulburn, it seemed, required a Cathedral. Thomas galvanized the community to donate to the endowment fund for the founding of a See of Goulburn. William Bradley subscribed one thousand pounds, which was one of the largest subscriptions, and again, a demonstration of Bradley's patronage of the Church.

Designed by Edmund Blacket, the new St Saviour's Cathedral in Goulburn comprised a stone building with a large bell tower. On its dedication on 29 April 1884, Bradley's patronage and influence was still evident through his daughters. To memorialise their father and mother's contributions to the Goulburn district, they commissioned the eastern main stained glass window through the London firm of Heaton, Butler and Bayne, the acknowledged English masters of stained glass production. The window is regarded as one of the finest products of the nineteenth century Gothic Revival, however, the window's written commemoration to William and Emily Elizabeth Bradley has been obscured from view since its inception by a sculpture of the Last Supper.

Bradley did not limit his ecclesiastical undertakings to involvement with the Anglican Church, but extended these to the Wesleyan Church. Through land transactions, Bradley appears as a benefactor of the Wesleyan Church. In 1858, there were two peppercorn sales from Bradley to the Wesleyan Church Trustees in Goulburn and in Sydney. The first was in a paddock to the north of Goulburn, along Darby Murray's Flats. An indenture passed a portion of two acres of Bradley's four hundred acres in the area to five Trustees for erecting a Church for ten pounds.
The signing of this indenture came after the blessing and laying of a foundation stone for the church before a crowd of two hundred people in December 1857, with Reverends J Watsford and T Angwin presiding.\(^\text{100}\)

The second Wesleyan church Bradley endowed in 1858 was in Sydney, with a larger monetary value than the two acres near Goulburn. The land in question was a parcel of sixteen and a half perches on Princes Street in Sydney. The land transactions are ambiguous, as reference is made to an indenture to the Methodist Trustees in August 1840. In 1843, Edward Kerswill received a land grant for the parcel of land, but he does not appear as a Trustee in the Indenture of 1840.\(^\text{101}\) The next transaction is in January 1853 when Bradley purchased the land for seven hundred and fifty pounds.\(^\text{102}\) In 1858, he signed an indenture with the Methodist Trustees, describing the land on Princes Street as being reserved for the purpose of building a church and acknowledging the original 1840 indenture.\(^\text{103}\) It is unclear then, by this land transaction, whether Bradley knew about the original 1840 indenture when he purchased the land. In any case, Bradley sold this land to the Methodist Trustees for ten pounds.\(^\text{104}\)

These two instances of patronage of the Wesleyan Methodist Church are good examples of Bradley's benevolence towards church groups and continues his established pattern of ensuring he returned some of the benefits afforded him by the colony. In many ways, Bradley's ability to see past the first bark hut of Goulburn led to its growth as a reputable centre of frontier development, and his contributions as a native-born Australian continued his commitment to the colony's development.

In developing a public image that emphasised respectability and trustworthiness, Bradley also appeared as an executor to the wills of various people.\(^\text{105}\) In particular, he was involved, as the executor, in a libel case involving John Hillas, his father's neighbour at Windsor. Bradley and the other executors refused to prove the will amidst allegations it was not the last will of the testator. Jonas Bradley gave evidence that John Hillas was mentally unfit to change his will on his deathbed, and Jonas himself drafted the original will in 1829. The case closed with the original 1829 will proved. This case was remarkable for the evidence of Jonas Bradley who, under cross-examination, declared that his two sons were born out of wedlock. This was common in colonial New South Wales. Bradley then advised he had been married but following his wife's death lived with his 'gentleman' son William in Goulburn. It is of significance, that Jonas chose to

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\(^{100}\) Sydney Morning Herald, 21.1.1858, p.3, col.4. The Sydney Morning Herald reports the land as being only acre when the NSW LPI Records state two acres.

\(^{101}\) NSW LPI, Serial 53, p.69, Copy of Town Grant to Edward Kerswill, 18 May 1843, 16.5 perches.

\(^{102}\) NSW LPI, Book 25, No. 47, Copy of Conveyance between Edward Kerswill and William Bradley, 20 January 1853, 16.5 perches, £750. See also Primary Application No. 11540.

\(^{103}\) NSW LPI, Book 53, No. 569, Indenture William Bradley to Methodist Trustees, 6 February 1858, 16.5 perches, £10.

\(^{104}\) Ibid.

\(^{105}\) He was also a creditor and executor to the insolvent estate of Edmund Lockyer. Sydney Morning Herald, 10.7.1844, p.2.
Chapter Three: The Southern Association to Advance Australia

acknowledge in a public forum, the illegitimacy of his sons. A convict mother and an illegitimate birth surely gave impetus to William Bradley's desire to be a respectable colonial citizen. It certainly made it harder to move away from the convict birthstain.

Apart from his involvement in the campaign against transportation, Bradley's involvement in causes was an expression of philanthropy as well as being advantageous for his political aspirations. He funded art, organised the local gentlemen as district councillors, worked as a Commissioner of the Peace in Goulburn, provided donations to the Aboriginal people and contributed to infrastructure building, such as roads. All this exposure within Goulburn and the southern districts of the colony ensured wide coverage of Bradley's name, and he could garner support for numerous causes. When he began his political career in 1843, his coverage provided him with a distinct advantage over his competitors.

As well as the committees, beneficiaries and work undertaken by Bradley in the dual interests of his reputation and his business enterprises, he had a growing family. Married by special licence in 1831, William Bradley married Emily Elizabeth Novell, daughter of William Hovell, at St Peter's Church Campbelltown. By 1846 their eighth child was born. Of these eight, they buried three and the remaining five, all daughters, grew up on the Goulburn Plains. The family was complete but there were no sons to inherit the family enterprises. In mid-1846, Bradley took his wife and some of his young family to England, due, in part, to his wife's ill health, leaving his brewery and mills in the hands of Phillips. He spent three years away from his homeland and financial base, which indicates that his financial situation was secure, notwithstanding the need to sustain himself and his family on their travels. It seems his two youngest daughters remained in Australia in the care of Salting and his wife. Alice Bradley, the youngest, born in 1846, never knew her mother, as Emily died in Italy in 1848. Entrusting the operation of the mill and brewery to Phillips was a risk, as there was no family member assisting, although Hovell may have kept a keen eye on operations for his son-in-law.

It is of significance that no part of the Bradley enterprises stopped during his absence. The hiatus did not prevent him from leasing Ben Boyd's Monaro runs from 1848, or from applying for 7,580 acres of land in Goulburn, and making continued donations to the building


105 See the Sydney Morning Herald 9.11.1843, p.4, col.3 (art); 19.4.1844, p.3, col.2 (councillors); 19.2.1844, p.2, col.3 (Commissioner); 5.1.1843, p.2, col.6 (donations); and 27.9.1842, p.3, col.4 (contributions to the Jervis Bay Road).

106 This was the church designed by Francis Lawless. See chapter 2.

107 The Australian, 5.12.1846, p.2 and 16.1.1847, p.2–3 reports on the Salting family's summer holidays, taking with them two Misses Bradley going to Hobart Town for a month. It seems likely that these were the youngest children, Alice and Minna. Emily's death is recorded in the Sydney Morning Herald on 14.9.1848, p.3, col.5; Goulburn Herald 16.9.1848, p.3, col.5. When Emily's death was reported, work stopped at the brewery and mill stopped. Bradley's return to Goulburn was noted in the Goulburn Herald, on 21.4.1849, p.4, col.4.
of the Goulburn Hospital, for which he subscribed fifty pounds. In other words, this influence from afar demonstrates that Bradley was able to maintain control over the direction of his colonial career.

While overseas, Bradley increased his interest in the Sydney to Goulburn Railway enterprise through a twenty-five pound contribution to the survey by Thomas Woore. One source suggests Bradley went 'to England in 1846 to arrange with Robert Stephenson for the provision of locomotives and rolling stock and materials for the new steam-driven railways in Australia.' It is possible Bradley had this intention. With his friends, Dr Charles Nicholson and Thomas Barker, who were agitating in Sydney for the development of the Sydney-Goulburn Railway, Bradley led a Goulburn faction of pastoralists in agitating for a railway line. Through his importation of the Maudslay steam engine, Bradley had already demonstrated his desire to take full advantage of the machinery characterising the Industrial Revolution. Bradley moved and spoke to a motion at a public meeting in May 1846 of the 'most wealthy, respectable and intelligent [men] of the colony' to create the Great Southern and Western Railway Company. Apart from his Election Day speech in 1843, and despite a parliamentary career, this speech was Bradley's single most emphatic public oration.

Bradley gave a detailed account of his aspirations for this rail line to the committee. He stated that as a resident of the area almost from the first year of its settlement, there was 'no-one more competent than himself to give a trustworthy opinion' on the viability of the railway line. He anticipated that the engineering difficulties would be minimal to Goulburn, with mostly level ground to traverse. He provided evidence of his reading as he thought the colony possessed many facilities for the cheap formation of railways, which the mother country did not possess; land could be purchased at a cheaper rate, whilst timber, of the most suitable description for the work, could be got for nothing. Bradley said that he 'confidently expected ...that the traffic on the line was sufficiently extensive to pay a reasonable interest to the shareholders'.

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110 NSW Government Gazette (NSW GG), 30.9.1848 (Ben Boyd’s runs); NSW GG, 19.12.1848 (Goulburn land); Goulburn Herald, 1.7.1848, p.1 (hospital donations); Sydney Morning Herald, 15.8.1846, p.1, col.3 (survey donation). For the survey report, see Woore, T: Report on the Proposed Railways in New South Wales made by Thomas Woore for the Provisional Committee, Sydney, 1848. See also: NLA Ferguson Collection, JAFp BIBLIO F 18856, Woore, T: Substance of a lecture on Railways, delivered at the Goulburn Mechanics Institute on Friday July 6, 1855, to which is appended a reply to an article on Railways, published in the Sydney University Magazine, Sydney, 1855. For Woore’s attempts to be renumerated by the Provisional Committee for his survey, see NSW Votes and Proceedings, Part 3, R-Z, 1858, Report from the Select Committee on the Railway Services of Thomas Woore, Esq; and NSW Votes and Proceedings, Vol. 5, 1866, pp.715–716, Petition of Thomas Woore.


114 Ibid.


117 Ibid.
He anticipated growth in the railway traffic, which would return a 'handsome profit'\textsuperscript{118} to the shareholders and the company. Bradley did not speak of the benefits of the introduction of the railway, as he believed the benefits were obvious to all in attendance. After suggesting a profit could be realised, he argued the question was 'whether it was safe for them to form a company for such an object of such magnitude and importance'.\textsuperscript{119} Bradley 'fearlessly asserted his own opinion that it was so, and so confident did he feel of the successful results of such an enterprise, that he should be quite ready to subscribe for a considerable number of shares'.\textsuperscript{120} Bradley demonstrated his own self-interest in supporting the railway movement, but it was the power of his money to effect the change needed that was far beyond the beguiling dreams of the local population. In addition, Bradley's views reflect the importance of trust to his position in the town and to the enterprise ahead. Building the trust of the local townspeople and his supporters was central to Bradley's achievement on the Goulburn Plains. Without this trust, Bradley's enterprises may not have been so successful in the early days of Goulburn, nor could Bradley have effected so much change on the landscape and develop a colonial economy that would support a growing population\textsuperscript{121}.

In seconding Bradley's motion, Barker spoke of the great advantages the County of Argyle offered, and the value of the transport already making its way down the Goulburn Road. Barker estimated the annual expenses on freight and transport on this road was some sixty thousand pounds. Of this sum, transport costs for Bradley alone were no less than seven hundred pounds a year.\textsuperscript{122} Barker could not conceive the 'investment would not be safe'\textsuperscript{123} and encouraged people to take shares in the proposed incorporated company. The elected Provisional Directors of the Company were Bradley, Barker, and Nicholson.\textsuperscript{124} The prospectus of the Company duly appeared with a capital of one million pounds in fifty thousand shares of twenty pounds each with the liability of the shares to be limited to the amount of each shareholder's respective shares.\textsuperscript{125} The Company suffered from limited subscriptions, and was later abandoned. It was not, however, the only railway company Bradley sought to influence.

Edward Kitson evidences the importance of Bradley's belief and conviction in the power of the railways and to the whole railway movement. In 1848, he expressed his disappointment in Bradley's absence from the colony at the time of the establishment of the Sydney Railway Company, as 'his countenance to the Railway would have great weight and he will, I am sure

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121} See Smiles, S: op.cit, pp.278-280.
\textsuperscript{122} Sydney Morning Herald, 12.5.1846, p.2, col.1–3.
\textsuperscript{123} Sydney Morning Herald, 7.5.1846, p.2, cols.4–7, p.3, col.1.
\textsuperscript{124} Sydney Morning Herald, 9.5.1846, p.1, col.2.
\textsuperscript{125} Sydney Morning Herald, 12.5.1846, p.3. col.6–7. Possibly the shares were limited due to the monetary depression of the early 1840s.
assist very largely. He described Bradley as the man who could lead the rest of his colonists in this progression of the colony. Bradley emerged as a key player on the railways question in New South Wales, but his journey to England circumvented any further success he may have enjoyed in influencing this space. While he missed a lot of rhetoric and argument, his presence might have made a difference.

Bradley’s interest in railways did not diminish. He continued his agitation for the advent of railways in the colony and more particularly into the County of Argyle. An Act of Parliament incorporated the Sydney Railway Company on 7 September 1849, with William Bradley appointed as a Director of the Company. As a Director, he held at least fifty shares in the Company. Following his return to the Colony, he took up residence in Sydney and therefore did not represent the Goulburn Committee on the Company. The raising of capital and land acquisition and the need to convince people of the advantages of the railways were the main tasks of the Directors. Following the turning of the first sod of the Sydney to Parramatta Railway in 1850, Bradley and his colleagues resigned from the Company’s Board. With another five ‘astute businessmen’, Bradley purchased shares during 1853–1854 that saw them have combined ownership of more than half the Company’s shares. This controlling interest monopoly extended to the Sydney-Parramatta line. This provides an aspect to Bradley that demonstrates his duality: not only is he acting philanthropically and in the wider community interest, he is also demonstrating that he is a smart businessman by collaborating to control the main line of the railway. It is a duality evidenced throughout his public and political life. To assess Bradley in this example of colonial entrepreneurship, it is important to recognise this is a ‘community-centred’ operation.

According to one historian, Bradley’s actions are evidence of a type of person who sought to ‘accumulate wealth or power for the community by his individual action; and as a by-product

126 SR NSW: Sydney Tramroad and Railway Company Provisional Committee: NRS15282, Inwards Correspondence; 1 April–23 December 1848; Edward Kitson to Charles Cowper, 31 October 1848, p.3. Kitson was a Goulburn solicitor.


128 The act was entitled the ‘Sydney Railway Company Act of 1849’ (13 Vic). It was replaced by the Sydney Railway Company Act of 1854 (18 Vic, No. 40) which allowed Bradley and his contemporaries to construct a railway between Sydney, Parramatta and Liverpool. Source: Tarleton, WW: A Collection of the Private Acts of Practical Utility in Force in New South Wales, Encompassing the Local Private Legislation from the year 1832 to the year 1855, NSW Government Printer, Sydney, 1886.


130 Abbott, Gj: op. cit., p.48. The other men were T S Mort; John Reeve; Alexander Campbell; Edwin Tooth; and J B Darvall.

131 Ibid, and see O’Halloran, M: (Goulburn Pioneers), op. cit., pp.14–17 that outlines share holdings of Bradley.

132 Abbott, Gj: op. cit., p.48; quoting from Gustav Ranis.
he may, and very likely will, accumulate wealth or power for himself. This was not only a statement about Bradley's motivations but in some ways characterised his actions across his colonial career. By taking advantage of the railway situation, Bradley demonstrated his capacity to turn opportunities into profit and progress. This is further evidence of his application, perseverance and his diligent improvement on opportunities. Yet despite his long-term agitation for a railway to Goulburn to assist in defraying his costs of transporting sheep, wool and other commodities to the Sydney markets, he died before seeing the railway roll into Goulburn in 1869.

Figure 3.7
Turning the first turf of the first railway in the Australasian colonies at Redfern, Sydney, N.S.W. 3rd July 1850.
Source: Mitchell Library.

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133 Ibid.
134 The land for the terminus at Goulburn was near Bradley's brewery. Bradley sold the land to the Commissioner for Railways on 25 March 1868 (just before his death) for £435 for a portion of his land of 34 acres, 4 roods and 29 1/4 perches. See NSW LPI Book 107, No. 801, conveyance William Bradley to the Commissioner for Railways, 25 March 1868, 34 acres, 4 roods, 29.25 perches, £435.
Bradley and Barker’s motives need some assessment at this point. Bradley had a huge annual bill for transportation costs. His stock, flour, and wool needed to reach the Sydney markets for market and auction. He also held land, stretching from Goulburn to the Monaro requiring transport from the Monaro that did not rely on sea travel from Pambula to Sydney. In addition, there were labour costs associated with the transport of goods to and from Sydney that could be ambushed by bushrangers, convicts and others looking to make a quick profit. Other factors such as flood, heat, and drought, care of bullock teams, loss of cattle, and the difficulties of having wool bales fall off the dray were all issues Bradley contended with as his bullock teams plied the Sydney-Goulburn Road. Steam rail travel solved a number of these issues for Bradley and allowed safer and more efficient carriage of his goods. The wool arriving in Sydney via bullock would stay cleaner without the road dust affecting its quality or its market value. It also meant he could avoid natural disasters; the stock would be in a far better condition than their approximate one hundred and twenty eight mile journey would allow them to be and it meant he did not need to maintain grazing and resting paddocks for stock along the way, in places such as Mittagong.

The growing lack of feed closer to Sydney added to Bradley’s need for alternative transport. The long, laborious trek to and from Sydney was almost over and there was a glimmer of colonial progression lurking around the corner for Bradley. He also held interests in the provision of railway services north of Sydney and the Hawkesbury with his 1840 purchase of two town blocks in Port Macquarie for £168; he wished to use these blocks as a summer retreat for his family. He also held grazing land in Windsor and Bathurst, ensuring his support for the western railway option towards Bathurst. In addition to his agitation for the railway, Bradley also had an interest in the Hunter River Railway and he became a Director of the Australian Joint Stock Bank, again with Barker.

Thomas Barker was equally as enterprising as William Bradley. Barker arrived on board the Earl Spencer in November 1813 as a nine year old in the care of his guardian, John Dickson, as noted earlier. This background is significant as Barker’s association with steam power, engineering and milling processes developed from an early age. Barker’s pursuits included a windmill, extensive flourmills, cloth mills and extensive grazing land on the Murrumbidgee, Goulburn Plains at Mummel and at the Cowpastures. As further link to the Bradley family, Hovell was also on board the Earl Spencer and befriended John Dickson. The relationship between Bradley and Barker is not too difficult to extract from the close network of the colonial society and

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135 NSW LPl Grants Index, 1839–1847, Book 6, Serial 208, pp.208–209, Purchase of land at Port Macquarie, 30 April 1840, 4 roods, £168 (previously recorded at NSW LPl as Serial 57, p.413 and p.415).
136 NSW LPl Grants Index, Book 1, 1792–1826; Serial 6, p.145, Grant to William Bradley, 24 July 1818, 60 acres (See also Primary Application 23787); and NSW LPl Grants Index, Book 1, 1792–1826; Serial 12, p.23; Grant to William Bradley 22 February 1821, 400 acres.
Chapter Three: The Southern Association to Advance Australia evidences the support Barker provided his friend Bradley with in his push for the establishment of the railways. The Bradley-Barker relationship continued as both men sought leadership roles in the Sydney Railway Company, built their respective steam-powered enterprises and shared their landed interests. Both also moved from their countryseats to the Sydney scene. Both held land at Darling Point: Bradley at Lindesay and Barker at Roslyn Hall. Not only did Bradley disassociate from his convict mother's heritage, but he also sought out those people with whom he could form a strategic relationship.

While Bradley was in England, his good friend Charles Nicholson stood for Bradley's vacated seat in the election for the County of Argyle, and was endorsed and supported by Barker. Barker also pursued landed interests in and around Goulburn. It was a period of extreme accumulation of land, wealth and inadvertently, power. This period accentuated the importance of a network for those who were to prosper in the growing colony.

Prior to the death of both Bradley’s father and brother, the family arranged all their land grants so that they were complementary. Between 1831 and 1867, William Bradley purchased or received by grant some 17,382 acres and three-quarter roods. For this, he paid £6041-17-0. It is of note that he acquired these land holdings when the colonial economy faced a downturn and many settlers sold their properties. This afforded Bradley a great opportunity upon which he capitalised. Other speculative land engagements in other areas, particularly the Monaro, between 1840 and 1849 are not included. Table 3.2 indicates annual summative land acquisitions by Bradley during 1831 to 1867 in Goulburn.

138 Another shared link between Barker and Bradley were their accountants, Norton Smith and Co. Both Bradley and Barker used this firm for many years and Norton Smith and Co. managed Bradley’s estate. For a biography of Thomas Barker, see Weatherburn, AK: Thomas Barker, Pioneer Australian Industrialist 1799 to 1875, self-published, Sydney, 1985

139 Goulburn Herald, 1.7.1848, p.2, col.5 and 15.7.1848, p.1, col.3.

140 This table is an attempt to list Bradley’s property and may not reflect all the land in and around Goulburn; however, this land summary demonstrates the extent of land. It does not include his land on the Monaro, at Port Macquarie, Mittagong, Gladstone or Sydney. This information is all from the NSW LPl and the assistance of Leah Day in compiling this table is gratefully acknowledged. See the following for records of the transactions: 1831: Serial 27, pp.196–197; 1832: Serial 31, pp.94–95; Serial 31, p.102; 1833: Serial 33, no. 92; 1834: Serial 33, p.79; Serial 34, p.42; 1835: Serial 38, p.185; 1836: Serial 45, p.24 and p.26; Serial 64, p.70; Serial 64, p.223–225; 1837: Serial 63, pp.126–127; Serial 65, pp.49–50; 1838: Serial 58, p.37; 1840: Serial 208, p.180; Serial 71, p.134; Serial 71, p.146; 1849: Book 17, No.66 (see also deposited deed packet 33318); 1851: Book 21, No. 483; 1854: Serial 95, p.118; 1857: Serial 133, p.1773; 1859: Serial 161, p.406; 1861: Serial 61, pp.2673–2687; 1867: Book 106, No. 953.
### TABLE 3.2:

**ANNUAL SUMMATIVE LAND ACQUISITIONS BY BRADLEY IN GOULBURN 1831–1867**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Size (in acres)</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Grant at 5/- per acre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>3 grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>£600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>2,660</td>
<td>2 grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>1,179</td>
<td>£294.15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>1,944, 4 roods</td>
<td>£762.19.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>2,622</td>
<td>£834/5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>700, 2 roods</td>
<td>£793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>£350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>£275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>£315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>£34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>£127.2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1,288, 12 roods</td>
<td>£1,203.55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>2,460</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>17,382 acres; ¾ roods</td>
<td>£6041-17-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The effect was a locking up of the Goulburn township land that Bradley held tightly and kept virtually impenetrable by would-be speculators until after his death in 1868. The Bradley family accumulated some 23,000 acres in and around Goulburn, with the land netting them an income and lifestyle that insulated them from the effects of a depressed economy and allowed for diversification.\(^{141}\)

Throughout the colony, Bradley maintained other landed interests. In Mittagong he purchased two portions of one hundred acres each. One of these portions bordered the land of the later Fitz Roy Iron Works Company, with the other portion situated on the Great Southern Road, near Cutter’s Inn. Bradley’s neighbour was Captain Charles Sturt, who resided at Cutter’s Kangaroo Inn. He sold this grant, received in 1835, for £120 in 1843.\(^{142}\) He capitalised significantly on this

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\(^{141}\) In addition to the land secured by William, Jonas purchased or was granted 4,056 acres, paying £268 for his land between 1831 and 1838. This land bordered his son’s land and was used for common purposes. Thomas Bradley also purchased or was granted 1,956 acres, paying £240 for his land between 1831 and 1835. His smaller land holdings complemented those of his father and brother and upon Thomas’ death in 1835, Jonas, who later bequeathed this land to William Bradley, inherited Thomas’ land. See for Jonas Bradley’s land: NSW LPI Serials: Serial 27, pp.198–199; Serial 33, p.77; Serial 67, pp.135–140. For Thomas Bradley’s land, see NSW LPI References: Book 27, pp.200–201; Serial 32, p.12, Serial 33, p.78.

\(^{142}\) NSW LPI Serial 42, p.6, Grant to William Bradley, 11 July 1835, 100 acres; NSW LPI Book 8, No.652, Conveyance from William and Emily Bradley to Edward Charker, 9 February 1843, 100 acres, £120.
land grant. He used it as a holding paddock for his livestock en-route to the Sydney markets. Bradley maintained the portion on the southern side of the township of Mittagong until 1864 as a holding paddock. Both blocks were in the heart of a settled rich grazing area. Bradley had obtained this land in 1834 through a grant by purchase for £40 and sold the block for £350 in 1864 to Messrs. Griffin and Cripps of Sydney who later erected an inn on the site. Bradley made a profit of £290. He demonstrated his strategic capacity with the direction of his land acquisition, ensuring purchased portions allowed him access to holding paddocks to rest his cattle and sheep. It was another example of Bradley's accumulation by using the opportunities afforded him.

The effect William Bradley had on Goulburn during the 1830s to the mid 1850s indicates a growing largesse he capitalised on at various stages of his life. The effects of developing a public profile, being aligned with the Australian Patriotic Association, the Southern Association, and engaging in public works gave him a voice and status that were long lasting and did much to cement his reputation in the County of Argyle and in the colony. Engaging with the railway question enabled Bradley to demonstrate his commitment to scientific progress in this part of the British world. He effectively positioned himself for a public career and at the same time, gathered and accumulated power and wealth, which was advantageous to both him and the Goulburn community. This industriousness and energy continued as Bradley sought election to the New South Wales Legislative Council.

143 NSW LPI Serial 32, p.51, Grant by purchase, 24 May 1834, 100 acres, £40 (Primary Application PA 3020 refers) and NSW LPI Book 87, No.976, Conveyance from William Bradley to W Griffin and T Cripps, 22 April 1864, 100 acres, £350.

144 This was a 725 per cent increase.
IMAGININGS...

Bradley sat in his armchair in his saloon in Auburn Street, Goulburn, having just received a delegation of men welcoming him back to the colony after his journey to England and the continent. It was good to see his old friends William Pitt Faithfull and William Adams Brodribb, Nicholas Charles Phillips and Andrew Turnbull. He had missed so much about Goulburn. It was so different he thought, to the hustle and bustle of London, with all its quirks and differences in living and style. Bradley particularly enjoyed the fresh air after the smog of London and the pollution of the streets. He showed his friends lithographs of the Stephenson 'Rocket', which he saw in action, and told them of the exhilarating conversations with men who wanted to see the railway dominate the landscape of England and Australia. He thought they were pleased to see him, Faithfull in particular, as it meant they could resume their political agitation for improvements to the County's roads and infrastructure.

Bradley caught up on some of the news of his mills and brewery and saw some of the new developments in the town. Notably, another brewery had just folded and a new steam mill opened by James Sinclair Coulburn. Goulburn, Bradley thought, had a distinct mark of progress about it. The Church he'd fought long and hard to have constructed opened while he was away, and he looked forward to attending the next Sunday. Phillips told him about Governor Fitz Roy's visit to Lansdowne Park and the mills and brewery. The complex impressed Fitz Roy. There was much to discuss about the land he purchased, the sheep, and the production of the mill and brewery.

He wanted to take a trip the next day in his buggy out to St Saviour's Cemetery and place some flowers for his children, father and brother. His three daughters were all excited to be back in Goulburn, even if only temporarily, as they saw their old friends. It was good to be back to see how much his two youngest girls had developed since he had been away. Bradley wrote to the Salting family about his wife's death and Minna and Alice were gently told about their mother, however, Alice could not remember either her father or her mother. It was going to take some time, he thought, to rebuild the relationship with his two youngest daughters, as they had been in the care of others for some time. He promised them on their reunion in Sydney that next time he would take them home. They liked the clothes and presents he brought them back from London and Italy. The other girls told them about the theatre, particularly seeing I Due Foscari, by Verdi, the opera about their mother's family, for the first time in Covent Garden, and the clothes and life in London, but their young heads could only take so much. It was almost as if the family were meeting for the first time, as the distance of time was so great. Kate took little Alice in under her wing and Emily looked after Minna. Esther was flitting between Alice and Minna, tying ribbons in their hair, making them laugh and telling them funny stories of the sights of their travels. It was hard, Bradley mused, that the two youngest would not know their mother.
A knock at his door broke his reverie and in walked the old sea-dog, Captain Hovell. His whiskers were longer than ever and his youthful outlook belied his real age. Hovell was beaming from ear to ear on seeing his son-in-law. He started talking at a great pace, firing questions and observations at Bradley without drawing breath. It was good to see Hovell, Bradley thought, as they shook hands and toasted their beloved Emily. The supper arrived and Hovell and Bradley dined on Goulburn lamb and ale from the brewery. Hovell and Bradley planned their trip to the Monaro for the following week so that Bradley could see the improvements to his station.

It was good to be back on home soil, thought Bradley, as he reacquainted himself with his home and the land that gave him life. He felt alone without Emily beside him, a co-conspirator in all he did. As he went to say goodnight to his daughters with their grandfather, the light of the full moon illuminated the night sky through the window. He watched as it cast its light over the Lansdowne Hill and he saw it reflecting off the brewery roof. Bradley was pleased to be home amongst his friends and with his family.
My ongoing dialogue with William Bradley has been one-sided. I asked the questions and answered them with the evidence on the public record. I wondered what he thought about certain issues and people, and the challenges he faced, but I will never really know the answers to these intriguing questions. I am also curious about his motivations and why he chose to do some of the things he did from an inner perspective, rather than from an economic or rational scientific perspective.

As I have acknowledged in the introduction to this thesis, the challenge with Bradley, one which often confronts biographers, is the largely absent personal papers that provide glimpses of his thoughts and opinions, and the reasons for undertaking certain courses of action. It may have made my journey into his world easier if such papers had given me a picture of his inner world, but would my footsteps into his life have been any better? I suspect my boots would not be as muddy in my pursuit of him. Perhaps I would not have seen the connections between one world and another as clearly. Moreover, I have learned about the public man by his deeds rather than his words.

Early in my research at the National Library one day, I discovered a newspaper article describing Election Day in Goulburn in 1843. As I read the article, I could hear the voices of men who gave me a glimpse into the private world of Bradley. My footsteps on this day were merely as an interested observer, watching as the day’s events unfolded before my eyes. This article was Bradley’s longest speech, and I could hear the power and awe in the voices of his contemporaries, men like Faithfull and Murphy, and many others. My footsteps may not have been literal, but I walked with Bradley as he made his way to the Court House and through the streets of Goulburn to greet his electors.

It was also important to me to undertake literary footsteps through the public records and speeches of Bradley in order to gain a sense of the man and his personality. He was not completely silent; I heard him particularly in the Legislative Council, the House of Lords and through the Sydney Morning Herald. Even with the distance of almost one hundred and seventy years, his voice is audible and his intentions clear.

In the built heritage of his Sydney harbour front mansion, Lindesay, I heard Bradley’s voice as a man who had gained the prestige and respectability that he desired. On my first visit to Lindesay, its simplicity; its cedar doors, wide and welcoming; its graceful colonnades and cool, deep interior that enveloped me one hot summer’s day as I crossed the threshold, struck me. Its elegance gave me a sense of Bradley walking these corridors, watching ships sail up and down the harbour and from the top floor, he
could look out to Bradley’s Head, not named for his family, but perhaps he felt there was a contribution he made to New South Wales that would be worthy of a landmark to him. While Bradley’s voice was inaudible to me, I witnessed the intention of his money and his ambition. I hoped as I walked amongst the elegance of his mansion that my physical and literary footsteps into his world have given Bradley a public voice in the twenty-first century.
CHAPTER 4

BRADLEY AND
THE PEOPLE OF ARGYLE
Figure 4.1
Based on 'Wentworth and Bland / Australia's hope and Sydney's pride', embroidered election banner, 1843-1849, online at the State Library of New South Wales
It is acknowledged that this photo has been modified from the original.
Goulburn on the 13 June, 1843. It was a remarkably fine morning after the sun hit the frost. The Goulburn wind persisted for some time, whistling up Auburn Street, cutting through the heavy cloaks and tipping off the silk top hats of the men gathering for the important, inaugural occasion of electing the first man to represent the County of Argyle in the New South Wales Legislative Council. The slab Court House was ready for the inauguration and even at this early hour, the town presented an animated appearance. People gathered in groups, preparing themselves for a day of feasting and celebrating; their elected member would represent their voices in Sydney.

William Bradley woke early, feeling nervous and excited at the same time. It was a big day, and he had worked hard to ensure it would all come to pass. He selected a new shirt and brushed his silk hat. His six young children were all up and about, dressing in their finest Sunday outfits; his wife, Emily, was helping their youngest, Louisa, who was unhappy with her hair ribbons. Everything seemed different today. Even the sun was brighter. His father-in-law presented himself at ten o'clock and toasted Bradley’s success over morning tea. They toasted Jonas Bradley too. He would have been proud of his son, mused Hovell, and the words moved Bradley; he wished his father had lived to see this momentous day.

At eleven o’clock, a resounding knock at the front door of Bradley’s townhouse signalled the beginning of the day’s events. A numerous party of the most influential electors in Goulburn besieged his house. Bradley greeted them and allowed them to lead him to the hustings with his family following him; after all, this, was men’s business. Among the electors were Thomas Brodie, Hovell, James Sinclair, James Chisholm, F. Macarthur, Dr. Murphy, Captain Gore, Edward Kitson, and Drs. Murphy and Cartwright. The tone of the whole affair was jubilant.
As Bradley walked down Auburn Street, great cheers erupted from the large crowd. He smiled as he waved and shook hands with electors and supporters along the way. Of course, not all men could vote, but despite this, so many of his employees in particular had chosen to come and support him. They walked past the Salutation Inn with its front window displaying the emblems of the Colony and on either side, flags flew in the wind proclaiming 'Bradley and the People of Argyle.' His daughters Kate and Emily ran up and pointed these out to him excitedly. The cheering and clapping followed them to the Court House.

At the steps of the Court House, Bradley turned and looked from the hustings at the township’s remarkable growth from the simple bark hut on the Goulburn Plains that had greeted him some twenty years ago. He had witnessed the transformation of Goulburn. Indeed, he could lay claim to much of the credit for it.

His good friend William Faithfull read the precept for the election and called upon the electors to nominate a person to represent them in the Legislative Council. Dr. Murphy stood to propose William Bradley of Lansdowne Park, 'a genuine Australian – one who has raised himself to the highest pinnacle of colonial prosperity' as the County’s representative. Captain Gore seconded the motion. Bradley stood up amidst loud cheers and addressed his electors.

Bradley told the electors they could depend on him in the Council, and his one wish was to represent them to the best of his ability in its deliberations. He thanked them for the great trust they placed in him and, his voice brimmed with pride as he promised to live up to their expectations. Loud cheering ensued. The electors looked up at Bradley on the dais and saw a leader of a settlement that had known times of extreme hardship. Perhaps for some, he offered hope in a world where opportunities were often cruelly taken away.

There being no other candidates, Faithfull declared William Bradley returned as the elected member for the County of Argyle. Bradley stood to thank the gentlemen electors again. As he spoke, his thoughts were filled with possibilities for the future now that his economic wealth had given him formal access to the government of the colony. Prosperity and power, he knew, were important signals of respectability. Under the clear sky the possibilities seemed boundless.

\[1\] Sydney Morning Herald, 19.6.1843.
In June 1843, William Bradley accepted nomination and was elected unopposed in the colony's first election for representation of the County of Argyie in the NSW Legislative Council. This was a defining moment in Bradley's colonial career, and something he had laid the groundwork for since his arrival in Goulburn in 1822. In September 1841, a census of the colony revealed that the proportion of colonial born, free settlers and emancipists was on the increase within the County of Argyie. Of the 3,097 males and females registered in Argyie, 19 per cent were born in the colony, a further 32 per cent were free settlers, and 19 per cent were emancipists. Bradley identified with this community. He chose to stake his claim to respectability by being recognised as synonymous with its progress and development.

This chapter will examine the development of Bradley's public voice and assess his actions during the early 1830s. These actions cemented him as a forerunner for the 1843 general election. This chapter will reflect on Bradley's parliamentary career and his achievements in representing his constituency. His membership of the Legislative Council allowed him to become a respected member of society. During this period, Bradley consolidated his work at Goulburn and began his Monaro squatting career in earnest. It is evident that from the mid 1830s, Bradley undertook activities that placed him at the centre of colonial development. He had devised an independent approach to decisions. It was a time for Bradley to consolidate all he had learnt at Windsor and Goulburn and apply it to the public arena.

Bradley opened the 1830s with advocacy with his father-in-law, Hovell, for the development of a more direct main road to the County of Argyie, so that its inhabitants could enjoy better communication with Sydney and cheaper transportation of stock to the Sydney markets. There was a dual purpose to this plan: Bradley carted wool to Sydney and needed an improved road. In 1836, a wet winter resulted in the suspension of communication between Sydney and Goulburn and some 150 drays became bogged up to their axles on the Great Southern Road.

As noted in Chapter Three, in 1836, Bradley joined Wentworth in the Australian Patriotic Association (APA), thereby identifying himself with Wentworth's camp of free inhabitants. Bradley was a champion of the emancipist cause, but was also motivated out of self-interest. He rejected the James Macarthur led camp of 'exclusives', which petitioned the Colonial Office to prohibit ex-convicts from taking part in the legislative and judicial processes upon emancipation. Ideologically opposed to transportation on humanitarian grounds and because of his involvement with the Anglican Church push to end transportation, later evidence suggests that on a commercial basis, Bradley supported the reintroduction of transportation. It was a

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2 Compiled from census data recorded in the Sydney Morning Herald, 7.9.841, p.4.
5 The exclusives comprised men including Members of the Council, Magistrates, Clergy, Merchants, Landholders and other free inhabitants. See HRA, Series 1, vol. 18, Bourke to Glenelg, 13 April 1836, petition from the 'exclusives', pp.392-399.
Strange duality, indicating Bradley's confusion about rejecting convictism and its industry and concurrently rejecting his heritage. Bradley, like others of his native-born generation, rejected convictism with an 'instinctive and commendable revulsion'. They also rejected poor parental examples and vice. However, as noted earlier, Bradley did not need to reject his parents' example, in particular that of his father, who worked consistently to develop a good reputation. He threw off the 'evil influences of a penal environment' and championed the causes of the less fortunate. This was not to say that Bradley did not use the convict system to his advantage, but he retained many of his convicts as paid employees after they completed their servitude, which indicates that he successfully managed people and resources.

The APA rejected Macarthur's petition based on their belief that such an act would 'divide the Colonists into castes, thereby sowing the seeds of present animosities, hereditary feuds, and perpetual dissentions'. They presented a counter-petition of some six thousand free inhabitants in contrast to Macarthur's signatory of 427. Bradley's native-born status made him less an 'exclusive' than a liberal. His politics, in the style of Macquarie, who indulged his family with land grants, encouraged emancipated convicts to take their share of the country that he called home; allowing people to redeem themselves and make new lives in the colony. It was this political persuasion and his honest, sober, industrious, and law-abiding nature that propelled Bradley forward into colonial and local politics.

In 1838, Bradley responded to a circular letter from the Select Committee on Immigration, addressed to gentlemen residing too far away from Sydney. His response reveals that he could assess the effects of labour shortages in the county and the impact these shortages would have on Goulburn's future development. He advised the committee that he employed fifty free and ticket-of-leave servants, and would be happy for another fifteen. Bradley noted that shepherds and agricultural labourers were in high demand in the region, with wages set at about twenty-five pounds per year, including rations.

Bradley advised that some 710 persons were required for the multitude of work available from the settlers, townspeople, and squatters within the county. Single persons were preferred.
with young skilled women required to raise the moral and social tone of the society. Bradley pre-empted the colony’s 1843 financial crisis with his comments that he would not wish to see the English authorities ‘mortgage the future land sales of the Colony, for the purpose of supplying our present want of labour’.\textsuperscript{13} Prophetic perhaps, as by 1843 colonial agents and banks provided credit to potential free settlers to settle in the interior of the colony, causing massive financial difficulties for the colony.\textsuperscript{14} Immigration issues sustained Bradley’s interest for many years while he served in the public arena. He commented robustly on the ‘useless people’\textsuperscript{15} being sent out, with little or no agricultural or labouring skills and the impact of the lack of skills on communities requiring specific skills. This circular letter cemented Bradley’s position as a man concerned with local issues and progress. It was the beginning of his political career. He had some decisions to make, however, about his politics and the alignment of his views. His decisions are reflected in his 1842 agitation for representative government in the colony.

By 1842, Bradley demonstrated his developing political nous. He established a growing network of colleagues who agitated for similar rights as they enjoyed for emancipists, and independent colonial rule. Bradley established his strategy of developing a reputation in Goulburn spanning a number of diverse areas by the early 1840s. The combination of his brewery and mill operations, his roles as manager and squatter, his involvement in the establishment of the Church and his role, with his wife, Emily, in the cultural life of Goulburn, all contributed to his growing reputation in both Goulburn and Sydney. This establishment phase was important for Bradley in developing his political voice. Despite his residence ‘down-country’, he threw his weight and reputation behind the Sydney based campaign for representative government in the colony. He signed the petition calling for a public meeting in Sydney on 16 February 1842 for the purpose of ‘considering and adopting petitions to the Queen and both Houses of Parliament praying for those representative institutions this colony is now entitled to’.\textsuperscript{16}

His contemporaries, Charles Nicholson, Robert Campbell, Thomas Icely, and Stewart Ryrie also signed the petition. From the outset, Bradley involved himself in the debate about representative government in the colony. He aligned himself with the emerging squattocracy, comprising men willing to pay for the privilege of leasing land under a licence system that allowed them to graze their stock legally. Prior to this, rich squatters, including Bradley himself, settled beyond the government imposed Limits of Location with livestock managed by trusted

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} The result of this action was that the colony was plunged into ‘monetary confusion’. A select committee was established to investigate the causes of the fiscal downturn. See NSW Votes and Proceedings, 1843 and the British Parliamentary Papers, Colonies, Australia, Vol 7, 1842-1844 for the evidence of William Bradley, S K Salting and others. For a discussion about monetary confusion see also Clark, M. (A History of Australia), op. cit, vol. 3, in particular, pp.293-297.
\textsuperscript{15} NSW V & P L C, op. cit, p.123.
\textsuperscript{16} Sydney Morning Herald, 8.2.1842, p.3, col.5.
and reliable employees, often of the convict class. While there are critics of the squatting class, the advent of the squatter allowed for the discovery of land beyond the Limits of Location, enough for Governor Sir George Gipps to describe them as 'the Pioneers of Civilization'; although he later sought to thwart their influence through his anti-squatting legislation.

Wentworth later reflected that without the squatters, the colony would have 'dwindled into insignificance' with the colony potentially being 'unfamed and disregarded by European nations'. As a result of the agitation and petition, the Colonial Office in London began work on an Imperial Act for the Government of New South Wales and Tasmania, allowing for the appointment of twenty-four elected members from amongst the inhabitants and twelve appointed by Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. The Act was passed on 30 July 1842. Within four months, the colony's first election campaigns began and prospective candidates earnestly commenced their campaigns throughout the colony. Bradley also started an election campaign.

In the remoteness of the County of Argyle, rumours abounded about who would stand for the seat. In December 1842, it was widely anticipated that Bradley, the 'much-esteemed townsman' would stand for election. The local correspondent for the Sydney Morning Herald reflected that as a magistrate, but not an 'exclusive,' Bradley added 'dignity to the Bench; and as a gentleman, his character both public and private, has secured for him the respect of a large proportion of the constituency.' It would have come as no surprise to the Goulburn constituency when in January 1843, Bradley confirmed that he would stand as a representative for the County of Argyle. At the same time, his business partner and friend, William Shelley stood in competition to him. The Sydney Morning Herald correspondent described them as 'both honourable men, men of sterling worth, good understanding, untainted characters, and have done much for the prosperity of the county and are both sons of Australia.' The reporter

17 For more on the Limits of Location see Roberts, SH: (The Squatting Age), op. cit, and History of Australian Land Settlement) op. cit.
18 HRA, Series 1, vol 20, Gipps to Russell, 26 September 1840, p.839. For discussion about the origins of squatting, the land laws and the actions undertaken by Gipps see Roberts, SH: (The Squatting Age), op. cit.
19 The debate between Gipps and the de-facto 'leader of the opposition' in the NSW Legislative Assembly, W C Wentworth about squatting are well documented by others. See Roberts, SH: (The Squatting Age), op. cit, and Tink, A: op. cit.
20 Sydney Morning Herald, 16.9.1851, p.4, col.7.
21 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
lauded both men ‘able and willing to contend for the best interests of the community’. While their respective friends canvassed for them there was, according to the correspondent, no real contest between Bradley and Shelley as it was ‘generally expected that Mr Bradley will be the successful candidate.” Commencing a political career was a public acknowledgement of the respectability he desired and a rite of passage for Bradley. It further consolidated his growing reputation as a gentleman.

In the middle of January 1843, Shelley withdrew from the contest in favour of his friend. A rumour circulated around Goulburn indicating that Major Edmund Lockyer may also contest the seat, but there was no firm notification of his intention to stand. Bradley was, therefore, expected to be elected unopposed. Lockyer, however, decided to stand and he took out advertisements in the papers, appearing as a contestant for the County of Argyle. The advertising war between all candidates across New South Wales was in full swing by mid-January 1843 and the papers carried letters, advertisements, and comments enticing voters to elect them as their preferred choice when they went to the polls. Bradley’s simple advertisement reflected his generally self-effacing attitude and he promoted his appeal as a local, Australian born, with interests in the area. An extract from his text reads:

I am induced to come forward to solicit your suffrages at the approaching Election, on the grounds – of my whole life having been passed in the Colony, and the best part it among you in this county. From my knowledge of past events I must have gained some experience, and be able to form a tolerable accurate judgment of any measures which may be brought forward affecting the interests of the Colony.

Lockyer’s election campaign ended with his withdrawal from the contest by 26 May 1843. This did not preclude him from pursuing his political interests by taking a role in a future Legislative Council in 1852 as the sergeant-at-arms, and in 1856 as the usher of the black rod. On the day of nomination, William Bradley stood as the sole candidate for the County of Argyle.

The lack of competition can be attributed to two significant reasons. Both Shelley and Lockyer lacked the power and wealth that Bradley wielded in the town of Goulburn. Again, his perceived accumulation of power and wealth gave him success in this venture as a by-product of his previous engagement with the constituency through his benevolent work and his wide patronage. Bradley’s greatest strength was his visibility in the town. He made endowments to various people and organisations; he had agitated for an elected assembly since 1842 and

26 Ibid.
28 Sydney Morning Herald, 15.2.1843, p.1, col.6.
29 Sydney Morning Herald, 26.5.1843, p.2, col.5.
30 For more on Edward Lockyer see Lockyer, Edmund (1784–1860), ADB, vol. 2, pp.123–124. There was no specific author for Lockyer’s entry in the ADB.
was heavily involved in the Church of England’s establishment in Goulburn. He was a member of the Southern Association, which gave him the support of the gentleman electors. Bradley was wealthy, having recently inherited ten thousand pounds and land from his father’s estate, with his own demonstrated capacity to generate wealth. In his favour to the electors of Argyle, his native-born status and alignment with the causes of the emancipists and not the exclusives assisted his cause. While Shelley was Bradley’s partner and friend, it is not clear why Shelley decided to stand against Bradley and why he chose to withdraw. Bradley was expected to win and any opposition, from Shelley or Lockyer was not going to change the minds of the franchise. Bradley was developing a public voice that allowed him to take centre stage on the Goulburn Plains and the franchise would have realised to some extent that their fortunes were tied to those of Bradley. Despite Shelley standing, it did not seem to affect his relationship with Bradley. Less than a year later, however, Shelley died in January 1844, with his friend, William Bradley acting as his executor.

Bradley drew on this colonial born status repeatedly as a measure of respectability. Smiles suggests that truthfulness, integrity, and goodness defined a manly character and Bradley demonstrated these values on a consistent basis. His work with convict workers, free labourers and the Church work is evidence that he operated within this respectable, gentlemanly framework. Like other native-born children of convicts, Bradley emerged from his colonial upbringing to be a useful member of society noted for his honesty and industriousness. Bradley conformed to the conservative gentry’s model of behaviour, social interaction, patronage, and political activity that characterised the colony in the early 1840s. This was the accepted norm for people aspiring to, maintaining, and consolidating their respectability. Holding land in New South Wales for generations, and building grand houses and homesteads were all signs that one belonged to the gentry class and by 1843, Bradley fulfilled most of these criteria.

Despite Bradley being the only candidate, Election Day of 13 June 1843 proved a lively day in Goulburn. There being no competition, the Sydney Morning Herald reporter felt it ‘must have been very gratifying [for Bradley] to see so many come to testify their response on this eventful occasion’. As we have seen, his friend, Faithfull, was the returning officer and called upon the constituents to elect a member. Dr Murphy proposed William Bradley as the nominee with Captain Gore seconding the nomination. There was great cheering from the Goulburn electors. Murphy claimed Bradley as a ‘Genuine Australian’ – one who has wrested his subsistence from

31 Supreme Court of NSW, #1318, Series 1. Probate Notice, Inventory of the Estate and Effects of the late Mr. Jonas Bradley who died about 25th October 1841. See also Rubenstein, B: The Top Wealth-Holders in NSW in 1830-1844 in Push from The Bush, Vol. 8, 1980, pp.23-49.
33 See Robinson, P: op. cit., p.6.
34 Roe, M: op. cit, see chapter 2 and 3 in particular.
the waste; one, who, by his own industry, energy and perseverance, has raised himself to the highest pinnacle of colonial prosperity'. Murphy continued that Bradley's 'worth does not so much exist in his vast possessions, as in the genuine benevolence of his heart'. Murphy did much at Bradley's nomination to affirm him as a man of public worth and private virtue, words later used to describe Bradley. Murphy continued:

Never did religion ask in vain, or was indigence turned from his [Bradley's] door with disappointed hope. Industry and trade had been fostered by his liberality and enterprise – virtue and morality cherished by his precept and example. The time had now arrived when the voice of the people was required to select the one who was willing to devote his time for the benefit of the county. Mr. Bradley was the man whom, though there may be others in the Council more skilled in the art and mystery of debate, yet there will be none more honest, independent and unshaken.

Great cheering erupted at these words. Captain Gore took the stand next, and stated that Bradley was so 'well appreciated that no other gentleman would contest the county with him'. It is perhaps little wonder that Lockyer and Shelley withdrew. Bradley's acceptance of his nomination revealed a humble man who maintained his political equanimity.

In his acceptance speech, Bradley spoke of a clean campaign, his one desire of representing his voters in the Legislative Council, his gratitude for their trust in him and of the depression and the debt the colony currently faced. He spoke of his pride in the reception he enjoyed that day and his gratitude for the nomination. He stated, 'he was afraid he had kept too aloof from them, and this might be construed as a want of courtesy; but whatever might be their views respecting him, had only one desire, and that was to represent them to the best of his ability in the new Legislative Council'. Again, Bradley received great cheers.

It is notable that he spoke of remaining aloof from the inhabitants of Goulburn. As a calculated part of his strategy to keep himself and his family removed from the townspeople, his distance prevented unnecessary gossip from sullying his reputation and bringing him unwittingly into infamy. When he responded to the electors of Goulburn, he hinted at his high opinion of himself when he stated, 'he felt persuaded he possessed the confidence of the constituency of the county'. Surely this made his desire for respectability somewhat more pronounced. This statement also afforded great applause.

At least two reporters, one representing the Sydney Morning Herald and the other from the Colonial Observer, covered Election Day in Goulburn. Both give an interesting perspective of the day, particularly the mix of people. They reflected that Bradley did not partake in the festivities with the common people, but associated himself, as the Colonial Observer noted,
with the 'elite of the electors'. This followed a traditional pattern of aristocratic behaviour at elections. Well might Bradley reject the old world electioneering tactics of treaty, but he was happy to play the squire. A luncheon at the Salutation Inn for his friends, with toasts all around and with bunting flying proclaiming 'Bradley and the People of Argyle' ended the morning's events. The townscape appeared reminiscent of a 'popular English election on a small scale' wrote the Sydney Morning Herald's reporter. The marketplace became a hive of activity for the local populace, who enjoyed a roast bullock donated by Thomas Brodie, bread from Duncan Mackellar and two hogsheads of ale from Bradley. All were invited and the 'natives being forewarned of it, mustered in good numbers' around the spit-roast. Bradley and his supporters ate lunch separately at the Salutation Inn, after ensuring arrangements were in place for the 'entertainment for the humbler classes of inhabitants'.

Neither Goulburn nor any other part of the colony had ever seen anything quite so interesting as Election Day in Goulburn, wrote the Herald's reporter. The evening's festivities of an 'elegant and sumptuous dinner' at Bradley's homestead were covered by both reporters. The Sydney Morning Herald described the group as 'a very respectable party of gentlemen', while the Colonial Observer described them as the 'elite of the electors'. The thirty gentlemen gathered at Lansdowne Park, and William Bradley with 'his usual urbanity and hospitality' entertained them in thanks for their support of his first and only political campaign.

Bradley's election to the Legislative Council is evidence that colonial politics rewarded the sons of the native-born. In the native-born elected, the electorate could bypass men deemed as 'transient money-seekers' and vote for the sons of the soil, who were described as 'sprig[s] of the true Iron Bark'. Bradley used this perceived power of his native-born status to gain election. There was now a great divide between Bradley, his Windsor heritage, his convict mother's heritage and his father's military career. His acknowledgment of being colonial-born advanced him. There must have been many in New South Wales who were willing to let sleeping dogs lie. His convict mother and military establishment father, and his farmer brother Thomas, were all dead. His election to the Council would afford his numerous daughters

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38 Sydney Morning Herald, 19.6.1843, pp.2–3, cols.1–6.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid. The reference here is unclear as to whether they meant Aboriginal people or the town's people.
42 Sydney Morning Herald, 19.6.1843, pp.2–3, cols.1–6.
43 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Roe, M. op. cit., p.81.
47 Ibid.
favourable marriage prospects. He undoubtedly thought it fitting on nomination day that he received the *elite* of Goulburn in his home and maintained the distance between himself and the *humbler classes* of Goulburn. The social order in the County of Argyle was confirmed, consolidated and maintained on this wintry June day in 1843.

The political career of Bradley, the 'upright and independent man' of Argyle began, and for many years, his parliamentary career formed a significant part of his life. While it was reported that he was 'not remarkable for any shining ability', Bradley's subsequent actions negate this interpretation and he worked hard to respond to this description of his intellectual capacity. Certainly, Bradley faced multiple pressures. Concurrently, he oversaw (with Shelley) his brewery, his landed interests in Goulburn and on the Monaro, as well as being the head of a large family, which increased regularly. His wife, Emily, also suffered from recurrent health problems, no doubt exacerbated by the multiple births and infant mortality that often characterised a woman's fortune in nineteenth century New South Wales. Bradley remained conscious of the need to constantly develop, maintain, and consolidate holdings to maximise financial outcomes and provide for his family.

In the depressed 1840s, Bradley emerged as a significant squatter. He funded his own political campaign and he stood with his contemporaries in the Legislative Council against those who wished to limit the power of the squatters. Colonial born, Bradley does not appear to be a political heavyweight in the first Council, although he certainly made significant contributions in terms of his membership of select committees. He described his own political leaning as wanting to support the Government and 'when compelled to vote against it, it was always with regret'. Bradley stated that he 'never gave a vote under the influence of party feeling, but simply on the merits of the question under discussion'. While Bradley himself acknowledged his independence, he belonged to the class of men who formed the colonial gentry and sought to exert conservative rule over the Legislative Council. Bradley's membership of the Union Club (an Australian club of which he was a Director), provides evidence of this, with the club comprising 'all the aristocracy of the country'. Bradley's active participation in setting the standard of gentry in Goulburn included him chairing meetings and welcoming people (such as Reverend Broughton) to Goulburn, and he was involved in the church and health affairs of the town. This activity, Roe argues, is central to the colonial gentry's expression of their cohesion and leadership and the concept of respectability did much to hold the gentry together.

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50 Ibid.
51 *Sydney Morning Herald Supplement*, 9.6.1846.
52 Ibid.
53 Roe, M; op. cit, p.39, citing Stuart Alexander Donaldson.
54 Ibid, in particular chapter 2.
Given the importance of land in New South Wales, Bradley's first appointment is a good index of his standing among his parliamentary colleagues. In August 1843, Bradley joined the Crown Land Sales Select Committee and when the committee's chair, Charles Cowper, presented the report to the Council, Bradley seconded the motion that they accept it.55 Perhaps the wheeling and backroom dealing that undoubtedly took place in Bradley's affairs focused him on securing his respectability. Sitting on the Council was not the only issue; making contacts and networking were equally important. Table 4.1 details the select committees that William Bradley sat on as a member of the Legislative Council.56 All are important for the picture they provide of Bradley's parliamentary career. He engaged with all the major committees that made changes to legislation and the operation of the colony, and there was also a degree of self-interest involved.

56 NSW Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1852.
TABLE 4.1 WILLIAM BRADLEY'S SELECT COMMITTEES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appointment Date</th>
<th>Committee</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.8.1843</td>
<td>Crown Land Sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.10.1843</td>
<td>Postage Regulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.5.1844</td>
<td>Reply to Governor's Opening Speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.5.1844</td>
<td>Land Grievances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.6.1844</td>
<td>General Grievances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9.1844</td>
<td>Address to the Queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.9.1844</td>
<td>Crown Lands Grievances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.8.1845</td>
<td>Masters and Servants Acts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.8.1845</td>
<td>Slaughtering of Cattle Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.8.1845</td>
<td>Aborigines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.10.1845</td>
<td>Qualification of Patrick Grant, Esq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5.1846</td>
<td>Reply to Governor’s Opening Speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.6.1846</td>
<td>Aborigines</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nevertheless, the evidence is limited when it comes to hearing Bradley’s voice on the floor of the House. When he spoke, it was mostly in support of issues affecting his constituents or himself. He presented a petition requesting funds to defray the expense of a police magistrate at Goulburn, and another from his constituents protesting against the Irish system of education.\(^57\) When presenting the latter, he advised that he did not support the petition.\(^58\) It suited Bradley’s interests to have an educated constituency to support his ventures. His most vehement attack on the Council came when he stood to raise the issue of the broken-down bridges on the road from Sydney to Goulburn. He wanted £1,000 expended on the upgrade of this road. Terence A. Murray proposed an amendment, (seconded by Bradley), later withdrawn, to have £1,000 allocated to the road from Goulburn to Melbourne. It was withdrawn in favour of Richard Windeyer’s proposal that an annual sum of £5000 be expended on the upkeep of the roads. Bradley spoke out against expenditure by the Government on Port Phillip when inland towns such as Goulburn subsidised Port Phillip’s existence but themselves saw no improvement in infrastructure or services.\(^59\)

\(^57\) Sydney Morning Herald, 14.8.1844, p.2, cols.2–4; session of Tuesday 15 August, 1844; Sydney Morning Herald, 4.10.1844, p.2, cols.2–7; session of Tuesday 3 October, 1844; see also Maitland Mercury, 17.8.1844, p.2, cols.2–3; and Maitland Mercury, 12.10.1844, p.2, cols.2–3.

\(^58\) Sydney Morning Herald, 4.10.1844, p.2, cols.2–7; session of Tuesday 3 October 1844. See also Maitland Mercury, 12.10.1844, p.2, cols.2–3.

\(^59\) Sydney Morning Herald, 6.9.1844, p.2, cols.1–7, session on the 6 September 1844 (note this may have been an editor’s error as the paper printed the preceding day’s activities, making it the 5 September 1844).
Chapter Four: Bradley and the People of Argyle

The primacy of local politics would come to characterise politics in New South Wales, delaying the formation of political parties or leading to widespread horse trading; cronyism or pork-barrelling.60

Bradley's voting record demonstrates a clear pattern of voting with the majority of the Council members.61 He voted regularly with Wentworth, Nicholson, Bland, Lang, and Cowper and for a country gentleman, attended the House regularly, perhaps to keep up with the colonial ambitions of his peers. His greatest contribution to the Council was his involvement on select committees and his evidence before these committees. His participation on the Crown Lands Grievances Committee and his questioning of his contemporaries illuminates a man operating in two spheres: the political sphere, where he desired respect, and the squatting sphere, where he was a man who wanted to protect the system that served him well with his own procurement of land. Bradley witnessed the effects additional settlers had on the colony, providing greater competition for government land and labour, and affecting the composition of the colonial gentry. By seeking a seat on the Crown Lands Grievances Committee, Bradley sought to influence the system of indulgences and land grants so that he would not be disadvantaged and the colonial elite could maintain their position.

On this committee in 1844, Bradley spent considerable time and energy interviewing his fellow prominent squatters and landholders in the colony. Bradley's questions were probing, but at the same time, he gained an understanding of how other large landowners managed and used their land. He gained valuable insights into the state of the colony's water resources, the locations where soil and pasture conditions were a problem, and the places where frontier clashes occurred between Indigenous Australians and the settlers. He came to understand the extent of bushranging across the colony and gained a sense of how men become wealthy or lost their fortunes because of their land selections. This information was invaluable for Bradley, as his choices at the time were leading him towards an expansion of his landed enterprises around Goulburn and on the Monaro. This interest in the Crown Lands Grievances Committee suggests that Bradley, like his contemporaries, had a conflict of interest in the workings of the committee. While it would be considered 'insider trading' today, he used the information to his advantage in the late 1840s and early 1850s when he purchased large tracts of land on the Monaro from the infamous Benjamin Boyd.

Although Bradley was not present at Benjamin Boyd's interview on 3 June 1844, he is likely to have read Boyd's transcript with interest. He could not know that ten years later,

60 See on the formation of political parties, Martin, AW: The emergence of political parties in NSW during the 1880's, Australian National University, Canberra 1954; and Loveday, P and Martin, AW: Parliament factions and parties: the first thirty years of responsible government in New South Wales, 1856-1889, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1966

61 There was no Hansard for the Legislative Council and the reports of the Council's activities were reported in the Sydney Morning Herald the following day. Each report is available on the NSW Parliament Website: http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/web/common.nsf/key/pre1991Hansard accessed 9 September 2009.
Chapter Four: Bradley and the People of Argyle

he would replace Boyd on the Monaro. Boyd's evidence demonstrates negativity on his part towards the authorities trying to control and monitor land grants outside and within the Limits of Location. Boyd saw no inducement to expend capital on his land holdings. He told the committee the raising of the minimum price of crown lands to one shilling per acre had:

*The most injurious consequences to the colony, and that the spirit for emigration and desire to invest money in this colony, then existing at home amongst people of capital, were, to a very great degree, checked by the alteration in the price of land.*

To some extent, Bradley was likely to agree with Boyd's assessment, as the cost of land would affect his own land holdings.

Boyd, like others who appeared before the committee, brought ulterior motives to the table. He needed skilled immigrants to work his farms, and given the acknowledged shortage of labourers, he required an alternative labour force. Like Wentworth, he looked to the South Sea Islands, sparking controversy and wide debate. He saw labourers as potential allies in the development of a market economy in New South Wales. Boyd held land in every district except Gippsland. His evidence included stations at Moreton Bay, Clarence River, New England, Liverpool Plains, Bligh, Wellington, Lachlan, Maneroo, Murray and Port Phillip and land holdings within the boundaries of settlements.

These large land tracts invariably held significant economic, personal, and environmental ramifications for Boyd if he had to pay the five shillings per acre proposed. He described the actions of the Council's Executive as destroying every interest in the colony through large expenditure, destruction of the cattle market and unimpeded land speculation, and said the new regulations were 'against the squatting interests' and 'contrary to the spirit of the British constitution'. Boyd's evidence reflected the depressed state of the economy. He had over-extended himself in order to profit from the large tracts of land he occupied, and this was not as successful as he had hoped.

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62 BPP Colonies Australia, Vol 9, 1845-46, Correspondence relative to crown lands and emigration in NSW, the evidence of Benjamin Boyd, 3 June 1844, p.43. For more on Boyd, see HRA, Series 1, Vol 23, Gipps to Stanley, 17 May 1844, p.603.


64 BPP Colonies Australia, op. cit., p.47.

65 Ibid.
Bradley may have reflected on the fact that Boyd had spread himself across the land too thinly, with no real hope for consolidation. As is well documented, this approach failed. In contrast, Bradley's methodical approach to land management and acquisition mitigated risks and allowed for consolidation of the holding. Bradley witnessed grazier after grazier appearing before the committee stating their objections to the crown lands management, regulations, quit-rents, tenure, the lack of police outside the boundaries and either wrongly or rightly, the absolute authority placed in the hands of the Commissioners for Crown Lands. To some derision and possibly jealousy, Bradley's evidence to another committee revealed he returned twice the colony's average profit on every thousand sheep sold.

Thomas Barker's evidence paints a picture of life as a squatter and reflects the fact that many of the men who gave evidence were not real 'squatters' in terms of their living on the land. This image would not suit the majority of squatters who sought respectability amongst their colleagues. Barker stated:

*I think the present system is injurious to the interests of the colony, and most demoralizing, and every man who has traversed the country must think as I do on this subject; a squatter is compelled to live almost without the common necessities of life, in a bark or log hut, afraid to erect such a dwelling as is actually requisite to afford him comfort, and cleanliness and health; he is unable to enjoy the advantages of religious instruction, and if he has children he is unable to procure for them the most common education; indeed it is nothing better than semi-barbarism, and will always be getting worse; there is no man living in such a state but must become more barbarous; he cannot retain the degree of civilization he may have been possessed of.*

This untypical insight into the squatter's life reveals why Bradley may not have thought of himself as a squatter, although historians including Manning Clark and W K Hancock used this label for him. It may not have cemented Bradley's reputation if people associated him as semi-barbaric, or living in conditions that were unfit for a wealthy land owner. Instead, he placed managers on the outposts on the Monaro to avoid debasing himself to the level Barker described, and lived in Sydney or Goulburn. Bradley was a squatter in name only.

With other representatives of 'wealth and intelligence', Bradley gave evidence before the Select Committee on Monetary Confusion in September 1843. In broad terms, monetary

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66 For an assessment of Benjamin Boyd, see Diamond, M. op. cit; Mead, T: Empire of Straw, the dynamic rise and disastrous fall of dashing colonial tycoon Benjamin Boyd, Dolphin Books, Sydney, no date or NLA cataloguing in data, C.2000.
67 BPP Colonies Australia, op. cit., The Evidence of Thomas Barker, 7 June 1844, p.76.
69 Sydney Morning Herald, 10.2.1847, p3, col.1-3.
confusion referred to the lack of a stable monetary system, resulting in the collapse of various colonial banks. In 1843, five banks failed in the colony. The collapse of the Bank of Australia, Derwent Bank, Port Phillip Bank, Sydney Banking Company and the Colonial Bank contributed to the ensuing general depression. In the late 1840s two more banks were liquidated—one was a company that provided banking services and the other was the Royal Bank of Australia. The latter fraudulently funded the expansion of Boyd's pastoral interests. The fraud was exposed in 1846 and the bank liquidated. In addition, Archers, Gilles and Company withdrew from banking services and was bailed out by the Union Bank.

These events, and the general run on the banks by shareholders seeking to recover their funds, forced the closure of some banks. The impact on note holders (being the most common form of monetary circulation in the colonies) and depositors was not as widespread as imagined. Research suggests that most customers recouped their investments and lost almost no money, with the exception of the shareholders of the Royal Bank of Australia. Despite the closure of banks, scant government intervention occurred and the government could do little to stem the recouping of depositors' funds and closing the banks. Bradley, with his diversified management techniques, remained relatively immune from the effects of the monetary depression.

Established to ascertain reasons why the banks collapsed, the Monetary Confusion Committee examined the factors influencing their collapse and sought to provide recommendations for either support or closure. Two influencing factors originated in the late 1830s: the rush on land grants and a severe drought that resulted in the importation of wheat. This contributed to the removal of liquidity from the colonies. Moreover, the British financial crisis of 1839 meant the formerly robust investment in colonial products waned and the expansion of the Australian pastoral industry, land settlement, capital investment and clustering of goods and services to support industry during the 1830s, fell into serious depression. While the 1840s heralded a new era for the colony living off the profits of sheep and wool, the combination of a dwindling wool export market, and speculation in land and stock diminishing the Home Government reduced the money sent to the colonies to support the convict population, police and military services. The perception of Scottish journalists in the late 1830s articulated an attitude towards New South Wales, that it 'is pretty obvious ... that New South Wales is not destined to make much progress, except as a pastoral country'. The Monetary Confusion Committee established itself as the land mania collapsed and notes were limited within the colony. Bradley appeared before the committee on 21 September 1843.

For more on this see NSW V&P, 1843 and the British Parliamentary Papers, Colonies, Australia, Vol 7, 1842-1844 for the evidence of William Bradley, S K Salting and others. For a discussion about monetary confusion see also Clark, M: vol. 3, op. cit, in particular, pp.293-297. For Boyd's role in this see also: Diamond, M: op. cit.


Ibid. See also The Times, 6.7.1839, p.7, col.2.

Caledonian Mercury (Scotland), 12.9.1836, Issue 1-1.
Reliant on the wool trade for survival like many of his contemporaries, Bradley squarely blamed the colony's financial distress on the 'discontinuance of transportation … the speculation and extravagance which prevailed [and] the falling off in the value of our exports, particularly of wool.' In this context, Bradley is supportive of transportation as a means of ensuring a steady labour force; however, it being politically expedient, he later supported the introduction of large immigration schemes over transportation as the inaugural President of the Local Committee of Caroline Chisholm's Family Colonization Loan Society.

However, Bradley's main irritation in 1843 came from the numbers of unskilled emigrants that arrived in the colony. He blamed the banks for the failure of the economy, and especially their provision of the 'vast amount of credit' to speculators. Bradley believed the numbers of colonists arriving exacerbated the colony's problems. Further, the banks, by lending money to the colonists in order to purchase land in the colony, compounded the problem. This belief is consistent with his 1838 responses to the Circular Letter on Immigration.

Bradley's argument before the committee is in contrast with his future support for increased immigration in the late 1840s and 1850s in order to address the labour shortage caused by the lessening numbers of convicts within the colony. Moreover, he felt that the pressure of debt rendered colonists less likely to engage in speculation, and believed persons with significant capital to invest were more cautious and unwilling to do so in order to kick-start the economy. Bradley commented further on the over-supply of colonial products being sold within the colony, and their similarity, which caused the value of people's enterprises to diminish. He also commented on his desire to see transportation reinstated from a commercial point of view and as a cheap labour source. It seems that on this occasion, Bradley's views were out-of-sync with the Anglican Church's stated (but sometimes changeable) position against transportation as a societal divider.

Within Bradley's three pages of evidence, the most controversial part, and that for which he is remembered in later issues of the Sydney Morning Herald, was the claim that he was making a profit from his sheep establishments. Bradley revealed that his net profit on every thousand sheep sold was 'more than one hundred pounds', which was twice the average for the colony. He

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74 Bradley for example, was supportive in his 1843 evidence and 1847 evidence to the House of Lords on behalf of Caroline Chisholm, of the need for skilled labourers and immigrants to immigrate to the colony. Bradley believed that families were more desirable. Bradley and his family benefited from transportation, yet as his needs for skilled labour changed, so did his attitude towards transportation. See NSW V&P, 21.9.1843, The Evidence of William Bradley, p.635–637; NSW V&P, Vol. 2, 1852, Paper presented on the Family Colonization Loan Society.


76 Ibid.

77 For more on this see, Roe, M., op. cit, Chapter 1 in particular.

78 In his evidence, Bradley suggested that the average profit on every thousand sheep in the colony 'scarcely amounts to £50'. See Sydney Morning Herald, 21.5.1844, p.2; col.1 & p.3, cols.1–2; 23.5.1844, p.2.
attributed this profit to his 'mode of management'. Bradley described how the Sydney crowd purchased land and stock but could not support their speculations, having appointed managers who 'do not understand them [speculations] much better than the owners do themselves.' It seems that Pitt Street farmers existed since the establishment of the colony.

Bradley further attributed the 'success of my establishment to my long experience and attention to it.' His description of mismanagement and absentee landowners as a key factor in the deficiency in speculators' net profits is interesting, as he himself maintained managers, superintendents, and labourers up and down the country on his establishments, although he did maintain weekly contact with his managers. He was also firm in his decisions about sheep, stock, personnel, and other emerging issues. Bradley provided details about the sugar and tea monopoly (with references to previous grain and wheat monopolies) and the alleged support of the banks towards these merchants by providing credit and then selling the goods on to the colonists at inflated prices. Bradley suggested that as the bank directors often doubled as merchants, there was a dual purpose in the comfortable accommodation of mutual interests of the banks and merchants. The relationships between the mercantile and banking sectors were perhaps too close for Bradley's liking.

Despite providing detailed answers and reflections on major aspects of the colony's political, social and financial state, Bradley did not offer any suggestions as to how the crisis could be handled, apart from providing time for debtors to repay their loans. This is worthy of consideration. He admitted that his net profit was more than twice the colony's average on his sheep return, and yet perhaps felt unable, as a wealthy landowner, to comment on how the government could redress the situation. His opinions on how to alleviate the situation were consistent with his eighteen contemporaries, who appeared as witnesses, and were described in the *Sydney Morning Herald* as 'the most experienced and intelligent men of New South Wales.' Among them were Thomas Holt, Salting, and Wentworth.

Bradley's friend Salting, Director of the Sydney Board of the Union Bank of Australia, appeared before the committee on 25 September 1843, and provided a lengthy response to questioning. The questions focused on his role as a director of the Union Bank, banking operations and capital and credit in the colony. He suggested the main reason for the financial crisis was the false estimates of the natural resources of the colony, and denied that the banks caused the crisis by not being sufficiently cautious in their lending. Salting, like Bradley, stated his support for the reintroduction of transportation with a need for immigration of free settlers to provide a moral

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82 ibid.
83 ibid.
84 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6.11.1843, p.2, col.3.
tone to the colony (rather than the ones who wanted simply to improve their circumstances). Salting's insights into the pastoral industry of the colony has contemporary resonance, as the population required for pastoral pursuits is spread thinly across a large surface area, which was as relevant in the 1840s as it is in the twenty-first century. 86

In their deliberations, the final recommendation of the Committee advised the 'credit of the colony should be lent in favour of all those debtors who are in a position to give adequate security'. 87 In many ways, the evidence from the various bank directors, including Salting, and their recommendation of letting the 'natural course of events' take their course, prevailed. The smaller banks continued to fail while the big banks strengthened their stronghold on the colony’s financial resources. Perhaps this was the influence of the fashionable economic ideas of the era. 88

In assessing Bradley and the context of his evidence before the committee, it is worth considering his contemporaries on the first New South Wales Legislative Council. Gentleman squatters, public figures, and men from a variety of professions and occupations comprised the first Council’s Members, with Bradley maintaining extensive links with both the nominee and elected members. Significantly, from among his parliamentary colleagues, Bradley created a network of influential and wealthy gentlemen. Appendix 7 outlines the connections between Bradley and his fellow Legislative Council members. Four of the thirty-eight members were born in the colony; over ninety per cent were born elsewhere, predominantly in the British Isles. Bradley, Bowman and Lord were all born in and around Sydney, and Wentworth was born on Norfolk Island. 89 In this first Council, appearances and respectability were paramount. All the men were members of the ruling class, financed private lodgings in Sydney away from their electorates and were interconnected with each other through land, financial and family interests. Some men of course had a tenuous grip on respectability, most notably Wentworth, who as an adult, learned of his father’s trial for highway robbery. Although acquitted, Wentworth senior was sent to Australia as a means of distancing his family from his actions. 90

84 Ibid.
85 Sydney Morning Herald, 6.11.1843, p.2, col.3.
86 For more on banking see Butlin, NG: Forming a Colonial Economy, Australia 1810-1850, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1994.
87 See Wentworth, WC: op. cit, preface p.1, where he describes himself as 'a native of the colony'. For more on Wentworth's contributions to the colony, see Tink, A: op. cit; and Ritchie, J (Ed): op. cit.
88 For transcripts of D'Arcy Wentworth's trials see Proceedings of The Old Bailey Online references to Wentworth's trial: Ref: t17891209-1 and t17871212-7 at www.oldbaileyonline.org, accessed October 2009. For a description of highway robbery see Smith, B: Australia's Birthstain, the startling legacy of the convict era, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2009, p. 78.
Like Bradley, Wentworth's mother was a convict, and in establishing the Australian Patriotic Association, as described earlier, he made a statement against the 'exclusives'.

Wentworth's heritage thwarted his efforts to marry Elizabeth Macarthur and establish a Macarthur-Wentworth squatting oligarchy. In contrast, Bradley's native born status did not stop his marriage to Hovell's daughter. Bradley appears in the record as proud of his native-born heritage. However, he did choose to simply ignore his mother's past and emphasise the successes of his father. In some ways, Bradley was a perfect ally for Wentworth, although when Bradley voted independently of Wentworth in the Council, it is unclear how the latter reacted. No doubt he understood Bradley's position of self-improvement and self-interest. In developing his network, Bradley accumulated power to provide him with greater wealth. His network was not unusual, as the colony did not have a large population of those deemed socially, politically and morally respectable. These people understood more widely the social ramifications of aligning oneself with a differing or varying faction of the establishment.

Bradley's network was incredibly important and useful to the promulgation of his interests in New South Wales, and he certainly ensured as his political career developed, he maintained and nurtured it. The composition of the Council relied on these connections to effect change within the colony with each member needing the support of others to drive through bills affecting their own interests and to a lesser extent, those of their constituency. This system of patronage and connection linked closely to personal ambition, drive, and religion was closely aligned with the Anglican hierarchy. It also indicates that Bradley invariably placed his own self-interests ahead of his responsibilities to the constituents of the County of Argyge. From the records available, Bradley appears as a silent partner in the Legislative Council. Rarely did he stand to deliver a speech; rarely did he vote in opposition to his factional alliance to Wentworth and his greatest work seems to have been in sitting in the House on a regular basis and sitting (never as a chair) on various select committees. His real work occurred behind the scenes.

Bradley continued as the member for the County of Argyge until 1846 when his wife, Emily, was advised to travel to England for medical treatment. When Bradley took leave from Goulburn, the elite of Goulburn held a meeting to arrange a dinner in his honour and prepare an illuminated address. Bradley accepted a dinner invitation to Mandelson's hotel with much


93 See Robinson, P: op. cit, and Molony, J: op. cit.

94 Goulburn Herald, 16.9.1849, p.3, col.3.

95 Despite extensive searches the illuminated address to Bradley was not found.
'gratitude' and upon his arrival, received the 'most deafening applause ever heard in a public assembly'. The gathering of the 'most respectable company of gentlemen and tradesmen' in Goulburn was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which devoted part of the supplement section to the gathering and dinner for some eighty gentlemen.

In keeping with his election dinner in 1843, the hotel was suitably attired for the occasion. Evergreen garlands festooned the entrance and 'Welcome' and the initials 'W B' in variegated lamps lit up the balcony. Under the Australian Coat of Arms above the chairman's seat were the words 'William Bradley Esq. MC' and underneath, 'Public Worth and Private Virtue'. In front of the gallery were the words 'Strength in Unity'. At the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, her values were transported to Goulburn at the extreme end of the British Empire.

Bradley's 'independent' character, his 'conduct' and his 'zeal, industry and integrity' were 'beloved' by the citizens of Goulburn. Bradley's response to the 'tremendous expressions of applause' was that he felt 'identified' with the interests of Goulburn, as he had been a resident for so long. Bradley hoped to 'return ... again to spend the evening of my days amongst you', although this never eventuated.

The Chair, Dr Murphy, proposed Bradley for public office in 1843 and he reflected that at the time he was an:

> Untried man in public life, known only to you by his own private worth and amiable qualities, which rendered him beloved by you all and ... he performed the duties of our representative with that zeal, industry, and integrity which was to have been expected; constant in his attendance at the House. Independent in his character and conduct, he never on any occasion, was influenced either by party or factious prejudices.

Murphy's glowing accolade of Bradley and his independent character—perhaps a reflection of a traditional characteristic value in British politicians—resulted in much cheering, applause and singing that continued until finally Bradley took the chair and replied to the gathered guests. Bradley reflected what a great and 'distinguished honour' it was to be the first man elected to the Legislature from Argyle, and again, in his self-effacing manner, declared he was 'not without misgivings' about his new role in 1843 and that men of 'more ability and talent' resided in Goulburn that could have been the representative. Bradley spoke of seeing the first bark hut constructed on the vast Goulburn Plain when he arrived in 1823. He reflected that since he had arrived in Goulburn, he had witnessed the township as it had become 'the most flourishing inland town in the whole country'. Some of the credit for the prosperity was due, in part, to his own development of a community of workers at his brewery and mill complex, and

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on his sheep and cattle stations in and around Goulburn.

The 1846 newspaper report reveals a warmth and affection for Bradley and his family from the people of Goulburn. Anyone receiving the accolades Bradley received would be overwhelmed by the esteem of their town's people. His engagement with the colony continued while he was in England, where he took on roles in support of progress in the colony. There are clear examples of his paternalism. He was instrumental in his support of Caroline Chisholm in London, and her philanthropic activities. Having already given her 'authority to draw upon him for necessaries' while she was in the colony, she also enlisted his support in England to give evidence before the Committee of Inquiry into Colonization from Ireland in 1847 on her behalf.

The Earl of Lincoln, whose aim was to remove Irish famine victims, proposed the inquiry. These people were to be sent to the colonies for the 'increased happiness' of the immigrants and of the people remaining in Ireland. Chisholm perceived this proposal as a means of 'shoveling out the paupers' of Ireland under a legitimate immigration program. Bradley's relationship with Chisholm continued upon his return to New South Wales as President of the Local Committee of the NSW Family Colonization Loan Society. This society was designed to take an interest in emigrants' welfare upon arrival in the colony. His friends, Flower and Nicholson, joined Bradley in this Society. Bradley subscribed fifty pounds to the Society in 1852, the largest amount donated by a committee member. His advocacy of Chisholm is a demonstration of the paternalist role he adopted, and again satisfied Smiles's criteria for the development of character based on helping others and taking opportunities for improvement.

Unfortunately for Bradley and his wife, the proposed change of climate did not render the desired health results and she died in Rome in 1848, leaving behind five daughters. News of her death prompted 'the works at the brewery and mill ... [to be] stopped' in 1849. In 1849, Bradley returned with his daughters to Goulburn and with 'sincere pleasure', the citizens of Goulburn welcomed them back. The family never took up residence at Lansdowne Park on a permanent basis again, despite Bradley's stated intentions to spend the rest of his days there. Goulburn was too far removed from the Sydney social scene now that his daughters needed appropriate social exposure in order to marry well.

97 Sydney Morning Herald, 12.2.1848, p.2, cols.2–3, and the Australasian 18.11.1844.
99 See the Earl of Lincoln's address to Parliament The Times, 2.6.1847, p.2, cols.3–6.
100 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
103 Goulburn Herald, 16.9.1849, p.3, col.3.
104 Goulburn Herald, 21.4.1849, p.4, col.4.
Bradley purchased *Lindesay* at Darling Point, which became the family home until Bradley's death in 1868.

Although Bradley did not return to the Legislative Council as an elected member, he became a non-elect Member of Parliament in 1851. In 1852, he served on the following committees, most of which again have a link to his own self-interests.

**TABLE 4.2 LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEES OF WILLIAM BRADLEY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appointment Date</th>
<th>Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.7.1852</td>
<td>Currency and Banking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7.1852</td>
<td>Destruction of the Native Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.7.1852</td>
<td>Scotch Thistle and Bathurst Burr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.7.1852</td>
<td>Cataract and Nepean Bridges Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8.1852</td>
<td>Reply to Earl Grey's Answer to the Council's Declaration and Remonstrance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bradley's work on the Legislative Council of New South Wales was unremarkable for his oration and his voting record. His real work, one can safely assume, occurred out of the spotlight, an approach he used in the establishment phases of his colonial career. Bradley's real work in the Council was his remarkable attendance and his contributions to select committees. Being a member provided him with respect from his constituency as well as from the other members. Reading the list of the connections to Bradley in Appendix 7 reinforces the notion that Bradley used this time to promulgate and maintain a network that he could call upon for assistance, information, or advice. It assisted his cause that he was native-born and he references this as a key reason for election to the Council. There is evidence of his continued industrious approach to both his public and private lives. He achieved this at a time when he suffered the loss of children and the illness of his wife; he continued to manage his various enterprises without the expertise of Shelley Phillips was an inspired choice as a manager, and gave Bradley the freedom to pursue his parliamentary career, which validated his apprenticeship on the Hawkesbury and his reputation-building phases on the Monaro and at Goulburn.

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Chapter Four: Bradley and the People of Argyle

MAGININGS...

William and Emily Bradley stood on the veranda at Lansdowne Park. It was the eve of their embarkation to England and the Continent. The mills and brewery William had envisaged in 1833 were now built and in operation. A community of workers and their families lived on the site. The trees planted all those years ago stood tall and the orchards and gardens showed signs of taming the native landscape. The improvements to the substantial homestead and the outbuildings were significant. Emily gave birth to three children here and another five at their townhouse. She thought briefly of their children, William, Jonas, and Louisa, buried out at St Saviour’s Cemetery. Louisa’s death in 1846 was particularly difficult coming just eleven days after the birth of their final child, Alice. It would be a challenge to leave her two youngest daughters behind with their good friends, the Salting family. It would be a difficult farewell, but she was really too ill to look after them at this stage. Emily bowed her head and prayed she would see them both again.

William took Emily’s hand and escorted her through the Homestead for the last time. Phillips lived here and his children filled the rooms with laughter. It was a difficult few years. Elected on trust by the townspeople to the Legislative Council, his friend Faithfull looked set to take over from him, and he would discover that it was a constant job. There were the deaths of their three children and no sons to inherit his empire, which made it even more imperative that the decisions and choices he made were for the right reasons. He glanced at Emily; her pale, tired face showed that she needed a change of climate, and he worried if she would make the long journey back home. Her determination was like that of her old sea-dog father. He smiled at her as she caught him staring.

The townspeople had farewelled him with a dinner and the presentation of an illuminated address the evening before. He was overwhelmed by the public support and show of affection for him. He did not realise the high regard with which they held him. When he eventually made it back to the townhouse and told Emily about the evening’s events, he felt sad about leaving the town and its people. It was a night that would stay with him for a long time. He was satisfied though; his contributions were valued and resulted in something tangible for the place he called home.

The ship set sail at the end of the week and they would have plenty of time with their good friends Severin and Louisa Salting and their sons, George and William, before they left. The time with their two youngest was precious, although both Minna and Alice were too young to remember, and Emily too ill to care for them. As the ship sailed through the Sydney Heads, Emily and William Bradley looked forward to the journey ahead of them and to their return to the
shores of this land. The sun reflected off the sandstone of the cliffs, and it was a good farewell to Sydney and the Colony.

Arriving in London was exciting; the noise and the people made the older girls uneasy as they took it all in. The landscape was a sharp contrast to that of Goulburn. The smell of the Thames was so different from the Mulwaree Ponds and the clear mighty rivers of their childhood. Docking in London became a feature of Bradley’s children’s lives for many years to come. They were looking forward to the trip to Italy, via France that their father promised them. They were ready to find their land legs again and see what Victorian London had to offer these colonial-born children. Now it all seemed a bit overwhelming for these young girls raised on the back of colonial wool money.

The Opera awaited them, perhaps Verdi’s opening of his new opera I Due Foscari, based on Emily’s grandmother’s Venetian family. There would be trips to parks and gardens, Buckingham Palace, London Bridge and for William, some discussion and observations of the new Stephenson ‘Rocket’. Arriving in Rome, Emily deteriorated and away from his native land, William Bradley and his three daughters buried their beloved wife and mother in the Foreign Cemetery near Keats and Shelley. The sound of the heavy wrought iron gate closing on the cemetery after her internment remained with William all his days. His loneliness forced him back to London and to sail directly for Sydney. His daughters saw a change in their father, and knew his love for their mother was all consuming, constant, and unfaltering. He could not wipe their tears away, but together they knew Emily could now be at peace. They all secretly vowed they would return to their mother’s grave and tell her of their lives. It would take them some time, but it was to this British and European world that their lives would be tied as their father intended.
I have always liked getting my boots dirty. While sometimes there are few answers found in my searches, it has always fascinated me to undertake journeys that are both invigorating and enriching. On the Monaro Plains in particular, my boots have often been dirty.

Nor am I alone in traversing the tracks and hills of the Monaro. Sir Keith Hancock went there before me, as did Count Strezeleki and Rev. W. B. Clarke. Bradley made the journey with his father, Jonas, and with William Adams Brodribb, James Litchfield, Francis Smith and many others. Sometimes, on my way to Cooma, I think of how their physical journey was so different to mine. In some ways, however, there is an inescapable sameness despite the distance of time.

The crisp, bracing winds of the Monaro still disentangle the cobwebs from the brain and sweep the mind clear. The hillocks and the tussock grass tell tales of devastating land use. The barren plains remind me that white settlement has not tamed the Monaro. The vibrant sun cuts through the immense clouds in the sky of a blue seen only here in Australia, and plays on the brown grass. This is a scene perhaps not far removed from Bradley's viewpoint of this landscape. There is a sense of deep solitude out here on the Monaro Plains that is peaceful and restful. This is how my journey is similar to those who have gone before me.

One must look deeper than the initial intense physical presence of this land to understand what attracted people here. It is not just about the snow and the peaks of the mountains soaring skyward in their quintessentially understated Australian manner. The inspirational and exhilarating part of the Monaro is the stature of this magnificent basalt rock plateau that commands the attention of writers, artists, and people who live and work below the shadow of the snow. This ancient landscape, unchanged in centuries, is a feast for geologists and adventurers alike.

I have always liked Cooma and the surrounding Monaro landscape. The vast, stark Monaro Plains form an immense, wild and uninhibited landscape that is, as I was to discover, an environment only manageable for a short time. Inevitably, it returns to its natural state. For Bradley, his attempts at taming the landscape made an impact on the various homestead blocks, but around these, the natural vegetation regained hold. Setting out a homestead in the true sense of an Australian colonial home and garden here was, at times, beyond even the reach of Bradley's efforts.
I found this rather ironic at times as I looked at Bradley's other attempts to create a world for himself and his family: Lansdowne Park, with its ballroom and Lindesay, his mansion in Sydney. They were a world away from the early days of the Monaro Plains. By the mid-1850s, Bradley travelled infrequently to his southern lands. As I traipsed across the Monaro, I thought about how he had lost some connection with the ground. His boots were no longer dirty.

Yet, for many years, his boots had been frequently dirty. There were houses and homesteads, huts and sheds on his Monaro acreages. The built heritage of Coolringdon, Myalla, Maffra, Dangelong, and the houses he helped his employees fund such as Burnima, Hazeldean, and Springfield still stand in all their imposing grandeur. The descendants of Bradley's imported Southdown sheep possibly still inhabit old flocks, and many of his former employees lie in the graveyards of the Monaro. There is evidence of a world inhabited by Bradley and, at its peak, all but abandoned for the social pleasures and comforts of Sydney.

I have traipsed many kilometres across this land. In graveyards and gardens, skiing and tobogganing up and down hills I crossed Bradley's tracks many times. Evidence of Bradley's snow leases remains. I witnessed evidence of his largesse, his control of so much land, and his power. At times, I wondered how he had amassed so much, and whether it had brought him happiness or fulfilment. As most of the land purchases came after the death of his wife, I wondered if he was attempting to compensate for her loss. I liked the irony that despite the fact that the Bradley family eventually abandoned the Monaro, they transplanted parts of it across the world.
In India, at the Bibbenluke Coffee Estate, and on Rossdohan Island in Southern Ireland, trees from Bibbenluke on the Southern Monaro still flourish.¹

Bradley’s footsteps are all over the Monaro, a landscape that was inhospitable, cold, windy, and barren, populated with Indigenous people, shepherds, bushrangers, miners and gold diggers. My footsteps also led me to my father’s family, who populated this land with their own hopes and ambitions. In the bracing winds of the Monaro one winter’s day, I found an affinity with this land that Bradley had lost.

¹ See Day, A: op. cit.
CHAPTER 5
UNLOCKING THE MONARO
Figure 5.2
Sheep on the Monaro, New South Wales
William Bradley and his father and brother drew their horses to a halt at the top of the hill. Down below, the recently named Murrumbidgee River flowed to the west, and far into the horizon a barren plain, punctuated with trees on the high hills, met their gaze. A snowline was just visible and while the sun was high in the sky, the crisp air’s freshness made the group draw their riding coats more closely about them. William drew a map from his pocket; it detailed the land they were about to inspect. The land stretched to the ring of lightly wooded mountains and took in the flats near the river. Looking out onto this land, William felt a moment of doubt. Could he establish his sheep and cattle in this remote area? As if reading his thoughts, his brother Thomas predicted success; they just needed to be patient. In the distance behind them, they could hear the sounds of the Morrison brothers droving Bradley’s cattle into this unspoilt world. This land was isolated, but unbeknownst to William and Thomas as they entered the Monaro, their footsteps would change the landscape forever.

Sleeping out at the bottom of the Bullanamang Valley that night, Bradley lay back and looked at the stars illuminating the night sky. The fire hissed and crackled into the night’s silent stillness. The next day they planned to ride further into the 96,000 acres of land comprising William’s Bullanamang Run to select a spot for the first shepherd’s hut and outstation, which would cement the family’s claim on the Monaro. He wondered why the Morrisons had not met up with them that evening. Had he done the right thing in appointing them? They were a long way from Shigo, he thought; would they fail him?

The morning dawned bright and riding out, Bradley felt hopeful and expectant. The land was stony in parts on the mountain ranges, and mostly treeless, but it was well watered, with extensive downs clear of timber, and limestone outcrops. In the distance he saw a group of Aborigines in a copse of trees. What where they about, he wondered. His mood was a combination of curiosity, indifference, and disdain. What worried him were the stories of violence in this country.
How would he deal with it? His inclination was to try to placate them; he would offer blankets, food, and shelter. At the same time he knew that his employees would need to have guns close at hand to defend his property. There was no pang of conscience as this possibility crossed his mind.

Bradley’s boots were dirty as he staked out the foundations for the new stockman’s hut. It was a good site with an outlook over the river, and not too far from the track down to the southern reaches of the Monaro Plains. There was fresh water nearby. The sun was high in the sky and the work was intense and physical. Thomas was hammering stakes into the ground where a stockyard would stand. The Morrisons had arrived with his cattle. He could see his father inspecting them. It was a scene of industry and progress to Bradley and his family. He could still see the Aborigines sheltering in the trees and the long grass. He wondered what they were thinking. It occurred to him that the Aborigines may have seen him as an intruder in their country. Despite a slight uneasiness about how he had acquired his land, he forged ahead with his grand plans for the Monaro Plains.

A few days later, Bradley began the long ride back to the relative comfort of Goulburn, leaving the Morrisons on this remote station. He knew that he had made the right move taking this land as part of his expanding business empire. He looked down and noticed that his boots were dirty with the basalt soil of the Monaro Plains.
The year 1831 opened with new aspirations and hopes for the Bradley family. It was the year William married Emily, daughter of William Novell, and the year he expanded his territory to the south of Goulburn, making his first foray into the Monaro Squatting District. The 96,000-acre property Bradley acquired was named *Bullanamang*. It was situated south of Bredbo at the top end of the Monaro Plains, and was bounded at various spots by eight mile stretches of the Murrumbidgee River. It was well watered, a necessity for survival on the drought plains of the Monaro. Between 1831 and 1834, he ran 800 cattle on the property, although its grazing capacity was 1,920 cattle and 8,000 sheep. It is important to acknowledge that the Bradley family operated this cooperatively, even though the depasturing licence was in William's name. The joint development of enterprises is a pattern the family trialled on the Hawkesbury River, refined in the development of the Goulburn operations and capitalised on in the Monaro.

Another significant pattern that emerged at *Bullanamang* was the deliberate understocking of properties, which became a central feature of the management of Bradley's Monaro land. This technique reaped Bradley rewards after 1841, when he branched further onto the southern Monaro Plains in order to expand his landed empire. This understocking allowed Bradley to post a profit in the mid-1840s when his contemporaries, as outlined in Chapter Four, were selling up their properties or suffering significant financial pressures.

This chapter will examine Bradley's implementation of a strategy to acquire land across the Monaro Squatting District, and using this land to his best advantage. It will assess his management techniques as a key factor in his success in this phase of his colonial career, and assess the impact of strategic overseers to his properties. Through Bradley's actions on the Monaro, there can be an assessment of his industriousness in furthering his political ambitions while becoming a monster squatter. The landscape of the Monaro will be assessed in terms of Bradley's impact with the advent of sheep and cattle on an ancient environment. This chapter will focus on the early period of Bradley's Monaro (approx 1831 – 1855) and how he prospered there, against the odds. It will examine how by 1855 he would possess the very pick of the Monaro, and gain recognition as a Monster Squatter.

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2 *Bullanamang* was also known as *Bellebalaing*, Ballabalaing, and *Bulungewaing*. See Lhotsky, Dr. J: *A Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps undertaken in the months of January, February, and March 1834*, this edition edited by Andrews, AEJ, Blubber Head Press, Hobart, 1979, p.105.


4 Ibid; and see Lhotsky, Dr. J: *op. cit.*, p.105.


6 A 'Monster Squatter' was a derogatory term used to describe squatters who had amassed large land holdings with minimal leases and had little or no responsibility for stock and pasture improvements. It was initially used to describe Benjamin Boyd. Clark, CMH: Vol. 3, *op. cit.*, p.302. The evidence offered by Clark to support Bradley's admission to the 'Monster Squatter' class was provided in 1844, a time when Bradley only held some 163,000 acres of land on the Monaro comprising the stations of Bullanamang, Myalla and *Upper Rock Flat*. These tallies are based on land acreages given in the *NSW Government Gazette*, 30.9.1848, pp.1383–1385, p.1355. This term to describe William Bradley also appears in *NLA MIM G28200*, John Perkins Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Badgerly, John A: *'A Trip to the Manoroo in 1845 and comments on some of the men about in those times*', p.274. See also *HRA*, series 1, Vol. 33, Gipps to Stanley, 17.1.1844, pp.336–346; and ibid, Gipps to Stanley 3.4.1844, pp.507–515.
He would come to own and lease so much of the Monaro that remembering all his holdings would become challenging. In doing this, he changed the nature of the landscape and the history of the place forever. His largesse brought families and civilisation to a largely inhospitable country that was in some ways arming its natural defences against the permanent settlers. Bushrangers, lawlessness, drunkenness and gold diggers would in turn inhabit this land with their vices and ultimately have a negative impact on an environment that had remained unspoilt for centuries.

The Monaro Squatting District was divided into three counties: Beresford, Wallace and Wellesley, and fell outside the Nineteen Counties. However, by the late 1850s, the Monaro could have simply been called 'Bradley's Monaro', as a reflection of his dominance over all three counties and his selection of the best land on which to run his sheep and cattle enterprises. The geological formation of the counties comprised a mix that primarily included basalt, granite, limestone, slate, sandstone and quartzite. The importance of this becomes clear upon the knowledge that Bradley purchased or leased the majority of the finest basalt land on the Monaro. This afforded him an advantage in terms of regrowth on his properties, drainage, and the general condition of the land. Even on the Monaro, Bradley's pattern of power and wealth accumulation is evident.

The Bradley family were not the first white men to enter the Monaro. Richard Brooks had settled at Gegedzerick, and Dr. David Reid had settled Reid's Flat (Bunyan). Cooper and Levy, from whom Bradley would later purchase land, were at Cooma, and Robert Campbell was at Delegate. Following them were the new arrivals of Bradley's Goulburn contemporaries, Faithfull and Dr. Andrew Gibson. This land was isolated, unforgiving and would test the men who sought to tame and shape the landscape. The landscape changed forever when white settlers populated the Monaro Plains.

The Monaro of the early-mid nineteenth century was a wild place, and not without its challenges for Bradley and his overseers. There was a constant threat of bushrangers and fear of confrontations with the local Aboriginals, whose hunting grounds eroded, resulting in dispossession. Concurrently, they were penalised by the settlers for attacking sheep and cattle. The Ngarigo people, to whom the vast land of the Monaro belonged, resisted violently when Richard Brooks first settled near Cootralantra Lake. There followed some negotiation, and it appears that the two peoples may have coexisted in relative harmony for some time.

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7 The Nineteen Counties were surveyed by the Surveyor General of New South Wales, Major T L Mitchell between 1827 and 1834. See Andrews, AEJ: Major Mitchell's Map 1834, the Saga of the Survey of the Nineteen Counties, Blubber Head Press, 1992.
9 See Lhotsky, Dr. J: op. cit., p.105; Andrews, AEJ: Earliest Monaro and Burragorang, Canberra, 1998, p.103 and Mitchell, F: Back to Cooma Celebrations, Cooma, 1926. See also for individual entries on the men listed above, NLA MS 936, the John Perkins Papers, Vol. 1, 1823–1845, Monaro District.
There was also perhaps a state of 'sporadic warfare' on the Monaro. However, the Bradley family operated in times that placed little regard on the land or personal rights of the Aboriginal people. On the Monaro, an uneasy relationship between the landowners and the land spoilers existed. The Bradley family operated within an accepted contemporary paternalist framework, which was not without its critics.

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10 McKenna, M: Looking for Blackfella’s Point, An Australian History of Place, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2002, p.37. McKenna disputes Hancock and Blainey’s view that the Monaro was ‘settled peacefully’ and that ‘quietly, the Aborigines submitted…’. It is acknowledged through evidence that the displacement of traditional owners on the Monaro was at times violent. For further reading, see Young, M: The Aboriginal People of the Monaro, A Documentary History, Second Edition, Dept. of Environment, and Conservation, Sydney, 2005. Young does not provide wide evidence that the Monaro was settled either peaceably or forcefully.
Bradley recalled one incident when he was travelling to the Monaro. In *Old Pioneering Days*, Macallister recalls Bradley's trip:

_One afternoon, nearing sundown, he was riding quietly along in the vicinity of the Bredbo River. Deeply cogitating, Bradley had ridden almost on top of a Blackfellows' camp—several of whose members were notorious cattle-spearmen and thieves—before he was aware of the fact. Not apprehending trouble, Bradley was surprised to hear an unmistakeably hostile greeting from the Aborigines: 'Yunna-bawn-gie' ('go back, stranger'), they shouted, brandishing their weapons; and the next moment a tall Savage, more venturesome, or in greater authority than the others, came out into the open, and after a few wild antics, hurled his spear at barely fifty yards from the horseman.*

The scene of frontier violence unfolded with a tragic inevitability as Bradley 'ducked' to his kneepads, and quickly drawing his revolver, brought the daring chief howling to mother-earth with a shot that shattered his 'spear-arm'. Getting into cover as quickly as possible, and though another volley of spears followed, Bradley dispersed the hostile camp with a few more shots. The first spear needed, he recalled, only 'a coat of paint' to have sent him to eternity or cripple him for life.

This incident is one of many largely unrecorded skirmishes in the settlement of the Monaro. Although Bradley's actions appear as self-defence, this was true only in an immediate narrow context. The shattering of a spearing-arm may have meant certain death for the man Bradley shot; however, there was no public prosecution on either side. It will remain unknown if Bradley was responsible for the death of the man, enough to know that he did knowingly injure another. For the Aboriginal population of the Monaro, this incident was another in a time when their rights were unprotected and the invaders took the spoils of the land, displacing and dispossessioning the original owners. As the Monaro was unpoliced, the settlers and the Aboriginals both clashed in incidents demonstrating the clashing of two cultures and the displacement of one culture with another.\(^{12}\)

Estimates of Monaro Aboriginal populations in the late eighteenth century indicate some four to five thousand living in and around the Monaro. By 1850, this dropped to less than 700 Aboriginals.\(^{13}\) It is not possible to attribute this population decline to any one reason. The settlement of the Monaro was, like other areas, settled 'without treaty, bargain or apology'.\(^{14}\) In conforming to the nineteenth century capitalist view of the world, Bradley and his contemporaries held that the land was free: it was acquired neither 'by inheritance, by

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11 MacAlister, C: op. cit., p.6.
12 See Young, M: op. cit and McKenna, M: op. cit for more on the Monaro Aboriginal people.
13 McKenna, M: op. cit., p.45.
purchase, nor by conquest, but a sort of gradual eviction.\textsuperscript{15}

The displacement of the Aboriginal people was followed by the violence of the white man, in particular, the bushrangers of the Monaro. In 1833, it was reported that Monaro bushrangers were 'mounted and armed\textsuperscript{16} en-route to Western Port in order to 'seize the first vessel that might put into that harbour'.\textsuperscript{17} After robbing various stations, this particular group of seven or eight bushrangers provisioned themselves with the squatter's ammunition, food and horses. Although unreported, it is likely that bushrangers also robbed Bullanamang Station. As frequent visitors to the Monaro, bushrangers were often reported 'prowling about the dwellings of settlers and robbing their storerooms'.\textsuperscript{18} The settlers called for a detachment of mounted police to be despatched to deal with the problem.\textsuperscript{19} Given the slow communications and great distances of the Monaro frontier, however, a detachment of police was not forthcoming and the settlers were forced to defend themselves.

Some feared the Monaro would become a hotbed for runaway convicts, as there was 'plenty to plunder, and no police'.\textsuperscript{20} In 1836, one reporter advised that there was a 'gang of nine bushrangers ... armed [and] abroad in the neighbourhood of Manero Plains'.\textsuperscript{21} One Monaro resident complained bitterly about bushrangers and other treacherous types who resided in the district and were involved in sly-grog selling and committing 'innumerable delinquencies\textsuperscript{22} without any justice. This settler described the Monaro as being a 'nest of villains\textsuperscript{23} and as a 'secure retreat of the profligate and the harbour of the bushranger'.\textsuperscript{24} Some reporters suggested the Government and the police would not act on the Monaro until the 'marauding vagabonds\textsuperscript{25} had 'sacked a settler's dwelling, or committed an odd murder or two'.\textsuperscript{26} Along with a drought that halved the large lakes of George and Bathurst to the north, fire and a lack of feed resulted in many stock-keepers abandoning their Monaro stations.\textsuperscript{27} The variable Monaro weather, including snowstorms leaving snow fifteen feet deep on the ground, also forced many from the Monaro.\textsuperscript{28} As some people moved out, merchants, aware of their value to station life moved in, bringing with them alcohol and other commodities to sustain life on the Monaro.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Sydney Morning Herald 16.8.1833, p.3, col.4.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Sydney Morning Herald, 28.11.1838, p.2, col.4.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Sydney Morning Herald, 4.7.1836, p.3, col.1. (Manero is the spelling in this article).
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} Sydney Morning Herald, 28.11.1838, p.2, col.4.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{25} Sydney Morning Herald, 4.7.1836, p.3, col.1.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} Sydney Gazette, 12.1.1836, p.4, col.1.
\textsuperscript{28} Sydney Gazette, 18.9.1834, p.2, col.4.
\textsuperscript{29} See Sydney Morning Herald, 30.5.1836, p.1, col.2.
This environment was the beginning of Bradley's story on the Monaro.

In addition to lawlessness and growing drunkenness, the Government recognised that there were relationships between the Aboriginal women of the Monaro and the isolated white settlers. It is likely that in 1833, no single white women resided in the district. The Government's disapproval of inter-cultural relationships on the Monaro resulted in a decree outlawing hut-keepers and others who allowed Aboriginal women into their huts. The Sydney Morning Herald's correspondent also suggested the decree was a problem amongst the Monaro inhabitants, as some men kept Aboriginal women in their huts by force. However, the decree could not be enforced as there were no mounted police in the area; the closest police presence was at the Limestone Plains.

In addition to the perceived injustices of the Monaro's lawlessness, Bradley also contended with a scarcity of labour and demands for high wages. A day's work on the Monaro was worth ten shillings. The Sydney Morning Herald's correspondent lamented that so many men were not willing to travel south to the Monaro, but instead wasted their time wandering around Sydney looking for work. The employment of solid, hardworking men was crucial to Bradley's later success. These employees were required to apprehend the threats of bushrangers, defend his cattle and sheep from theft and provide trustworthy service in running his Bullanamang Station.

At Bullanamang Station, Bradley appointed two convict brothers, Thomas and Andrew Morrison, as principal overseers. They both arrived in the colony in 1818 on board the Martha from County Sligo, Ireland to serve a life sentence. Initially sent to work for Jonas Bradley at Windsor, Thomas Morrison eventually went with Thomas Bradley to establish the Goulburn phase of operations in 1823. He was a ploughman and spent thirty years working for the Bradley family on their various properties. Andrew was sent to work for Nathaniel Goldingham in 1825 before beginning employment with William Bradley in Goulburn. They oversaw five convicts and managed the stock on Bullanamang.

30 NLA MFM G28200, the John Perkins Papers, Roll 1, Box 1, Folder 1, p.53.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 The Martha carried 170 male convicts and recorded no deaths in its 128 day journey to New South Wales. See http://members.inet.com.au/~perthdis/convicts/shipNSW2.html; Also for details of Thomas Morrison see http://members.pcug.org.au/~ppmay/cgi-bin/irish/irish.cgi?requestType=Search2&id=18950; and for Andrew (listed as Anthony) see http://members.pcug.org.au/~ppmay/cgi-bin/irish/irish.cgi?requestType=Search2&id=18949. The crime of the brothers has not been ascertained.
36 SR NSW Reel 6014, 4/3513, p.438.
Both brothers were buried on the property, Andrew in 1834 and Thomas in 1849, and their headstones are believed to commemorate the oldest settler burials on the Monaro.\(^{37}\) The *Goulburn Herald* recorded Thomas's death as he fell under the veranda of a public house at the annual 'Maneroo Races.' The short obituary mentioned Morrison's 'good and respectable'\(^{38}\) nature and his loyal service as head overseer for Bradley for thirty years.\(^{39}\) Bradley erected a headstone as a mark of respect to the brothers, confirming his championing of emancipists and those willing to change their fortunes through hard work and industriousness.

That Bradley remembered his workers, some of whom were clearly in Australia under dubious circumstances, demonstrates paternalism and a respect for those who worked for him. This allowed him to enjoy a life far removed from the hardships of station life that were so clearly articulated by his friend Thomas Barker in 1843.\(^{40}\) Bradley valued the contributions these men made to his success, and this marks him apart from his contemporaries. His experiences and support of emancipists encouraged his later advocacy for political change that would be advantageous to all men in the colony, not just the exclusives. It also reinforces the idea that Bradley not only accumulated land, stock and other material goods—he also accumulated good will. As a paternalist and benefactor of immigrant families, emancipists and convicts, Bradley played a role in orchestrating the development of a local economy and constructing the fabric of society on the Monaro Plains. While it can be argued this was part of his ruthless character to ensure he had enough employees and services available to support his enterprises, it went further than that for Bradley. He wanted others to have similar opportunities like he had, as long as they did not eclipse his achievements.

In 1834, Dr. John Lhotsky, a physician and naturalist, travelled to the Monaro and conducted a statistical return of all the stations established in the Southern District.\(^{41}\) He spent four nights at *Bullanamang*, staying with a stock-keeper of Bradley's who was 'willing to accommodate [him] in the best way possible.'\(^{42}\) During his time on *Bullanamang*, Lhotsky recorded the natural features of the property and noted 800 cattle depastured on the land, with Bradley leasing the


\(^{39}\) Thomas Morrison married a widow whose first husband also worked for Bradley (as a store keeper) and lived at the time of his death in the same hut on *Bullanamang* that Morrison occupied. Ironically, Morrison found the body of his wife's former husband five to six months after his precipitous death by drowning in the Eumeralla River. Morrison was buried on *Bullanamang Station* next to his brother and his wife's first husband. The first husband's name is unknown. See *Goulburn Herald*, 30.6.1849, p.4, col.14.

\(^{40}\) *BPP Colonies Australia*, op. cit., *The Evidence of Thomas Barker*, 7 June 1844, p.76.


\(^{42}\) Lhotsky, Dr. J. op. cit., p.91. The stock-keeper could have been either of the Morrison brothers or the unknown first husband of Morrison's wife.
run since 1831. Lhotsky's journey is important, as he recorded the various stations at which he stopped, providing evidence of the size of sheep and cattle herds on the Monaro in the early 1830s. Coincidentally, some of the stations Lhotsky visited passed into the hands of William Bradley in later years, including Cooma, Coolringdon, Wog Wog, Tom Groggin, Arable Matong and Myalla. Bradley, it seemed, wanted to accumulate more land, despite his massive 96,000 acres of land at Bullanamang.

Lhotsky was not the only adventurer to record his journey of the Southern Districts. John Jauncey, a former convict who arrived in 1833 aged 15, worked for the Curlewis family on the Monaro. His memoirs, written in about 1889 or 1890, describe various stations and places on the Monaro from 1833 to 1842. He mentions Bradley's land near The Brothers but does not list Bullanamang as one of Bradley's stations. Rather, he places Bradley's runs further south near the stations of Ryrie (Coolringdon) and Hirst and Buckley (Arable). Bradley's Monaro expansion had begun by 1842 and was to be consolidated in the period to 1855.

Another explorer of the time, Baron Charles von Hugel, traversed the Monaro in July 1834. von Hugel did not list landowners but focussed on 'observing the flora and collecting seeds for his gardens'. von Hugel suggested that the Liverpool Plains, along with the Monaro Plains, were perhaps the largest treeless areas discovered in the colony. In her work on von Hugel, Dymphna Clark considered the similarities between her subject and Lhotsky, suggesting a number of shared commonalities and interests. Both reported on the state and fate of the Indigenous population and on the vulgarity of Sydney society. According to Clark, they had a common link in their romanticism about their respective work.

For Bradley, acquiring land on the Monaro was in many ways an affirmation of his quest for respectability and acceptance in colonial society. This is despite the negative implication of becoming known, after 1855, as the local 'monster squatter.' According to Molony's study of the first-generation, native-born, men such as Bradley, with a free settler father and convict mother, would always live with the stain of convictism. In some respects, Bradley appears to...
escape his past by his determination to stake his claim to the land during the squatting mania. His growing domination of the Monaro Squatting District was the very epitome of a successful native-born Australian who became an elected member of the colony’s first Legislative Council.

In Bradley’s search for respect, power, and wealth, it is important to recognise that Monaro was attractive to squatters for the beauty of the land itself. Perhaps Bradley felt an affinity to the land, as did other native-born Australians. After the elimination of the scourge of bushrangers in the 1830s, there was a sense amongst the colonists that the Monaro was a beautiful, serene, and pristine landscape. ‘There is scarcely a district in the entire Colony that is more deserving of notice than Monaro’, wrote Judge Alfred McFarland in his memoirs. He described the country of the Monaro as having a ‘beauty peculiarly its own, in its rolling downs, and spreading sheep-walks, long mountain ranges, and winding rivers, its climate is unsurpassed; its natural resources are great.’ It was significant for Bradley to hold land in a place where the natural beauty was extolled to the public through such papers as the Town and Country Journal and the Sydney Morning Herald, amongst other media. The dusty plains of Bourke, for example, were not acknowledged in such glowing terms.

Land acquisition was central to Bradley’s plan for the south-western frontier. At Goulburn, he established vast acreages in and around the township, as outlined in Chapter Two, and on the Monaro, he adopted a similar approach. The period from 1831 to 1855 was characterised by Bradley’s acquisition of land in huge acreages, which was a sign of his prosperity. This acquisition was not limited to the Monaro; he also purchased land in Goulburn, Mittagong, Port Macquarie, Gladstone in Queensland and Sydney. It was a period of great expansion for Bradley, and he financed the land purchases at the same time as he developed his mill and brewery and began a political career.

From the 1830s, Bradley applied for depasturing licences beyond the Limits of Location on the Monaro. At this time, Bradley used his business network to advance his claims. For example, in 1839, he purchased land in the County of Bourke with his good friend Charles Nicholson. Concurrently, the mill and brewery became Bradley’s core business. This income must have offset some of the costs associated with settlement beyond the Limits of Location. The next decade proved even more lucrative for Bradley as he began the serious acquisition of land on the Monaro.

52 Ibid, pp.67–68.
54 These details are covered further in this chapter and in chapter 6.
55 NSW Government Gazette, 15.3.1837, p.256; 27.6.1838, p.483.
Bradley’s ability to fund these ventures into land was supported by his inheritance from Jonas and Thomas Bradley’s estates in 1841. After a long illness, Jonas Bradley died at his son’s townhouse in October 1841, with William Bradley the sole beneficiary. Jonas Bradley’s probate lists his land holdings as 640 acres on the Windsor Road and 4,930 acres on the Goulburn Plains. There were 20 shares in the Commercial Bank, valued at £100 each, 1,250 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep, and 35 horses, left to William Bradley. In addition, he received a £10,000 cash bonus from the Estate. His brother, Thomas, who died in 1835, willed his estate to his father and the consolidated revenue of both estates provided Bradley with funds for expansion.

The Monaro became Bradley’s domain. From 1855 onwards, he controlled massive leases that generated an income for his other ventures and contributed to the development of the colonial economy. It was imperative for the colonial economy that people, like Bradley and his contemporaries, invested in the agricultural and pastoral industries to strengthen exports to Britain and develop trade networks. Bradley’s contribution to the pastoral industry was extensive. He employed numerous managers, overseers, shepherds, shearers and others to elicit a profit from the grazing of sheep. The selection of good managers was imperative to Bradley’s success, as poor management may have affected his overall ability to contribute to the economy and make a profit. By 1839, his family were living in a new townhouse in Goulburn and from 1849 onwards, the principal Bradley residence became Lindesay at Darling Point. Bradley’s physical connection with the Monaro waned after the mid 1850s. He made few visits to his land, and these were mostly by sea to the port of Twofold Bay. Instead, like his contemporaries who made their money off the sheep’s back, such as Barker, Salting, and Nicholson, Bradley managed his properties from afar and for this, he relied heavily on his managers. His pattern of self-improvement was not unusual.

57 Sydney Morning Herald, 2.11.1841, p.3, col.3.
58 Supreme Court of NSW, #1318, Series 1. Probate Notice, Inventory of the Estate and Effects of the late Mr Jonas Bradley who died about 25th October 1841.
59 Cited in Rubenstein, B: The Top Wealth-Holders of New South Wales in 1830–1844, in Push from the Bush, Vol. 8, pp.23–49, 1980. Prof. Rubenstein bases his findings on the probate, however, this amount is not listed in my copy from the NSW Supreme Court records. Prof. Rubenstein advised that he was given access to read the notes, often in pencil, that accompanied the probate, and it was valued at £10,000. E-mail received from Prof. Rubenstein, 22.5.2000, University of Wales.
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MONARO SQUATTING RUNS

1848-1850

Figure 5.4
Map of Monaro Squatting Runs, 1848-1850.
Source: Hancock, WK: op. cit., p.47.
William Adams Brodribb was the most prominent early Monaro manager employed by Bradley, with responsibility for the management of both the Goulburn and Monaro estates. Born in England in 1809, he came from a respectable background, which ended when his father, William Brodribb senior, was transported to Van Diemen's Land for the administering of unlawful oaths in 1816. Born in Somerset, Brodribb senior was a solicitor who illegally took the oaths of fourteen young men who planned to poach on the much-disliked Colonel Berkley's Estate at Berkley Castle in Gloucestershire. The poaching affray ended unfortunately, but perhaps predictably: one gamekeeper died, two men met swift justice with death by hanging, nine men were captured, tried and sentenced to transportation (including Brodribb), and four others escaped. Brodribb appeared in the Gloucester Assizes charged with administering an oath that purported to bind one of the poachers to keep the nature of an illegal act secret.  

Brodribb received a very severe admonition from the Judge, who was incensed that despite Brodribb's 'education and profession' as a man of law, had allowed himself to be drawn into the events of the affray. The Judge stated that Brodribb should consider himself 'highly instrumental in the fatal consequences which ensued' at the Castle. He arrived on board the *Sir William Bensley* on March 10 1817. Granted his Conditional Pardon on 14 December 1818, Brodribb remained in Van Diemen's Land with his wife and family including Brodribb's namesake and eldest son, nine year old William Adams Brodribb junior, who arrived on board the *Duke of Wellington* in February 1818. Brodribb senior went on to practise law in Tasmania, while his son became a pastoralist and politician.  

In April 1835, William Brodribb junior travelled to New South Wales at the suggestion of his friend, Charles Meredith (later prominent in Tasmanian politics) who advised him of the 'fairer prospects' afforded to young men in this colony. Brodribb took his fortune of £500 and after his arrival in Sydney, began a tour of the New South Wales countryside. He stopped in Goulburn at the home of a 'native of the colony' who was married and resided in Goulburn. This was William Greenaway. Brodribb's defence counsel gave reason to the jury to doubt Greenaway's motives of the charges against Brodribb as Greenaway confessed to Brodribb the next day that he had shot William Ingram, the gamekeeper at Berkley Castle, and by having Brodribb charged first, was attempting to save his own life. Greenaway had threatened Brodribb that if he 'squeached' then he would hang as well. See *The Times*, 17.4.1816, p.3, col.4 for the trial account.

60 This was William Greenaway. Brodribb's defence counsel gave reason to the jury to doubt Greenaway's motives of the charges against Brodribb as Greenaway confessed to Brodribb the next day that he had shot William Ingram, the gamekeeper at Berkley Castle, and by having Brodribb charged first, was attempting to save his own life. Greenaway had threatened Brodribb that if he 'squeached' then he would hang as well. See *The Times*, 17.4.1816, p.3, col.4 for the trial account.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
65 For a comprehensive study of Brodribb senior and his family see Smith, B. op. cit and for Brodribb junior see Finch, J & Teale, R. Brodribb, William Adams (1809–1886), ADB, Vol. 3, pp.237–239.
66 Brodribb, W. A. *Recollections of an Australian squatter, or, Leaves from my journal since 1835*, Sydney: John Ferguson in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society, 1978, p.3.
67 Brodribb, W. A. op. cit, p.4. Brodribb's memoirs were published sometime after this meeting and it is unclear why he did not name the 'native-born' settler who he stayed with. Bradley was one of few native-born colonists in Goulburn at the time.
on his purchased property. This gentleman was ‘very communicative’ and offered Brodribb valuable information on the locality. While he does not mention the name of the man, it is possible that he stayed with Bradley.

Brodribb travelled on to the Monaro on this trip, eventually becoming a partner with Meredith in a sheep station there, while also holding his own depasturing licence for Comlah on the Murrumbidgee. Brodribb also overlanded a draft of cattle to Port Phillip and undertook exploration in the Gippsland region in an attempt to find a way through the Snowy Mountains to Melbourne. He conducted exploration by sea near Wilson’s Promontory and visited the wreck of the Clonmel, a steamer situated at the western end of Ninety Mile Beach. Brodribb also managed a station for William Lithgow, the Auditor-General and set up The Port Albert Company to survey and settle the Port Albert District. Facing financial hardship like the rest of the colony, the Company lost £6,000 and Brodribb walked away from his surveys. He then went to Goulburn to undertake the management of Bradley’s properties and cultivate his own sheep station. It is his knowledge of the Monaro that made him attractive to Bradley.

From 1843 to 1855, Bradley and Brodribb shared an enduring friendship and a weekly correspondence of which little remains. The diaries and letters of his managers, such as Brodribb, are the only surviving evidence of Bradley’s management on the Monaro and in Goulburn. In 1843, Brodribb tells us he managed 2,000 cattle and 18,000 sheep on Bradley’s properties. Based at the Goulburn head station and then at Bullanamang with the Morrison brothers, Brodribb oversaw the management of all aspects of station life. He wrote of Bradley taking advantage of the ‘depressed state of affairs’ in the colony in 1843 by purchasing a number of sheep and cattle stations adjoining his own for very low prices. This was an example of Bradley’s ruthlessness to bide his time and wait until his competitors either sold out or went bust due to drought or poor management. It is a feature of Bradley’s Monaro management that was played out, time and time again.

By 1840, Bradley had expanded his holdings by obtaining a depasturing licence for Myalla station. In 1843, he held a depasturing licence for Bullanamang, Myalla, and Upper Rock Flat Stations. In 1844, he held a depasturing licence for Numeralla Station. From 1845, Bradley

69 Ibid.
70 Census records for 1837 do not list native born landholders in each county; the 1841 census lists that there were 258 males in Argyle (across all age groups) colonial born. The data does not identify specific occupations of these males. See Australian, 7.2.1837, p.4, cols.3–4; Sydney Morning Herald, 7.9.1841, p.4.
71 SR NSW Certificates to Depasturing Licences, Reel 5070, Loc No 4/94/95, Licence No 466; W A Brodribb, lease of Comlah, Murrumbidgee for £10, 1840–1841.
72 For further information on William Lithgow, see Horton, A: Lithgow, William (1784–1864), ADB, Vol. 2, pp.119–120.
73 Brodribb, W. A: op. cit., p.52.
74 Ibid, p.80.
75 Ibid, p.55.
held *Dangelong* and *Cooma Station (North)*. This concurs with the assessment that Bradley expanded his empire in the mid 1840s by capitalising on the misfortunes of others afflicted by the depression.  

Confident in Brodribb's skills, Bradley left him in charge of all the Monaro properties when Bradley and his family travelled to England in 1846. For Brodribb, the year 1846 records the heaviest losses of sheep on the Bradley properties of *Myalla*, *Cooma*, and *Bullanamang*.

Brodribb remained employed by Bradley until December 1854. He worked for Bradley at a time when the Colonial Government sought to regulate land acquisition. After protracted agitation, the squatting fraternity secured long-term leases for their runs, but with no security of tenure. The Orders in Council of March 1847 sought to resolve this issue. There were three classifications of land: the settled, intermediate and unsettled divisions. The effect of the orders on Bradley's land management gave him tenure over the land for fourteen years and enabled the construction of permanent improvements on the acreages. From a policy of limited depasturing beyond the Limits of Location, the Orders in Council were a step forward for squatters and for the development of the colony in areas far from the settled districts. It effectively created competition between squatters for the sale of wool and meat as well as providing exports for the colony, and in this period, the notion of Australia riding on the profits gained from the sheep's back began. However, Bradley and Brodribb were not without problems. Scab and catarrh in sheep were the most common diseases plaguing Brodribb's management.

Prior to Bradley's visit to England in 1846, some 5,000 sheep were infected with scab on Bradley's Monaro properties. Bradley visited Brodribb in order to demonstrate a simple tobacco technique to stem the disease and save the sheep. Brodribb could not understand how the disease travelled to the property, and he recorded in detail Bradley's treatment of scab in sheep. Jonas Bradley taught his son the scientific approach to treating scab in sheep, the development of which rivalled in importance, Farrer's later wheat experiments. It was an important safeguard to scab free flocks and was adopted widely across New South Wales as an organic and effective cure for the disease.

The disease was arrested by washing the sheep in the river, shearing close to the skin, examining the sheep and scarifying the scabby parts off the sheep. Following this, a warm liquid of tobacco-leaf water was applied to the sheep by immersing them in a tub for four minutes.

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76 Appendix 8 outlines Bradley's Monaro runs. There are difficulties with being precise about land tenure on the Monaro, as acknowledged by Hancock, WK: op. cit and Alpen, P; Gleeson-White, NG and Sabatzky, E: *N.S.W. Leasehold Stations, 1865–1900*, with an introduction by NG Butlin, University of Sydney, Sydney, 1948.

77 For further reading on the Orders in Council see Roe, M: op. cit.; Clark, MCH: Vol. 3, op. cit.; HRA, series 1, Vol. 25, pp.427–30, Grey to Fitz Roy, 30.3.1847; Roberts, S H: *The Squatting Age* op. cit.; and *History of Australian Land Settlement* op. cit.

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The sheep were then transferred to another tub to drain while the body was rubbed hard with an iron hoop to remove all the scabs. More of the tobacco-leaf preparation was poured over the sheep while using the iron hoop. Following this process (requiring the labour of six men), the clean sheep were placed on a new, clean run not previously grazed by infected sheep. Brodribb realised that a 'responsible person [needed] to be present to see each sheep dressed.' He allocated this job to himself and some 150 sheep were dressed this way per day. The flock of 5,000 sheep passed under Brodribb's eye before placement on the new run.

Disasters such as scab in sheep caused financial distress for others. For Bradley, however, his tobacco process alleviated the economic costs of slaughtering or boiling down the diseased animals. Bradley and Brodribb also dealt with catarrh swiftly by killing the infected sheep immediately before skinning and boiling them down for tallow. In this way, some costs were recoverable through the sale of the tallow, but catarrh spread rapidly through Bradley's Monaro flocks. Brodribb blamed the 'atmospheric' conditions of the Australian countryside as the cause of catarrh. In 1846, the combined effects of drought and catarrh served to decimate 2,000 sheep on Bradley's Monaro properties. This was at a time when Bradley was planning to embark on his trip to England.

Not only did the effects of catarrh and scab become an issue for Bradley's Monaro managers, famine caused by drought also resulted in the death of thousands of sheep and cattle. Brodribb claimed that there was little rain for almost two years, and 'the whole country looked like a desert.' In moments of despair, Brodribb wondered if the drought also destroyed the grass roots. To alleviate distress he moved cattle and sheep to other Bradley properties in Goulburn and to Bradley's snow leases at the base of the Snowy Mountains. During the years 1847–1848, some 30,000 sheep and nearly all the working bullocks on the Myalla, Bullanamang, and Cooma Stations died. This was a significant loss. In the middle of shearing the remaining sheep on the snow leases, it rained. The effects of drought, catarrh, and scab also affected the ability of the stations to be self-sufficient and sustainable. During one season under Brodribb's management, the price of wool fetched between seven to twelve shillings per pound washed in England, and with the sale of tallow to support the wool clip, the annual expenses were barely paid. Despite these hardships, Bradley continued to invest money and effort into developing sustainable establishments, demonstrating his commitment to the colony's economic success.

Brodribb benefited from Bradley's benevolence, which allowed him to establish his own flock of sheep. In May 1848, with winter approaching, Brodribb drove his 1,000 sheep...
across the Australian Alps to Tumut. Hampered by snowstorms and intense cold, he thought nothing would save him and his men from perishing. His arrival back home to his wife, Eliza, at Bullanamang Station was in some respects a miracle. For Brodribb, however, 1849 proved a turning point in his relationship with disease on the Monaro. In August 1849, a reporter for the Goulburn Herald relayed a story of human suffering on the Monaro, as tragedy befell Brodribb. Brodribb's own melancholy account of the incident fills some gaps in the reporting. His pregnant wife, Eliza, fell ill in mid 1849 and was confined to bed. To assist her recovery, he sent his two young daughters to play in the shearing shed. The next day both girls fell ill, were similarly confined and eventually died. Dr. Robertson attended all three and prescribed some 'salts and senna', advising they would soon improve.

Brodribb and his doctor had no idea that the three were suffering from diphtheria, as it was only some ten years later that the disease was discovered. Brodribb's life as a manager on the Monaro was challenging. Not only did disease plague livestock and humans but there was also a large acreage to manage. There is no record of Bradley's reaction to Brodribb's misfortune, but his character indicates that a sympathetic approach was likely. However, life on the Bradley properties went on.

William Bradley's Monaro land tally does not become clear until September 1848, when the Government published the extremely informative Government Gazette of Runs in the Squatting Districts beyond the Limits of Location. The publication of the various runs on the Monaro, their capacity and lessee provides information about how land changed hands since Lhotsky and Jauncey first recorded these details. It was not Bradley who emerged as the most significant squatter on the Monaro Plains at this stage, but Benjamin Boyd. He held 388,000 acres in the Monaro Squatting District and 1.22 million acres in the Murrumbidgee District, totalling just over 1.6 million acres of land across New South Wales. The acreages and estimated grazing capacities of Bradley's land holdings appear insignificant when compared to Boyd's massive share of the landscape. However, there were significant differences in the land management techniques of Bradley and Boyd.

Bradley ensured he maintained licence rights and made improvements over the land he purchased, as a way of staying on the Monaro. He established properties, and his beneficiaries enjoyed the profits from these for many years after his death. In 1848, Bradley held a licence to depasture stock on the Monaro runs of Dangelong, Cooma, Myalla, Upper Rock Flat and

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84 Following his eldest daughter's death, Brodribb sent for a coffin and drove to Cooma to the Christ Church Cemetery to bury her. On the way back to Bullanamang he was thrown from his carriage and the horses ran off. He procured a horse from a nearby inn and found his horse and carriage two miles north of the inn. One child remained, who contracted the disease but recovered. His wife recovered to deliver her unborn child, Kenric, with both surviving. For details of burial records in Christ Church Cemetery, see Ray, P & Thom, C (Eds): op. cit., p.vlii. See Brodribb, WA: op. cit., pp.69-70.

The combined acreage of these five properties was 103,200 acres, and this combined with *Bullanamang* Station's 96,000 acres enabled Bradley to have a 199,000-acreage share of the Monaro Plains. His land could carry 30,400 sheep and 2,560 cattle. The following map details the Monaro land William Bradley held by 1860. Brodribb, the Morrison brothers and a number of station hands, including ex-convicts and free immigrants, managed this land. The accumulation of this land mass did much to cement Bradley as a monster squatter, and provided a degree of respectability and power.

*Figure 5.5*
Source: Hancock, W.K. op. cit., p.93.

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86 Ibid. Note that Bradley was still overseas.

87 Calculated on the information provided above.
Bradley returned from England in April 1849 to find his properties running smoothly under Brodribb's management on the Monaro and Phillips' management at Goulburn.88 He increased their salaries, and expressed his contentment that his 'affairs had gone on better than if he had been in the colony'.89 Bradley and Brodribb's relationship continued throughout the early 1850s. Brodribb developed his own interests on the Monaro, purchased sheep from Bradley, and sent them to Billabong Station, which was owned by his brother-in-law, James Kennedy, near Yass. From Bradley's flocks in December 1852, Brodribb purchased 3,000 wethers and ewes at generous terms of six and nine monthly repayments.90 Brodribb's speculation turned out well, and he made a profit of £1,000. In April 1853 he purchased a further 2,000 sheep at 25 shillings per head from Bradley's Bullanamang and Alum Creek Runs.91 All sheep less than six months old were given in by Bradley, which means that Brodribb received them free of charge, with the proviso that they would be sold in Melbourne twelve months later, with the purchase money remitted to Bradley. This worked well for Bradley, Brodribb and George De Sailley, who managed the arrangement. Very little changed in the nature of Brodribb's work for Bradley, and profits began to be realised.

The dawn of the gold rushes, however, brought significant changes to the labour forces on the Monaro, particularly for the produce of sheep and cattle as a staple in the diet of the gold miners. Bradley was well placed to capitalise on the profits to be made from the influx of miners to Victoria. During 1853, Brodribb wrote that some 50,000 sheep were taken from the Monaro to Victoria for sale. At the same time, the price for a fat wether in Sydney rose from six to twelve shillings each.92 Perhaps Bradley and Brodribb misjudged the Sydney markets.

As gold mania swept the colony, Bradley began his push onto the Monaro. In the early 1850s, he purchased the impressive estate of Coolringdon from the Ryrie brothers. He bought out James Kirwan, an ex-convict turned squatter with whom he had ongoing disputes over station boundaries. He purchased the property Cootalantra, from Stewart Ryrie junior, which was later investigated as a site for tin mining.93 He obtained the lease to Glenbog and Island Lake runs as well as the run known as The Peak, from Patrick Malady. This brought his total to twelve runs on the Monaro totalling approximately 263,000 acres in early 1854.

88 Goulburn Herald, 21.4.1849, p.4, col.4.
89 Brodribb, W. A: op. cit., p.73.
90 Ibid, p.76.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid, p.77.
93 See McGowan, B: Lost mines revisited: historic mining communities of the Monaro, Southern Tablelands and South West Slopes districts of New South Wales, Canberra, ACT, 1996.
This is an acreage based on the land known to have changed hands to Bradley after 1848. Research for pastoral holdings in the Squatting Districts is reliant on a number of sources, both non-official and official. It is clear through the sources available that land ownership on the Monaro was tenuous and leases subject to transient landholders. Drought and a lack of labour often forced these landholders from their runs.

Despite his acquisition of land, in March 1854, Bradley decided to sell all his Monaro properties due to the good economic climate and favourable conditions. Bradley wanted to sell all his land and Brodribb was so confident it would all sell that he started to make his own arrangements for his family’s future at Billabong Station, sending his wife and children first. However, the subsequent deal Brodribb’s brother-in-law brokered on the property Wanganella on Brodribb’s behalf ran into difficulties, and then Bradley’s properties failed to sell. The auction of Bradley’s properties was set down for 11 April 1854 and comprised the establishments as outlined in Table 5.1.

**TABLE 5.1 WILLIAM BRADLEY’S STATIONS FOR SALE IN 1854**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Station with Subsidiary Runs</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Improvements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bullanamang</td>
<td>96,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shingled Shearing shed 80’ x 40’ with an iron screw press; Overseer’s cottage of 2 rooms, floored and shingled; Kitchen, and stores shingled; stone hut for men, shingled; Sheep yards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alum Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myalla</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>First rate stockyard; 5 roomed cottage; Kitchen with two rooms; Store and men’s huts; 1 x 8 acre cultivation paddock; 1 x 14 acre cultivation paddock; Stock-keeper’s hut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak Station; Turner’s Cooma Station; Spark’s Cooma Station; Behgera; Mittagang.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangelong</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Substantial dwelling house with 4 rooms, shingled and floored; Stone kitchen, shingled; Slab store, shingled; Men’s huts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Flat; Glenbog.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coolringdon</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 room cottage, thatched and floored; New kitchen with 2 bedrooms, flagged; Overseer’s cottage of 2 rooms; Slab store; Men’s huts; Large shearing shed with shearing floor for 12 shearers; Wooden screw press; Wool storage for 100 bales.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island Lake; Cootalantra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>263,000</td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

94 Others who have investigated land on the Monaro have had similar issues in calculating land aggregates. See the attempt to list Bradley’s Monaro land in Appendix 8.

95 Collated from the Sydney Morning Herald, 31.3.1854, p.7, col.5.
The advertisement stated that the stations, with other improvements and goods supplied with enough stores for twelve months along with bullocks, horses, drays (and in the case of Myalla, 20 tons of hay) were for positive sale. Mort and Co. advised their clients that Bradley's stations were among the best in New South Wales, with the Monaro's distinct advantage of proximity to Sydney, Melbourne, and Twofold Bay markets, as well as access to markets in New Zealand and Hobart Town. They advertised the land as being 'equal to the best fattening runs in New South Wales, and the sheep are warranted sound and free from disease.'

The market, however, determined that the sale of the properties was not as successful as Bradley desired. At auction, he only disposed of Bullanamang Station, with the other three runs passed in. Bullanamang was purchased by Bradley's neighbour, John Cosgrove, who held the adjoining Billylingera Station of 16,400 acres. Bradley determined he would hold onto the remaining three establishments and attempt to sell them all together or not at all. He remained entrenched on the Monaro.

Brodribb's plans were now well in place and he resigned his post to join his family at Wanganella Station, which was by now secured, with his resignation effective from 1 January 1855. On 23 January, his friends organised a farewell dinner for Brodribb at the Cooma Inn, to 'testify to him the respect which is entertained by every class, and their regret at his departure from us.' Brodribb's overseers, James Litchfield, Patterson, Nichols and Gilbert, presented him with a purse of forty-five sovereigns, subscribed to by themselves and the men on the establishments for purchasing a gold watch as a token of the esteem in which his colleagues regarded him. Bradley was not present at the dinner; however, the letter he sent his long serving employee was the highlight of Brodribb's farewell. Bradley wrote:

> Well, my dear Brodribb, we part perhaps never to meet again. I need not tell you I regret our separation very much, not because I am losing a valuable manager, but I feel I am parting with an old and valuable friend. I have no doubt that you will do well; you have energy and perseverance. I had always intended to make you a suitable present, when the time came for us to part."

Bradley's present was the cancellation of a £900 debt owed by Brodribb for the purchase of sheep. In addition, Bradley lent Brodribb £2,000 for three years at six per cent interest without any security attached. These actions reflect in many ways the identification Bradley felt with the ideals of industriousness, perseverance, and opportunity. Brodribb was certainly one of many managers that benefited from Bradley's financial and personal contributions to their

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96 Sydney Morning Herald, 31.3.1854, p.7, col.5.
97 NSW Government Gazette, 30.9.1848, p.1388.
98 Goulburn Herald, 3.2.1855, p.2, col.3.
99 Ibid; Brodribb, WA: op. cit., p.79.
100 Ibid, p.80.
lives. Brodribb wrote of his regret at leaving the Monaro, as he recalled feeling 'dejected at separating from so many friends ... and above all, I felt the separation from Mr Bradley, and it was sometime before I regained my usual joyous spirits'.

Nevertheless, Brodribb spoke proudly of his achievements on the Monaro and calculated that on his leaving Bradley's properties, he managed four separate establishments with an overseer on each with the flocks he controlled increasing from 18,000 sheep in 1843 to 65,000 sheep in 1855. Similarly, he increased the cattle from 2,000 head in 1843 to 5,000 head in 1855. These increases occurred despite the various setbacks of catarrh, famine, drought and cold weather. Neither Bradley nor Brodribb could anticipate that the next phase of the Bradley Empire on the Monaro would significantly increase these numbers and develop an income stream to sustain the Bradley family for generations.

As Brodribb began his new journey, he acknowledged his regret in having left the Maneroo, where he was 'doing very well, very comfortable, plenty of servants, and all the necessaries as well as some of the luxuries of life, and a good house to reside in'. The paths of Bradley and Brodribb continued to cross in the years prior to Bradley's death in 1868, with Brodribb often purchasing sheep from Bradley's overseers or, on one occasion, from Bradley himself when he happened to be at Coolringdon. In January 1858, Brodribb purchased almost 4,000 sheep from Bradley's Cooma run for £2,000. The sheep were destined for the sheep stations of Jerilderie (owned by his brother-in-law, James Kennedy), Brodribb's own Wanganella run and his brother's Mount Gambier run. Brodribb continued to invest in various landed ventures before a spell in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly and as a member in the New South Wales Legislative Council. At one point, Brodribb stood for the seat of Monaro and it is evident through Brodribb's memoirs that despite moving on, his heart remained on the Monaro Plains.

January 1855 proved even more momentous for William Bradley than the departure of his long-term overseer. Disappointed that the sale of his Monaro properties did not occur, Bradley turned his attention to consolidating the land he held and began working with the new overseer, Francis Smith. Smith became a prominent local force in the developing town of Cooma, taking on the roles of Justice of the Peace, and there are numerous references to his benevolence and support of various charities, including the Crimean War Fund and the Cooma Auxiliary of the Sydney Church. Based at Coolringdon, Smith was busy from the start of his employment with Bradley.

102 Ibid, p.80.
103 Ibid, p.87.
104 For more detail of Brodribb's life after his employment with William Bradley, see his obituary, Goulburn Herald, 3.6.1886, p.4, col.3 and Brodribb's account in his Recollections.
On 5 January 1855, the *Sydney Morning Herald* ran an advertisement for Mort and Co. announcing the sale of land, without reserve, on the Monaro belonging to the Estate of the Royal Bank and Benjamin Boyd. The auction day, scheduled for 9 January, changed Bradley’s landholdings significantly and ensured his dominance of the Monaro. From this point onwards, it would be appropriate to rank Bradley with other ‘giant squatters’ of New South Wales. Flower, Salting and Co., (Bradley’s Sydney and London Agents) were the agents offering the land. As Salting and Bradley were close friends, it was likely that there were discussions between the two men in relation to Boyd’s land sale. The four lots offered for sale are tabulated below.¹⁰⁵

### TABLE 2 BOYD’S RUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Station with Subsidiary Runs</th>
<th>Acreage in 1848</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glennong, Wog Wog, Boco Rock</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>14,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wangellack</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>11,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maffra with Baylis’ Station</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>6,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibbenluke, Cambalong, Bondi, Matong with licences for the following stations:</td>
<td>230,800</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>350,800</strong></td>
<td><strong>32,537</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The properties listed in Table 5.2 ran 5,100 head of cattle. In addition, forty-five head of horses were included in the sale. The improvements were minimal but included stockmen’s huts, stockyards, and equipment necessary for the running of a cattle station. Advertised as ‘the most valuable stock and runs in the Maneroo District’¹⁰⁶ the lands adjoined those of Monaro landowners, such as Bradley and W H Hamilton and were considered very ‘valuable pastoral properties’.¹⁰⁷

The lands were close to the markets of Melbourne and Gippsland with easy access to the wharves of Twofold Bay for sea cartage north or south of stock, wool and tallow. On auction day, Bradley purchased all four lots. He now controlled some 517,800 acres of land across the Monaro with almost 100,000 sheep. This acreage of 809 square miles effectively made Bradley the largest landowner on the Monaro and it now included the jewel in the crown, the *Bibbenluke* run, comprising 76,000 acres, and situated eight miles north of Bombala.

¹⁰⁵ Table collated from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5.1.1855, p.7, col.5.

¹⁰⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5.1.1855, p.7, col.5.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.
Through this purchase, Bradley became the epitome of Governor Gipps' 1844 'Monster Squatter' class. Manning Clark also places Bradley in this category.\textsuperscript{108}

As Bradley's empire developed and his reign as a monster squatter began, another came to an end. Boyd's reign was over. His ten Monaro runs exemplified his strategy of buying up big land acreages, importing labour ill equipped physically and mentally to work his land, maximising the land output, and diversifying his cropping and agricultural pursuits. His properties dominated the Monaro landscape but by 1855, his plans failed. For Bradley, however, the 1855 land sale was timely. Having disposed of his original lease, Bullamang, in 1854 to John Cosgrove, he was searching for land on the southern Monaro to consolidate his enterprises. It is likely that Salting was his confidant in this sale. When it came to selecting packages of Boyd's Monaro land, Bradley demonstrated his understanding about how to choose the best parts of Boyd's Empire. Brodribb wrote positively about Bradley's 'prophetic eye'\textsuperscript{109} that could 'see into the future',\textsuperscript{110} resulting in the purchase of stock and stations at low prices. Brodribb believed Bradley had a conviction that 'stock of all descriptions would rise in price'\textsuperscript{111} if men could be found to manage it. In a letter to Brodribb, Bradley stated that 'the boiling pots will soon be abandoned'.\textsuperscript{112} Brodribb commented that Bradley was accurate in his judgement of the situation.

Bradley's next task was to develop homesteads, make improvements to the stations under the agreement of the leases, and employ effective managers to oversee the running of station affairs. Under Brodribb, there were a number of men employed as overseers on the various properties: James Litchfield, and Messrs. Patterson, Nichols, and Gilbert. Francis Smith now assumed the role of superintendent; however, the substantial addition of land to the Bradley Empire called for an effective and efficient manager to supervise the whole of the Bradley land. James Litchfield, who arrived in Australia in 1852 with a letter of introduction to Bradley recommending him as a suitable employee, managed Myalla. Bradley initially employed Litchfield at the Lansdowne Estate at Goulburn before moving him to Coolringdon, and then on to Myalla before he took over the management of Maffra Station. Litchfield was one of Bradley's success stories as a manager, and the family still own and live on the Monaro, including Bradley's former station, Myalla.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{109} Brodribb, WA: op. cit., p.75.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid.
Alfred Windeyer managed *Bibbenluke*.\(^{114}\) Labour shortages exacerbated by the gold rushes meant that employing a principal manager was impossible until late 1861.

Bradley succeeded in obtaining tracts of land that were desirable amongst a respectable set of people. The list of his neighbours does much to confirm the view that from the late 1840s onwards, Monaro was a highly sought after location for the upwardly socially mobile. Ronald and Robert Campbell, Richard Brooks, Charles Throsby, the Ryrie and Wallace families, all significant members of early colonial New South Wales society, owned land on the Monaro. By aligning himself with these people and being a successful land manager, Bradley confirmed his rise to the upper echelons of colonial society. Bradley also succeeded at establishing homesteads worthy of providing overnight rest to colonial dignitaries on their journeys through the Australian bush.\(^{115}\) This type of acceptance into respectable society took time and indicated that Bradley's parentage and native-born status did not impede his success.

Becoming a 'monster squatter' was not perhaps the preferred way of gaining respectability in a colony stained with convictism. Indeed, some historians would argue that a squatter was not a man of character but more a man 'acting without grace or restraint of care for the public good'.\(^{116}\) While the land beyond the Limits of Location remained unspoilt, there was little value added to the colonial economy. The squatters provided the means to open up this land and develop communities, while also establishing infrastructure and townships to support the demand for goods and services from their workers and families, as well as the squatters' families. Through this approach, the land was settled and made productive in a capitalist sense. While most squatters remained alone on their runs, the eventual construction of a homestead meant that women and families settled on the Monaro, arguably bringing some degree of civilising effect to the Plains.

Clearly, Bradley did not see it as part of his role to take 'society' beyond the Limits of Location. Rarely did Bradley take his daughters with him to the out-stations he owned, but he maintained them in Sydney. This is despite the fact that the homesteads gracing his lands by the 1860s were substantial. Bradley himself travelled to his properties only on rare occasions and he was in effect an absentee landowner, vesting his power and trust in his managers. Moreover, he operated according to the mores of the Victorian age, which dictated limited roles for women in polite society.

Bradley, perhaps, more than some of his contemporaries, had access to the gentry of colonial society, despite his heritage. Some sources place Bradley as the epitome of the colonial

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\(^{114}\) See chapter six for more about the superintendent, Thomas Park Milkin who managed Bibbenluke under Boyd until his death in 1854.

\(^{115}\) See the *Town and Country Journal*, 26.3.1892, p.27. The Earl of Jersey stayed overnight at Bibbenluke Station.

\(^{116}\) Roe, M: *op. cit.*, p.61.
gentry, in amongst those who could claim conservative power in the colony.\textsuperscript{117} In many ways, this assessment is a more accurate reflection of Bradley's nature and his actions. Bradley was well-established in the colony. His father's status as a non-commissioned officer in the New South Wales Corps afforded the family a degree of civility. On the Corps disbandment, Jonas Bradley effectively sealed the fate of the Bradley family by remaining in Australia. He had little opportunity to aspire to the heights of British society. He was encouraged, therefore, by land grants and recognition for his work in the Corps, to build his family's fortunes in New South Wales.\textsuperscript{118}

From 1855 to 1858, Bradley remained in his Sydney residence, \textit{Lindesay}, directing his remote properties from afar.\textsuperscript{119} He also took on a non-elected member role in the newly formed responsible government of New South Wales from 1856.\textsuperscript{120} In 1858, Bradley indulged in an Australian pursuit: a grand tour, taking his daughters, Catherine (Kate), Alice, and Willaminna (Minna) on an extended journey to Europe. A number of their friends, including Blanche, the daughter of Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, witnessed their departure from \textit{Lindesay}. The \textit{Duncan Dunbar} took the Bradley family initially for 'a space of two years'\textsuperscript{121} to the continent and the journey did much to cement William Bradley as a successful colonial native-born. Blanche Mitchell missed her friends and they had regular correspondence.\textsuperscript{122} In October 1859, she recorded the Bradley girls were well and 'not thinking of returning'\textsuperscript{123} to Australia in the near future. It was not until September 1862, some four years later, that Bradley and two of his daughters, Alice and Minna, returned to Australia, again on board the \textit{Duncan Dunbar}.\textsuperscript{124} Four servants returned with the family and the protracted friendship between the Bradley girls and Blanche Mitchell resumed.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{117} For more on this notion, see Roe, M: op. cit.; Molony, J: op. cit.
\textsuperscript{118} See Roe, M: op. cit., pp.35–57.
\textsuperscript{119} William Bradley did not name \textit{Lindesay}. The colonial treasurer, Campbell Ridell in 1834 on land reserved by the Acting Governor, Lieutenant Patrick Lindesay, built the house. It was the first house on Darling Point. Bradley purchased the house from Sir Charles Nicholson in 1849 upon his return to Australia. Bradley remained here until his death in 1868. At various stages the house was leased to Nicholson and Salting in Bradley's absence. See also National Trust of Australia (New South Wales): \textit{Lindesay, a biography of the house}, Sydney, 1984; Roxburgh, R: \textit{Lindesay, Darling Point}, Sydney, 1968; see also ML A-5357-2, Items 2–37, \textit{Lindesay, Darling Point, Letters, Conveyances and Information from the Norton Smith and Company Files}. Book
\textsuperscript{120} The new Parliament of NSW was a bicameral (two House) Legislature, similar to that of England, consisting of an Upper House (Legislative Council) and Lower House (Legislative Assembly). The new Legislative Council was to consist of no fewer than 21 Members nominated by the Governor on the advice of his Executive Council and initially appointed for 5 years and thereafter for life. See http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/web/common.nsf/key/HistoryResponsibleGovernment accessed 24 January 2010 and see Stapleton, M: \textit{Australia's First Parliament: Parliament of New South Wales}, Sydney, 1987.
\textsuperscript{121} Hickson, E and Francis, J: op. cit., p.31.
\textsuperscript{122} In tracing this source, the letters from the Bradley girls to Blanche Mitchell have not been located.
\textsuperscript{123} Hickson, E and Francis, J: op. cit., p.31.
\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 13.12.1862, p.6, col.1.
\textsuperscript{125} One daughter, Kate Bradley, remained in England as she had married Dr. Samuel Thomas Heard of the Madras Native Infantry in 1860. See Appendix 9 for further information on the family.
It was precarious for Bradley to leave Australia for so long without a permanent manager. Despite extensive research, no letters between MacDonald Smith and Co., Bradley’s Australian agents, and Bradley remain for this period. One significant decision by Phillips, Bradley’s Goulburn manager, was to employ Henry Edwards to be the Monaro superintendent, based at Bibbenluke. By the time Edwards arrived to manage the properties, Bradley had already laid the foundations of a vast landed empire on the Monaro. Bradley’s actions changed the ancient landscape and effectively changed the course of settlement and life on the Monaro. Bradley’s industriousness and perseverance allowed for his pre-eminence on the Monaro, at a time when his contemporaries, as we have seen, went bust or simply gave up their land.
The ninth of January, 1855, was a hot day in Sydney. William Bradley sat in the auction rooms of Flower, Salting and Co., where his agent and friend, Salting was to put up some vast tracts of the Monaro Bradley had watched for some time. Comprising the best basalt land on the Monaro, Bradley felt confident this land would secure for him the best runs on the Monaro. There were some doubts though. The previous year he had tried to sell off his Monaro land, as he wanted to semi-retire to his Sydney mansion. Despite his advancing years, he felt more committed to the Monaro than he had before. Since 1831, when he first ventured onto the Bullanamang run, he had witnessed changes on the Monaro resulting in families taking up residence, the establishment of schools, and a small community at Cooma taking shape.

It was still a long way from Sydney. The advent of steam transport meant that he could now sail past the sandstone cliffs of the Sydney Heads to Two Fold Bay. This allowed quick access up the mountain range to the Monaro and what would become the base of his operations: Benjamin Boyd's property Bibbenlule. This journey was markedly different to the wild times he had seen as a young pioneer seeing the Monaro Plains for the first time and encountering hostile Aboriginal people. Bradley reflected that Boyd, whose whereabouts were now unknown, once held this land with an overly ambitious reputation as the man who would provide so much for New South Wales. Despite sitting on committees with Boyd, Bradley was unimpressed and thought, like others, that Boyd had over-capitalised and his diversification was too wide to manage successfully.

Bradley thought briefly about his former manager William Adams Brodribb and wondered how his adventure on his new station was progressing. He missed Brodribb's wise counsel and opinion about the land, the sheep, and the development of the Monaro Plains. It was to Litchfield and Smith he now turned. He wondered how the purchase of any portions of the land offered for sale today would affect them. Would there be enough men to work the land and care for the stock? He always paid his men well and there were no grievances to recall about salary. He did not have the reputation of being a bad master. He always tried to be fair, and now with transportation ending, he needed to maintain a community of workers that were paid, fed, and housed. In addition, there were now significant numbers of families on the Monaro, who were beginning their own journeys.

Next to Bradley sat his youngest daughter Alice, who was keen to know about all sorts of things. While he would not normally bring her into this male domain, he thought that attendance at an auction would be a learning experience. It was at these times that Bradley thought having a son would have been good.
Nevertheless, his daughter was so curious about how land could be bought that was miles from her Sydney home. He could not resist her smiling face that morning. She had seen her friends, William and George Salting at the auction, and they made a little trio. They looked at all the men in their finest outfits who expected to bid on this land.

The auctioneer began. Boyd’s exploits were mentioned briefly. Bradley, however, had a long history on the Monaro and his dirty work boots knew the 350,800 acres on offer far more intimately than Salting’s auctioneer did. First on offer was Lot 1. Gennong and Boco Rock had once belonged to Frank Cooper, and Dr. William Sherwin had once held Wog Wog. Bradley waited until the opening bid was made, and, watching the competitors, he waited until almost the end before making the slightest nod of his head, and the auctioneer registered the bid. Alice looked at him, wondering if she could just nod and buy something too. A few more bids and Lot 1 was his. Frank Rennie originally held Wangellack (Lot 2); Maffra, Lot 3, was really a Boyd property from the start and the cream of them all. Bibbenluke at Lot 4, was originally held by Joshua John Moore. The bidding for Lot 2 was quick—only three bidders and Bradley had deep pockets. Lot 3 went a bit slower and Bradley was cautious of playing his cards too openly as he did not want others to run him up. At the end, he piqued them all and there was no competition.

The real highlight of the auction was Lot 4. Bradley knew competition would be fierce. There was a lot of interest and the auctioneer paid the lot more attention when detailing the improvements and the stock. This technique slightly annoyed Bradley, who wanted to move on and bid for the land without lengthy descriptions of it. The bidding started. It was steady, and men were looking to Bradley to determine when he would nod at the auctioneer. It was a slight movement. He held onto little Alice’s hand and she looked up at him as he became the successful purchaser of Bibbenluke Station, the very pick of the Monaro Plains. This purchase remained in the family’s possession until 1925 and formed the cornerstone of the family’s income.

Alice jumped up and down and clapped her father along with the men who applauded both his largesse and his bidding techniques. He picked her up and told her how the land he had bought would one day be hers and her sisters’ to look after. In reality, the vastness of the land and the prize he had just won was lost on her excited chatter about his subtle nodding. He left the details to his friend Salting to sort out. Bradley emerged from the auction house, elated at his purchases. A new era began on the vast landscape that saw Bradley’s boots walk, understand, and work with this land. He was now truly the Monster Squatter of the Monaro Plains.
Having allowed Bradley and his family to 'lead me over the hills and far away' (to borrow Richard Holmes's expression) into their lives, it was time to visit Bibbenluke, Myalla, Coolringdon and the surrounding district, to try to catch up with Bradley. Perhaps here I would get a brief sense of what Bradley saw in the land that he spent so much money and time developing.

Bibbenluke station is situated in southern Monaro on the Bombala River. The land sits majestically on the hills and looks over the tiny village. I like to think of Bradley wandering all over this land in his dirty boots. One cold winter's day (it is always bracing on the Monaro), I arrived to briefly trespass on Bradley's Bibbenluke and southern Monaro properties and dirty my boots once again.

Disappointingly, little of the built heritage at Bibbenluke has survived. The original house is long gone; just the fireplace remains. The images of Bibbenluke provided by the descriptions of Henry Edwards and others had given me the impression of a working station, a community of workers all housed in and around the station's grounds. On this day at Bibbenluke homestead and on the surrounding land, there was no sense that some 150 years ago, a community existed here at all. It was deflating. I wondered what Bradley would think if he knew that this land was no longer the social hub of the Monaro.

I continued my tour of his properties. The homesteads at Myalla and Coolringdon told me a story about taming the landscape. At Myalla, with the Litchfield family as custodians, the homestead block has large gardens, a sense of place, and a beautiful bluestone homestead. The internal courtyard is evidence of Bradley's possession of the land in this remote part of the world. I'm sure I glimpsed Bradley's vision at Myalla.

I felt I had been to Coolringdon before I had even stepped on the land. I already had a sense of its beauty and its garden. I had immersed myself in novels, poetry, and all manner of stories about the Monaro before undertaking this journey.

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1 Holmes, R. (Footsteps), op. cit., p.69.
A. B. (Banjo) Paterson, Patrick White, Betty Casey Litchfield, Bancroft Boake, Trisha Dixon, Percy F. S. Spence and George Lambert are among those who accompanied me. Betty Casey Litchfield was a poet who lived at Coolringdon, and through her description of life there, she gave me the sense that this place was special. In many ways it was. She described fairies at the bottom of the garden and while I did not find them, I found a wild garden bordering a still wilder landscape that remained untamed.

Stepping into this landscape was like being transported to another world and time. I had an image of Bradley walking this property. Surely he enjoyed the solitude, space and vastness of this land. Like Casey Litchfield, I wondered if Bradley thought about what would happen to this property in the future. In a poem, called Coolringdon, Casey Litchfield asked, 'who will love you, when I am not here to love you?' Perhaps Bradley pondered the same question when, in the nineteenth century, he was planning the house that Casey Litchfield called home.

It was a lovely sunny day when I took my mother with me to visit the Litchfield family at Hazeldean. There were three generations there for lunch and we sat on the stone balcony looking out over a vastness that was both immense and desolate. The family arrived in New South Wales in 1852 with a letter of introduction to William Bradley at Goulburn. After a stint at Goulburn, James went to the Monaro to work for Bradley on his Myalla and Coolringdon properties.

It was the beginning of a long love affair with this land and I felt the same sense of affinity I imagined Bradley felt. I thought he might have enjoyed the idea that I was talking to the descendants of a man whom he respected greatly, and eating Monaro lamb for lunch at the same time. In meeting this family, I felt my journey was reconnecting a web of nineteenth century people who were once part of an enterprise that was grand in its intent and vision.

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4 Casey Litchfield, B: op. cit., p.79.
In pursuing and understanding this grand vision of Bradley's, I did go off the beaten track somewhat. A road trip around the properties was particularly memorable. Starting from Bullanamang, I drove south through Cooma, out to Bibbenluke, down to Cambalong and up to Maffra and Myalla, past Bobundara, Hazeldean and Dangelong and then out towards Adaminaby, past Coolringdon and towards the western ranges of the Snowy Mountains. This trip gave me a sense of the incredible length and diversity of Bradley's land.

As I traversed this land, somehow feeling I was encroaching on the past, I thought of Bradley droving his sheep and cattle in the tradition of Paterson's Clancy of the Overflow. It seemed that Bradley, like me, saw Paterson's 'vision splendid of the sunlit plains extended and at night the wondrous glory of the everlasting stars'\(^5\) on this ancient, beautiful landscape.

CHAPTER 6
CHECK MATE!
PLAYING CHESS ON THE MONARO PLAINS
Figure 6.1
Coolringdon Station, 1901–1910.
Source: National Library of Australia
It was a hot summer's day in early 1864 as William Bradley stood at the graveside of his superintendent, Francis Smith, now lying in peace in the Christ Church Cemetery, Cooma. He had been unable to attend the funeral, but he arranged the gravesite, the inscription and fence for the grave, and made a pledge to care for Smith's now orphaned children. Bradley shook his head; what a cruel twist of fate it was that took a life in its prime. It seemed bizarre to Bradley that Smith had died after playing a summer cricket game. He bent down to touch the ground where Smith lay at rest. Here, on damp ground, Bradley had been told, Smith contracted influenza, which had resulted in a brain infection. Bradley shook his head again; the ground was warm to his touch. Smith's wife lay with him, having died two months before her husband in October 1863. Their youngest daughter Constance was buried there too. Smith had really died of a broken heart, Bradley concluded. A wave of sadness washed over him; Bradley knew the pain of burying his parents and brother, his wife, numerous children. He laid a bunch of flowers from the Coolringdon garden.

Standing at the grave of a long time loyal employee, Bradley felt completely alone. How ironic, he mused, that his eldest daughters were far from home, pursuing romances, or married, and a new generation was growing up, one that did not bear his name. The churchyard was quiet on this day as Bradley walked among the ghosts of his past. Murray Mitchell, was there. Bradley remembered him and his sister playing at the homestead with his daughter. He had seen Blanche, his sister, just a few weeks earlier at a ball in Sydney with his youngest daughters. John Lambie, the former Commissioner for Crown Lands on the Monaro lay further down the hill. Bradley recalled the numerous times that he had clashed with this tiresome bore.

Bradley turned to leave the churchyard and mounted his horse to ride the few miles back over to Coolringdon, where he was meeting up with Henry Edwards for lunch. Like Smith, Bradley valued his manager at Bibbenluke. He had a voracious appetite though. Bradley chuckled at the prospect of seeing Edwards stuffing his face and the thought lightened his mood.
The long line of pine trees were growing well as Bradley rode his horse down the long driveway to Coolringdon. The improvements to the Homestead and gardens were significant. He passed the small cottage that was home to James Litchfield, stopping briefly to watch a large flock of white cockatoos fly over the pines. The white wild daises that heralded summer held their sunny faces towards Bradley, and he gazed at the summer snow spreading out far below the trees, their whiteness stark and cooling.

As Bradley drew into the stables, the young stableboy came to relieve him of his horse and brush it down. Bradley patted down the horse and turned to enter the homestead, which stood imposing and prominent in the landscape. The house was silent and empty and Bradley’s hollow footsteps followed him as he went to the water closet to freshen up before Edwards arrived. He stopped to put his hand on a wall. It was icy cool, providing respite from the oppressive heat outside. He could hear the noise of the cook bustling in the stone kitchen outside. The smell of fresh lamb wafted through the house. Bradley poured an aperitif, sat in his favourite armchair, and looked out over the terrace to the garden.
Edwards arrived with his dog yapping furiously beside him. The dog had spied the mountain geese and wild black swans down near the house dam. The noise broke Bradley’s reverie and he went out to meet Edwards. Over lunch, the conversation revolved around the operations of the properties, the state of the flocks of sheep, the impact of the gold discoveries on the workers and the costs of continuing the venture. Bradley was not, however, interested in continuing to spend a small fortune on maintenance of his properties. The environment constantly tested his resilience. There were not enough workers, and wool prices were decreasing for the first time he could remember.

Robertson’s damnable land laws were also beginning to have an impact on the Monaro. Blasted ‘radical’ he thought. Bradley wanted the focus to be on developing a profitable station. Bradley knew that he and Edwards were playing a game of chess on the Monaro Plains with his money. At times, this was frustrating. He raised with Edwards his plan to sell a number of his holdings, including Coolringdon in a few years, as he was thinking of retiring. Edwards registered some surprise at this news. Bradley was a good employer and a potential loss of income would affect Edwards’s plans for his own landed estate.

Bradley told Edwards that he was also considering putting Myalla, Dangelong, and Maffra up for sale. Even Bibbenluke was to be sold. Edwards knew that this was the jewel in the crown. After he recovered his composure, Edwards pressed Bradley for more details of his intentions. He could not help thinking about how his own future success was intertwined with Bradley’s.

The lamb was fresh and young and the accompanying sides all produced from the homestead’s vegetable garden. An apple, peach, and apricot pie served as dessert, using summer fruits from the orchard and served with fresh cream from the dairy. For once, Edwards was not so hungry. Bradley, on the other hand, was replete (and the cook, who rarely cooked for her employer, was cheered by his compliments).

Soon they set off for a tour of the improvements to Coolringdon since his last visit. They made their way to Killamacoola Lagoon. The black swans and wild geese that Edwards’s dog had chased were now resting quietly among the golden reeds fringing the lagoon. His land stretched as far as the eye could see. As he breathed in the warm Monaro air, Bradley reconnected with the land he once knew intimately. He dreamed of his family sharing this scene and beauty with him. Perhaps next time he would bring Alice and Minna. Bradley felt the weight of the past on him as he surveyed his land and pondered his next moves in writing a new chapter on the Monaro Plains. He would not lose this game of chess.
Chapter Six: Check Mate! Playing chess on the Monaro Plains

Figure 6.3
Coolringdon, Cooma.
The first principle of squatting, is that the Squatter shall have full power to settle without restriction wherever he can find unoccupied pasture, and to take possession of as much land as his stock can occupy.

William Bradley heeded this principle as he moved from his first southern New South Wales station at Bullanamang near Bredbo, further and further south onto the Monaro Plains, populating large tracts of land with shepherds and sheep. His was an obsessive desire to accumulate large land holdings to insulate him against economic downturns and safeguard his other investments. As we have seen, during the 1850s and 60s, Bradley, a proven achiever in the development of landed enterprises in the wider region, emerged as the largest pastoralist on the Monaro. While negative connotations of the squatters abounded in London as they were likened to 'smugglers' in their quest to gather land, Bradley pushed ahead with his plans on the Monaro. It was Bradley's driven raw ambition that saw him emerge as a ruthless business man, single-minded in his attempt to control the Monaro landscape.

This chapter will examine how Bradley consolidated his Monaro landholdings, his varied responses to the Robertson Land Act and the management of his properties under the new Free Selection laws. An assessment of Bradley's operation within a broader assessment of land policy will determine how successful Bradley was in meeting the challenges of the new laws. Further, by examining the relationship between Bradley and Edwards, the frustrations in being the man on the ground on the Monaro with an absent landowner will be revealed. Using the evidence from Edwards, Bradley's letters and those of his managing agents, this chapter will assess how Bradley removed himself from his former ideals of industriousness, allowing others to enact his values and principles on the Monaro. This shift from active involvement to management continued upon Bradley's death in 1868, to the detriment of his beneficiaries.

As noted earlier, Bradley aligned himself politically to the 'Squatting Interest'. Bradley and his colleagues, including Wentworth, Faithfull, and Boyd, joined again in the mid 1840s to protest against perceived threats to the allocation of colonial land. His election to the New South Wales Legislative Council in 1843 as Member for the County of Argyle was also an attempt to protect his landed interests and those of his constituents. Bradley, as we know, was already squatting beyond the Limits of Location established in 1829 on the Bullamang Run near Bredbo.

The Ripon Regulations introduced in 1831, designed to bring the management of colonial wastelands into line with wider imperial policies on the colony, failed to stop the progress

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7 HRA, series 1, Vol. 18, Undersecretary Stephen to Colonisation Commissioners, 27.10.1837, p.684.
of Bradley's land acquisition. New South Wales, like other colonies, existed in the eyes of the British lawmakers to serve contemporary British needs, including the dispatch of English labourers to relieve domestic challenges with this group of often-unemployed Britons. In effect, New South Wales was not only a dumping ground for convicts, but also for those labourers who could not contribute to the British economy. Bradley seemed determined to ignore these regulations, as between 1831 and 1840, as noted earlier, he acquired approximately 17,282 acres of land in and around Goulburn. The Regulations affected Bradley less than smaller landholders, although Bradley, like others would not wish to pay a premium price for what were considered 'waste lands'. By the time the Act for Protecting the Crown Lands of this Colony from Encroachment, Intrusion and Trespass was enacted in August 1833 by the British Parliament, Bradley was well established, along with many others on the northern and southern Monaro.

During the heated debates about land tenure in New South Wales during Gipps's governorship, Bradley again aligned himself with Wentworth, Boyd, Cowper and other parliamentary colleagues to form the Pastoral Association. Bradley established a branch in Goulburn. This protest group, chaired by Benjamin Boyd, formed out of the ranks of the Legislative Council in opposition to Governor George Gipps's April 1844 Land Regulations designed to address labour shortages and return control of Crown Lands to the Government. The Association developed branches and networks that campaigned vigorously against Gipps and his regulations in London, India and Scotland.

In a dispatch to Gipps in January 1845, Lord Stanley acknowledged that in the mid 1840s, despite the pecuniary distress of the colony, the 'great source of the wealth of New South Wales, the production of wool, has been mainly the work of those who are termed squatters'. Stanley considered the squatting class to comprise the 'most educated, the most intelligent, and the wealthiest inhabitants of the colony [and] ... constitute a body whose influence in the colony, out of the Legislature, is very great, and in it at this moment, paramount to every other'. He was correct in his assessment of the power of the squatters in New South Wales. The period from 1844 to 1868, when Bradley died, was characterised by a number of changes

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9 Ibid.
10 Compiled from NSW LPI Records, land for William Bradley from 1831–1840. See Chapter 3 for details of this land.
11 The Limits of Location were established in 1829, see: *Sydney Gazette*, 17.10.1829, p.1, cols.1–3; the 1833 Act was passed to stop unauthorised occupation of Crown Lands beyond the Limits of Location. See Callaghan, T., *Acts and ordinances, An Act for protecting the Crown Lands of this Colony from encroachment, intrusion and trespass*. 4. Will IV, No 10, 28 August 1833.
12 Note this was different to Bradley's involvement with the *Australian Patriotic Association*, although many members were similar. See Chapter 3 for more on the Patriotic Association.
13 See Roberts, S.H., *The Squatting Age in Australia*, op. cit., p.239.
15 Ibid.
in land policy in the colony that directly affected Bradley’s land acquisition and his squatting on Crown Lands beyond the Limits of Location.

The Land Regulations reflected Gipps’s argument that social and humanitarian factors should influence colonial land policy. The ‘Squatting Interest’ argued against Gipps on the question of labour profits and cheap labour issues. Gipps’s argument focused on the need to civilise remote areas by developing permanent residences and structures. This would invariably detract from profits made by squatters. The squatters argued that they were already suffering losses due to the colonial depression and long periods of drought. The new land regulations would limit both their productivity and their contributions to the colonial economy.¹⁶

Despite the virulent protest and rallying against him, Gipps established a select committee to investigate Crown Land Grievances in 1844. Its purpose was to gather evidence to ultimately limit the power of the squatting interest to make them pay minimum prices at auction, effectively a continuation of the Ripon Regulations, and bring the benefits of civilisation to outposts beyond the Limits of Location. Ironically, (and probably not lost on Gipps) the membership of this committee comprised squatters and those with other landed interests who would be affected by any negative outcome of its proceedings. Bradley, along with his other ‘Squatting Interest’ colleagues, Nicholson, Cowper, Lowe, Wentworth, Windeyer and Robinson, were appointed to the committee. They all had clear conflicts of interest in ensuring the new land regulations would not affect the profitability of their vast runs. The committee heard evidence from squatters concerning the effect of the new land regulations on their livelihoods and the economy generally. Considering the committee’s composition, the outcome of its deliberations would have surprised no one, not least the Governor.

The Monaro squatter Benjamin Boyd stated in his evidence that charging squatters more than £1 per acre would have the ‘most injurious consequences to the colony’.¹⁷ Boyd was not alone in his condemnation of Gipps’s plan to increase the minimum price of land. Sir Thomas Mitchell joined Boyd’s protest upon hearing that wastelands in the remote areas of the colony with little access to markets should sell for a moderate 2 shillings 6 pence to 5 shillings per acre.¹⁸ Others providing evidence argued that the increase to £1 per acre would have long-term monetary and social consequences. The increase in land prices, they argued, already dissuaded immigrants from coming to the colony. Henry Dangar, a former assistant surveyor to Mitchell, was virulent in his criticism of the land laws. He declared the land regulations ‘impolitic, inexpedient and

¹⁶ For evidence of the squatter’s complaints and their arguments, see British Parliamentary Papers, Colonies Australia, vol 9, 1845–1846; Correspondence relative to Crown Lands and Emigration in New South Wales. See also HRA Series 1, Vol. 23, Gipps to Stanley, 17.5.1844, pp.605–607, Enclosure 1, ‘The Protest of the Pastoral Association of New South Wales’ which details the APA’s grievances against the land regulations.

¹⁷ BPP Colonies Australia, Vol. 9, 1845–1846; Correspondence relative to Crown Lands and Emigration in New South Wales, The Evidence of Benjamin Boyd, 3 June 1844; p.43.

exceedingly severe at the present moment; that they are not capable of being carried out in practice ... and the effect must be that the colony will languish and receive no accession of new capital." No doubt, Bradley agreed with the sentiments of Dangar's protest.

Despite Gipps appointing both Wentworth and Lowe to the committee, they summarily and consistently harassed and vindicated him at the same time. Lowe used his position as the founder and editor-at-large of the Sydney paper, the *Atlas*, from November 1844 to the middle of 1845, to attack Gipps. Wentworth also created trouble in the council. Bradley adopted a more cautious approach, following a pattern he established in the council from his election and that we have seen in Chapter Four; he preferred to be a silent member of the association and the committee. However, the information gathered from Boyd's evidence assisted him when he purchased Boyd's Monaro properties in 1855.

Even before the select committee convened for the first time, Gipps was so worried by the association that in a separate dispatch to Lord Stanley, he conceded that 'the Squatters form by far the most powerful body in New South Wales—that in fact, almost anybody who has any property at all, is a Squatter'. Through this dispatch, he sought to gain discretionary powers to override the decisions of the Legislative Council. It is clear through his duplicitous dispatches that Gipps underestimated the opposition from the 'Squatting Interest', and when revealed, this undermined his effectiveness as Governor.

With the local Squatting Act of 1836 due to expire in 1846, Gipps foresaw a 'loss of assessment on stock, the abolition of the Border Police and the paralysis of Government action in the squating districts'. The implication of this for the Government was a lack of revenue, and again for Gipps, control over the men who were intimidating him into action. Faced by a call to action from squatters up and down the country to unite against the regulations Gipps sought to implement, he was in no doubt as to where the loyalty of his Council and his former protégée Robert Lowe lay. This public opposition crushed Gipps's spirit. The effect of the gathering of squatters 'from the Murray to the sea-beach, from the Snowy Mountains to the Glenelg, let no squatter be absent' was an organised political stand against the Council Executive, supported by the members of the council. It was an unusual situation.

20 Roberts, SH: (Squatting Age), op. cit., pp.232-233.
21 HRA, Series 1, Vol. 23, Gipps to Stanley, 3.4.1844, p.518. The despatch was marked 'separate' indicating a private or 'secret' rather than public despatch.
22 For a discussion on Gipps and this despatch see, Roberts, SH: (Squatting Age) and (Land Settlement); and Weaver, JC: *Beyond the Fatal Shore, Pastoral Squatting and the Occupation of Australia, 1826 to 1852*, The American Historical Review, Vol. 101, No.4 (Oct 1996), pp.981-1007.
23 See Roberts, SH: (Squatting Age), op. cit., p.241.
24 Howitt, R: Australia: historical, descriptive and statistic: with an account of a four years' residence in that colony, notes of a voyage round the world, Australian poems, &c, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1845, p.165.
In the midst of the protests, Bradley maintained his equanimity and continued in his land consolidation activities, and in the mid-1840s, focused on his brewery, his mill and his growing family. He made use of his networks to progress his own agenda. Two relationships of significance at this stage were his father-in-law Hovell, and Thomas Mitchell, who as the Surveyor-General of New South Wales was a good choice of acquaintance. The importance of these relationships is clear by the mid 1840s, as procuring advice about land and water in particular was difficult, given the Government's closed-door policy on discussing what lay beyond the Limits of Location. Both Hovell's and Mitchell's explorations into the southern reaches of New South Wales provided Bradley, an intelligent and educated man, with ideas, direction and experience on where to take up station runs and purchase land. This approach was not an aberration for Bradley, as it confirms his backroom approach to politics and advancing his interests.

Bradley keenly supported colonial exploration, having subscribed £20 for an expedition for the adventures of Dr. Ludwig Leichardt.25 Perhaps Bradley saw himself as an explorer in Goulburn, the Monaro, and earlier, in the Burragorang Valley.26 Bradley also supported Reverend William Clarke and his geological surveys on the Monaro in the early 1850s, and used Clarke's observations about the basalt land of the Monaro to make decisions on both economic and scientific reasons.27 These connections are important, as Bradley demonstrated interest in the wider exploration of the country. They gave him an understanding of how the Australian landscape was connected and integrated, thereby benefiting his profitability and management of the land. To this end, Bradley was strategic about the type, quantity and potential productivity of the sheep he kept on the Monaro.

Confirmation of his interest in applying science to his ventures can be seen in the fact that Bradley undertook experiments with the Southdown sheep variety he imported from the famed Southdown breeder, Jonas Webb, in Cambridgeshire. Webb did a good trade with 'enterprising cornstalks'28 from Australia in an attempt to improve the meat bearing capacity of their farms.

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26 At the auction in 2000, of the contents of William Bradley's great-granddaughter Esther Hope Ryrie's house contents, William Bradley's portrait was offered for sale describing him as an 'explorer'.


In July 1859, while in England, it is likely that Bradley attended the annual sale of Webb's 'celebrated flock of South Downs' where he purchased nineteen rams and thirty-four ewes. The date of Bradley's acquisition of the sheep is unknown, but he probably agisted them at Webb's, as they were only fifteen months old. He arranged to transport them to New South Wales some six months later in December 1860. Bradley was attracted to the breed as they yielded a heavier carcass than the Merino and were harder, having been bred for cold climates such as the Monaro. Their black legs and faces distinguish the Southdown from other breeds.

Webb's sheep were acclaimed in the literature and at the Royal Agricultural Society of England shows, where he won major awards and later exhibited (to gold medal standard) at the 1855 Paris Universal Exhibition. This possibly appealed to Bradley's sense of buying from a respectable and noted breeder. Although the wool was coarser than the Merinos running on Bradley's properties, he wrote to his Goulburn manager, Phillips, that he believed the new stock to 'be better suited to the climate of Monaro than any others I have seen and I wish to give them a fair trial there.' Breeding for meat was a change from the practice of breeding for wool in the colony. Bradley drew on his knowledge of supply for the goldfields and the subsequent population boom of the colony, knowing that although wool would always be in demand, meat could rival this traditional income source. The decision not only underscores his interest in scientific advancement, but also his pursuit of economic enterprise through diversification. This was the way of the future.

Bradley undertook the Southdown sheep speculation as an experiment, and told Phillips, 'I shall not complain of any reasonable expense, and if the experiment should fail I shall not complain, and it will be but the loss of a few hundred pounds.' Bradley's experiment was noteworthy enough that the *Goulburn Herald* reported that the venture totaled 'considerably over a thousand pounds', with the sheep eating English hay on the *Lloyds* and the passage money for each sheep being £5. An additional cost was incurred when a man called James Dillon was sent out to accompany and care for the sheep. The *Goulburn Herald* further reported Bradley's 'principal object is to get a breed of sheep specifically fit to withstand the cold of the

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32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
Monaro climate. Another scientific development Bradley was possibly aware of in the late 1850s was vapor-compression trials in the brewing and meatpacking industries by engineer and Melbourne newspaper editor, James Harrison. The introduction of this technology provided Bradley an opportunity to send meat to the wider British Empire.

This example of Bradley's entrepreneurial and ambitious engagement in a respectable transaction with a renowned sheep breeder provides an insight into Bradley, revealing much about the changing values his wealth brought him. He was now speculating in sheep breeding, as he had previously speculated in land. His friends Salting and Knox who, like Bradley, were always looking for a way to improve their fortunes, would have watched this venture closely. Bradley brought Salting a ram to cross breed with three hundred of the best ewes owned

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35 Ibid.
by his Monaro colleague McCanah, with Bradley to receive all the male lambs of the first year for Bibbenluke. With the expenditure on this ‘pet project’ of Bradley’s noted in the Goulburn Herald, and the publication of Bradley’s letter to Phillips acknowledging that he had no worries about the expense, it is clear that a willingness to gamble was emerging in Bradley. It also demonstrates Bradley’s commitment, as a native-born, to national progress, which was reflected in his individual industry and energy to invest in useful activities with wider benefits to the colony.

This insight into Bradley is one that stands alone. There is no other example where he openly disregarded costs for a ‘pet project’ with potentially negative outcomes. It is perhaps a shift in his thinking about his security and wealth and provides an example of Bradley’s capacity to take a calculated risk—the loss of £1,000 as opposed to the long-term wealth generated through a heavier carcass and a sheep more hardy and tolerant of the Monaro. This gamble proved fortunate for Bradley, as the Southdown wool sold well at auction and the meat was higher yielding than previous carcasses.

The Southdown sheep experiment was the third venture that Bradley undertook that indicates his understanding and capacity for the application of scientific principles to contemporary issues. The first was his ‘cure’ for scab and catarrh in sheep, which saved his flocks at Goulburn and on the Monaro. The second was his use of regenerative basalt land to run his flocks on a ratio of sheep to acreage that allowed his profit on every thousand sheep to be over £100, more than double the average return for the colony. In addition, he developed an ale and beer recipe in Goulburn that suited the climate and the water and appealed to the clientele. While Bradley was not a scientist, he applied scientific principles in his application to a number of his ventures.

Bradley’s successful involvement on the Monaro lasted from 1846 to over a century beyond his death, and is evidence that land management practices, animal and environmental stewardship and community development of isolated populations on remote outstations were all important to Bradley’s vision. In this way, Bradley stood apart from his contemporaries, particularly Boyd. In other ways, Bradley’s alliance to the ‘Squatting Interest’ demonstrated his continued self-interested approach to politics, economics and land acquisition. As the ‘squattocracy’ reached its zenith in the prosperous 1850s, Bradley strove to influence policy through his new role after

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37 NLA MS 1154/26/2, Edwards to Bradley, 13.6.1863. McCanah’s Rambouillet Rams were also responsible for the progeny of the rams on Bibbenluke, see Sydney Morning Herald, 1.5.1866, p.7, col.5.
40 NLA MS 1154/8/4, Edwards to Bradley, 1.9.1864.
the formation of responsible government in 1856 as a non-elected member of the Upper House.

As we have seen, Bradley’s evidence to the Select Committee on Monetary Confusion in 1843 was critical of absentee landowners. He asserted that profitable rates on their stations were unattainable, as they did not pay ‘personal attention’^42 to their land. It is therefore ironic that by 1849 he was no longer living at Goulburn or on the Monaro, but had shifted his home to Sydney, where he controlled the fortunes of those who worked for him from afar. It is worth noting that in this sense, Bradley was not an aberration to the pattern of landed wealth generation in colonial New South Wales. Having made his money off large land holdings, beer, cropping, wool and meat, Bradley returned to his Sydney birth-town to retire on the profits of his high yielding investments.

The relocation translated into a pursuit of grandeur and leisure that was characteristic of his contemporaries in New South Wales and the wealthy of Victorian Britain. Salting, having made his wealth in exporting Australian wool to London, together with landed enterprises, joined Bradley and their friends Nicholson and Knox as part of a social set focused on Sydney. The Sydney base allowed these men to extend their collective influence farther than their remote holdings. They invested in blocks of land in the developing port town of Gladstone in Queensland. Having a stranglehold on the land blocks near the port was advantageous for the collection of custom and trade from docking ships, and gave Knox control over trade associated with his burgeoning Colonial Sugar Refining Company. Bradley’s investment in Gladstone was twelve blocks of land, with ten blocks comprising thirty perches and two blocks comprising one rood each. For this land, Bradley paid £890 over the course of September 1854 and November 1855.43 There is no evidence that Bradley visited his Queensland properties or that he developed this land in any way.

Remaining in Sydney in the early 1850s allowed Bradley to ensure that his five daughters, aged between six and twenty, participated in the type of society he deemed acceptable and appropriate. In November 1851, Bradley attended a costume ball at Government House, with Emily and Esther (aged 19 and 17 respectively) dressed in court costumes from the reign of Henry V and the reign of Charles II, as the invitation dictated. Dressed as Catherine of Braganza, Miss Bradley’s ‘magnificent dress was almost a facsimile of that in ‘Heath’s Chronicle’,^44

42 Ibid.
43 For details of Bradley’s Gladstone land see: NSW LPI Serial 245, pp.125–126, Sale of land to William Bradley at Gladstone, 4.9.1854; and NSW LPI Serial 255, pp.43–52, Sale of land to William Bradley at Gladstone, 1.11.1855.
44 The Courier, 15.11.1851, p.3, cols.2–3. It is thought this Miss Bradley was Esther Bradley. Heath’s Chronicle was entitled *England’s chronicle, or, The lives & reigns of the kings and queens from the time of Julius Caesar to the present reign of K. William and Q. Mary: containing the remarkable transactions and revolutions in peace and war, both at home and abroad, as they relate to this kingdom, with the wars, policies, religion and customs, success and misfortunes as well of the ancient Britains, as Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman conquerors, with copper cuts and whatever else is conduceable (sic) to the illustration of history* by J. Heath London, 1689.
commented one newspaper reporter. It was in this period that Emily Jane, Bradley's eldest daughter, met and married Lieutenant James Langford Pearse.

Pearse arrived in Melbourne in July 1851, looking for his brother, William, who lost contact with his family while in Australia. James later went to Sydney and by September 1852 had met and married Emily (despite his relatively young age of 29 and British army regulations about the numbers of officers married in each regiment). It is unclear when they left Sydney, but by August 1853, when their first child Emily Elizabeth was born, they were living in Mysore, India. It does not appear that Emily accompanied James on his marches in India, however; it was undoubtedly a world far removed from her upbringing in New South Wales. Her sisters Alice and Kate later joined her in India. It must have caused her father and sisters great distress and anxiety when the news about the Indian Mutiny of 1857 filtered through to the Australian newspapers as Emily delivered her fourth child in four years in Mysore in the state of Bangalore. While the Mutiny was contained to the north, it must have been a frightening and stressful time for the Pearse family and those hearing the news months later.

Despite the events of both politics and family, Bradley maintained a life for himself and his daughters Emily (until her 1852 marriage), Kate, Minna, Alice and Esther (until her marriage in 1855 and subsequent death in 1856) at Lindesay, engaging them with social activities to distract them. He took them on trips to Twofold Bay via steamer, and they stayed at the Bibbenluke Homestead. There were parties with the Mitchell family and trips to Lansdowne Park to see Phillips and the new ballroom at their childhood home. It was a world away from the politics of land policy and confirmed Bradley's status as a respectable and respected gentleman.

Late in 1861, Phillips, as noted in Chapter Five, employed Henry Tollemache Edwards as superintendent of Bradley's Monaro properties. By this stage, Bradley had sold his Bullanamang lease, gathered thousands of acres on the southern Monaro and was busy creating homesteads, gardens and other civilising factors in an environment that was as harsh as it was beautiful. Bradley knew Edwards and his family. By 1861, Edwards's landed experience and knowledge

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45 Argus, Melbourne 19.7.1851, p.2, col.1; James Pearse was unsuccessful in his search for his brother. The Argus in 1854 noted a letter for W H Pearse from his father (Dr. George Pearse), Argus, 20.7.1854, p.1, col.5.

46 For an account of women who followed their soldier or officer husbands in the British Army, see Venning, A: Following the Drum, The Lives of Army Wives and Daughters, Past and Present, Headline Publishing, London, 2005. Women whose husbands served in the British Army in India Forces were not subject to the marches that other regiments engaged with. Emily and James Pearse had a daughter born just prior to the Indian Mutiny of 1857 in March 1857 and it appears all family members escaped injury. They continued to live in India after the Mutiny.

47 For an account of the Indian Mutiny see: Dalrymple, W: The Last Mughal, the Fall of a Dynasty, Delhi, 1857, Bloomsbury, London 2006.


49 Edwards was born at Bangalore, (near Goulburn) in 1834, and raised by his mother's second husband, Captain Robert Campbell, later of Bombalo, Monaro. The Campbells remained at Bangalore until 1848 when they moved to Bombalo and the Monaro when Edwards was 14. For history of the Edwards family, see http://www.monaropioneers.com/edwards_johna.htm (accessed 13 June 2009) and the Edwards family papers at NLA MS2957.
of the Goulburn and Monaro regions was advantageous to employment with Bradley as well his family connection to the respected Robert Campbell. In February 1862, Bradley’s agents, Flower Salting and Co, wrote to Edwards, welcoming him to his new appointment and established an account for Edwards at the Union Bank with a £500 opening balance.  

Edwards became Bradley’s longest serving superintendent. With his family, he took up residence at Bradley’s Bibbenluke property and following Bradley’s death in 1868, continued as the manager of the Bradley Estate until his retirement in 1889. Following his retirement, he remained a Trustee with Bradley’s Estate until 1902. Despite this lengthy and successful association, Bradley’s daughters dismissed him from the Trust for gross incompetence and mismanagement.

From 1862, Edwards documented his working relationship with Bradley through extensive diaries and letters, comprising dates from his employment with Bradley and later, his involvement with the Estate. To date, this is the most significant collection of papers detailing the relationship between Bradley and any of his managers, and also deals with the difficulties of managing land from Sydney, and at times, England. Bradley’s thin, spidery writing is evident throughout and Edwards’s replies, on carbon copy books, make for interesting reading. This correspondence is important for documenting the intricacies of the management of a sheep station in late nineteenth century New South Wales. As the representative of the largest Monaro landholder, with the introduction of the Robertson Land Act in 1861, and his relative youth, Edwards’s job offered him challenges, opportunities and difficulties.

The Act comprised two Bills, one for alienation and the other for occupation of Crown Lands. While it is not the intention to analyse the Bills and their effects in this thesis, it is of note that Bibbenluke provides a wealth of information about the effect of the Act on that portion of land thrown open to Free Selection. The Alienation Act provided for Free Selection from anyone with acreages from 40 to 320 acres on condition they lived as a ‘bona fide’ resident on the land and they paid a quarter of the purchase price. After three years, the selector could pay the balance of the purchase price and attain the freehold land. While retaining the previous auction system, it became more prominent in the 1870s at the behest of the Treasury which encouraged auctions.
Chapter Six: Check Mate! Playing chess on the Monaro Plains

Figure 6.5
Henry T Edwards, Bradley’s Bibbenluke Manager.
Source: NLA MS 2957/12.
As there were no limits on acreage, most land sold at the upset price, allowing squatters to buy large tracts of land across the country. On the Monaro, the practice of 'dummying', as it became known was used to great effect.56

At Bibbenluke, the result of dummying practices by Edwards allowed Bradley to block selectors from taking the best runs. In this way, the Monaro Plains were like a chess game, with each dummy selecting land that lay adjacent to the free selector they were trying to block. As a metaphor for the shaping of the Monaro after 1861, it is clear how Bradley and Edwards intentionally stopped free selectors purchasing various blocks and portions of land. In 1872, Judge Alfred McFarland wrote of his visit to the Monaro that 'the very Law which the free selector puts in force against the squatter, the squatter puts in force against him; he selected upon the squatter’s run, and the squatter selects upon his grazing right'.57 In the case of Bibbenluke, McFarland’s assessment proved remarkably accurate.

The Occupation Bill allowed the squatters to retain a 'limited pre-emptive right and to have a prior claim—a 'pre-lease' over the area purchased'.58 In the midst of the land grab on the Monaro, Bradley revealed a lack of attention and understanding of the impact of Free Selection. In May 1864, he wrote to Edwards: ‘Free Selection has nearly exhausted itself and there will be not much of it in the future’.59 However, Bradley misjudged the Government’s intentions. The Robertson Land Act remained intact until 1884 following two amendments (1875 and 1880) and a Royal Commission (Morris and Rankin) in 1883 that revealed the ‘failure of Free Selection in most of the colony’.60 The effects of Free Selection on the Monaro lasted beyond Bradley’s death and actions taken in Bradley’s lifetime affected the later management of Bibbenluke.

The major effect of the Robertson Land Act on Bradley’s lands, noted by all commentators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, was that Bradley made Bibbenluke into the very pick of the Monaro. The property’s successful conversion into freehold made news beyond Australia and this pre-eminence on an international arena was due to the groundwork laid by Bradley, Edwards, and the Trustees of Bradley’s Estate after 1868.61 The post-1868 period was one of consolidation on Bibbenluke. This made Bradley’s one lasting property the one that generated the wealth needed to maintain his daughters’ lives across the British world. Prior to 1868, however, Bradley and Edwards had a lot to do in manoeuvring their chess pieces on the Monaro Plains.

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56 For a discussion about dummying and the sequence of the land laws, see Roberts, S. History of Australian Land Settlement, op. cit.
58 Cited in Roberts, SH. (Land Settlement), op. cit., p.237.
59 NLA MS 1154/2/4, Bradley to Edwards, 11.5.1864.
Bradley’s letters, retained by Edwards, reveal him as sympathetic not only to the views of squatters, but also, significantly, to the plight of free selectors and to Edwards. He was unconcerned with some encroachment on his land by those whom he recognised were trying to improve their status in life. It is possible that he did not expect them to sustain life on the Monaro. It was the large players, however, that attracted Bradley’s attention. As they acquired prime parts of Bibbenlulae, Bradley became increasingly impatient with Edwards’s approach to managing potential encroachers. The letters, however, reveal that Edwards was a man concerned with the impact of the Land Acts on his employer (and no doubt his own family land holdings at Burnima, located to the north of Bibbenlulae). He was concerned with the daily running of a landed empire designed to generate substantial income to sustain his employer on his overseas journeys. He achieved this despite various environmental, physical, and human constraints. It was in many ways an unenviable position, but Edwards made money out of his long service to Bradley and then to his estate.

The Bradley-Edwards partnership began as the space vacated in 1855 by Brodribb affected the productivity of Bradley’s enterprises. As noted in Chapter Five, following Brodribb’s departure and the installation of Edwards in 1862, there was no permanent superintendent of the Monaro properties. Local Monaro history asserts that during the early to mid-1850s, Thomas Millikin was the overseer for Bradley’s properties on the Monaro. No supporting evidence confirms Millikin’s employment with Bradley, as he died in January 1854 aged twenty-six when he drowned in the Bombala River, and Bradley did not purchase Bibbenlulae until 1855. However, during Boyd’s ownership of Bibbenlulae, Millikin was the manager and held tenure as superintendent, not as an overseer. For a brief period (February 1851 until April 1851), he kept a diary which was misread as 1857 instead of 1851, causing some historians to identify Millikin as a Bradley employee.

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63 ML MS A3386 Diary of Thomas Park Millikin, While working at Bibbenlulae 26 January 1857 to 28 April 1857. The document has been incorrectly dated and should read 1851, not 1857. See Allen, F: A Big Lookout. Allen quotes extensively from Millikin’s diary of 1857, stating that Millikin was Bradley’s first overseer at Bibbenlulae. The inaccuracies resulted in a plaque, erected in 2006 commemorating Millikin’s death as 1858. See http://www.monaropioneers.com/thomas-Nehemiah.htm for information regarding this plaque and see http://www.monaropioneers.com/bradleyw.htm for information regarding this inaccuracy. There was no response to my request for further information.
Millikin’s diary is concerned with shepherding, boiling down, tailing cattle, slaughtering, the discharging of staff and the comings and goings of various people. It provides an insight into the detailed running of a nineteenth century sheep station, and gives an account of a number of people who worked for Boyd at Bibbenluke. It also reveals that many of these people continued to work for Bradley and Edwards. This is important, as it was noted by contemporary commentators that ‘the value of a trustworthy shepherd here is very apparent, for the sheep owner is greatly at the mercy of his servant, who if ill-disposed or careless, may cause his master serious loss, with little danger of being detected.’ For Bradley it was equally important to ensure that the managers at Goulburn and on the Monaro were prudent and trustworthy men.

When Edwards took the helm at Bibbenluke from Arthur Windeyer (who had taken over in 1854 following the death of Millikin), he faced a number of challenges. Inconsistent management occurred at a time when men were leaving the hard work associated with landed enterprises and were heading to the gold-fields of the upper Snowy River at Kiandra and Crackenback and to the Victorian diggings. Kiandra was a seasonal gold mine with the heavy winter snows affecting the output of the approximate 1,000 miners that gathered there in the winter of August 1860. The population outside Kiandra also expanded, with some 800 people moving in and around the mining site. A further 700 Chinese miners also made their way to the diggings at Kiandra in July 1860.

Bradley and Edwards could not compete with the rewards that miners received from their success (if they were lucky), as one haul in October 1860 yielded a 400-ounce nugget. Gold totalling between 200 and 1,400 ounces was regularly sent via the Gold Escort from Kiandra to Goulburn and then to Sydney. Nevertheless, in these early days on the goldfields when the miners came down from the mountains, thwarted by the snow in August and their lack of permanent accommodation, Bradley and Edwards utilised them. Seasonal workers, therefore, were readily employable during the winter months on the Monaro. For landowners, the summer season caused greater labour issues until the gold ran out at Kiandra and gold fever abated. When these gold diggers came looking for work, the Free Selection issue began to affect land usage on the Monaro.

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64 In Dawson, B: Sheep and Shepherds, Sheeprwashers and Shearers on Bibbenluke, self-published, Canberra October 1996, the most comprehensive study of workers at Bibbenluke, the evidence states Millikin was working at Bibbenluke from 1851–1853. The text relies on the source material of Boyd and Co and then Edwards to substantiate this claim. This text has primary sources from Account of Sheep at Maneroo, NLA MS 1999/26, 1.6.1851 to 30.5.1867. The other source is Boyd & Co Order List & Account Book, NLA MS 1154/33, 21.7.1851 to 28.5.1867.

65 Haygarth, HW: Recollections of bush life in Australia, during a residence of eight years in the interior, London: John Murray, 1848, pp.52–53.


67 Sydney Morning Herald, 5.10.1860, p.8, col.1.

68 See Sydney Mail, 11.8.1860.

69 For more on the Kiandra gold mines see Moye, DG (Ed): Historic Kiandra: a guide to the history of the district, prepared from material collected by the Cooma-Monaro Historical Society, Cooma-Monaro Historical Society, Cooma, 1959.
Free selection became a continuous source of disagreement between Bradley, Edwards, and others on the Monaro. It resulted in Edwards bringing charges against various people in the Cooma District Court in order to secure Bradley’s land. Unfortunately, Edwards did not enjoy Bradley’s total support in his endeavours. Bradley was reticent and reluctant to engage in further land acquisition as his daughters’ husbands were military men, not farmers. He also harboured a desire, well publicised by 1866, that he wished to retire from his pastoral pursuits. While Bibbenluké would provide his daughters with a regular income, the accumulation of additional land was not Bradley’s objective. There were also some concerns about Edwards’s management. In early 1863, Bradley suggested to Edwards ‘from a few circumstances connected with Bibbenluké mentioned to me by Mr Smith, I think it will be as well for you to meet me at Goulburn when I go up’. Previously, Edwards had always decided upon travelling to Goulburn to meet Bradley.

This period of Free Selection on the Monaro was complex. Bradley kept changing his mind about his intentions for Free Selection, with positions he held in 1860 changing by 1863. This made Edwards’s job challenging, because he had to engage in a number of chess manoeuvres on the Monaro landscape that limited, surrounded or drove other settlers from the area. In January 1860, Bradley wrote to an unidentified correspondent (but likely to be Edwards), of his intent to ‘prostrate free selectors on the Bibbenluké runs’. Bradley gave specific instructions to impound stock found on Bibbenluké beyond the boundaries of other settlers and in one case, that of Jigger Bulgarie, a carrier on Bibbenluké, Bradley was prepared to meet the expenses of taking him to court. Yet in early 1862, he advised Edwards that he ‘did not wish to become a large purchaser of land’ under the new land regulations. Bradley’s advice to Edwards was to purchase those blocks necessary to maintain the security of Bibbenluké.

By December 1862, George Garnock’s selection of two portions of the Bibbenluké Run irritated Bradley. In one letter he suggested to Edwards that he ‘never thought that neighbouring squatters would ever annoy each other’ under the selection laws. Bradley asked Edwards to provide him with advice as to how he could return the compliment paid to him by Garnock, as Bradley noted that ‘I do not like to remain long in anybody’s debt’. He registered a different reaction to the widowed wife of James Whalan, a former employee, who encroached on Bibbenluké. Caroline Whalan, a shepherdess at Boco Rock, selected a forty-acre block to the north of Bibbenluké. Bradley subsequently approved Edwards’s plan ‘to guard the boundary

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70 Sydney Morning Herald, 1.5.1866, p.7, col.5.
71 NLA MS 1154/1/14, Bradley to Edwards 12.2.1863. It is unclear about which issues Bradley summoned Edwards to Goulburn.
72 NLA MS 1154/26/1, Bradley to unidentified correspondent, 29.1.1860.
73 NLA MS 1154/2/4, Bradley to Edwards, 24.3.1862.
74 NLA MS 1154/1/2, Bradley to Edwards, 16.12.1862.
75 Ibid.
from the encroachment of grasping neighbours. By approving such courses of action he gave Edwards the opportunity to extend his land holdings, despite his earlier indications that this was not his preference. It was also in conflict with his ideals about helping those less fortunate.

Nevertheless, Edwards was in a difficult position. He was on the ground, while Bradley was in Sydney, vacillating about the case for and against Free Selection. Bradley only acted when a potential impact on the wider security of Bibbenluke emerged. If Edwards provided advice to Bradley about the security of his property, it was more probable that Bradley would take action. Through this approach to managing Bradley, Edwards consolidated and extended the boundaries of Bibbenluke. He manoeuvred Bradley into positions on the Monaro chessboard, allowing him to retain power over the prized possession that was Bibbenluke. In these early days of Free Selection, Edwards was inexperienced in dealing with factions of men who were determined to settle on the best bits of Bradley’s land. The physical separation of Bradley from his land caused problems, and it is ironic that in 1843, he had criticised others for similar actions.

The power vested in Edwards as Bradley’s inexperienced manager was seen by others on the Monaro as an opportunity to capitalise. It did not take long for squatters to emerge on the Bibbenluke horizon and attempt to select portions of Bibbenluke that would cause difficulty and inconvenience to Bradley and Edwards. Garnock followed up with the selection of further adjacent blocks to those initially selected. He was joined by others who were also selecting on Bradley’s run. James Callaghan selected a 40-acre block on the Gennong run and Henry Grant selected 320 acres at Jincumbilly in December 1865. John Murphy selected 320 acres of prime Bibbenluke land in January 1864 and then, using a dummy, secured more acres in April 1865. Jigger Bulgarie also selected portions on the Bibbenluke run. These selectors caused Bradley, Edwards, and later Bradley’s Trustees, varying challenges.

Edwards needed to assert his authority over Bradley’s land. He did so by devising a defensive scheme designed to alienate the selectors’ land so that they could not access the prized Bradley land. In developing a strategy to outwit his competitors, Edwards turned to the Land Act. Although he described it as the ‘most iniquitous thing in the world’, the terms of the Act could actively be used to his advantage to alienate and surround free selectors on Bibbenluke. It assisted him that Bradley’s money could afford the court cases, land, and buildings to make the land look like a selector occupied it.

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76 NLA MS 1154/23/2, Bradley to Edwards, 22.1.1863.
77 Jigger Bulgarie is also known as Jigger Bulgary and Chikas Boulgaris (among the other 33 spellings attributed to his name). Boulgaris was a Greek native who arrived in Australia aboard the Norfolk on 27 August 1829 as a convict for piracy on Malta in 1827 with a 14 year sentence. He was a shepherd, and for some time worked at Arnprior at Braidwood. For more information see: http://www.monaropioneers.com/nimmitabel/pioneers/bulgary-j.htm, accessed 18 August 2009.
78 NLA MS 1154/8/4, Edwards to Bradley, 22.4.1865.
Through 'dummying' and erecting 'improvements' on the land, Edwards secured the *Bibbenluke* run and became well known for his 'dummying' practices, using this method for many years. Instead of selecting a 320-acre block, Edwards would select the minimum forty acres, effectively blocking in Bradley's neighbour. This forced the selector to deal with issues such as trespass and stray cattle, and access to the land. The outcome was often the same: the selector was unable to maintain the land or stock contained in the acreage, and forfeited the selection. In this way, Edwards showed determination to use the land laws to Bradley's advantage. He manoeuvred his way through the stipulation that the selector needed to have a residence and make improvements by establishing huts on the runs designed specifically for the purposes of the land agents. By the mid 1870s, in collusion with McDonald Smith and Co. (Bradley's agents), he arranged for the construction of pre-fabricated portable cottages that could easily be moved from site to site.

Edwards was successful in thwarting some selectors. George Carnock's selections lapsed due to the hemmed in effect caused by the blocks 'selected' in the names of *Bibbenluke* employees. Edwards's planning and attention to detail assisted him in making life difficult for a number of selectors, but doing so was not always easy. Jigger Bulgarie presented a challenge for Edwards when he first selected a 320-acre block and then a further 100 acres near Ando. Bulgarie operated outside the norms of accepted Victorian practice when he selected the land 'and disrupted the socially accepted codes of behaviour', and it is clear that his actions drew a vitriolic response from Edwards. Bradley was equally annoyed and advised Edwards to 'dispute his grazing right by any means in your power'. Following Bulgarie's selection of land in the middle of four sheep stations, which effectively limited the movement of sheep flocks, Edwards wrote to Bradley that Bulgarie deserved to be 'treated without mercy'. Bradley's reply to Edwards was terse and reflected his frustration with the manager whom he had previously instructed to 'do all in your power to prostrate Free Selectors on the *Bibbenluke* Runs, and I do not know whether I can say any more to you now on that subject'. There was ongoing tension between Edwards and Bradley about the nature and design of the dummying practices and the approach Edwards adopted. The Robertson Land Act had effects for Bradley that was far greater than its original intent.

After receiving this letter, Edwards acted and selected, over time, some 850 acres around Bulgarie's claim in various lot sizes and again in numerous *Bibbenluke* employees' names.

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80 Dawson, B: *Holding Selectors at Bay*, op. cit., p.43.
81 MS 1154/23/2, Bradley to Edwards, 22.1.1863.
82 MS 1999 Box 1, Bibbenluke Letter Book, 21.1.1863.
83 NLA MS 1154/26/1, Bradley to Edwards, 29.1.1860.
This had the effect of enclosing Bulgarie, and by 1867, Edwards advised Bradley that he now had ‘great hopes of being able to save the run from much further injury and in fact I doubt if any of the Selectors here will hold their own long.’ He then erected fences (at Bradley’s expense) to thwart trespass, advising Bulgarie that he would need to contribute to the cost of the fencing. After this, there was no more trouble from Bulgarie. By the mid-1870s, the transfer of his land was complete, and Bulgarie was no longer a threat to the stability of Bradley’s run. In 1890, Edwards, on his own behalf, acquired the Ando run after he advised Bulgarie’s widow in 1885 that he would like the first offer on the land in question. Edwards effectively took the land that had thwarted his employer and bought it for himself. This was the risk absentee landholders took, and the risk that Bradley’s Trust took in employing a supervising manager.

Another entrant in the grab for Bibbenluke was John Murphy, another Monaro grazier. Bradley advised Edwards to stop Murphy by purchasing two half sections on Bibbenluke that did not necessarily adjoin each other. Bradley’s intention was to use these lots to ‘effectively stop the gap’, but Edwards was now almost playing his own game of chess with Bradley’s land and money. Murphy was intent on gaining possession of the best parts of the Bibbenluke run. Edwards moved first and selected land just an hour before Murphy did, providing him with an important advantage. Ironically, in April 1865, Bradley reprimanded Edwards for not moving fast enough on this chessboard and allowing Murphy to select a block of 315 acres near the Bibbenluke woolshed.

Bradley’s irritated tone to Edwards reflected his frustration that despite paying over £900 to secure the run, Edwards had not secured ‘every vulnerable part of Bibbenluke’. Bradley was surprised, he wrote, that Edwards ‘left so important a block as the one you speak of open to Free Selection’. He advised Edwards to ‘read the new Impounding Act very carefully before you commence any measures of retaliation’ and drew Edwards’s attention to a specific clause in the Act. This indicates that Bradley studied the Act and understood the implications for Bibbenluke.

84 NLA MS 1999/24, Edwards to Bradley, 6.3.1867.
86 NLA MS 1999 Box 1, Bibbenluke Letter book, Edwards to Mrs Bulgarie, 2.7.1885, p.110. See also Dawson, B: Holding Selectors at Bay, op. cit., p.56.
87 NLA MS 1154/1/2, Bradley to Edwards, 3.12.1863.
88 The outcome of the ongoing land grab by Murphy was not settled until well after Bradley’s death in 1868 with continuous actions by both sides to thwart the other. For more on John Murphy see Dawson, B: Holding Selectors at Bay, op. cit.
89 NLA MS 1154/2/5, Bradley to Edwards, 22.4.1865.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
His final comment to Edwards was that he was 'very much annoyed that Murphy was allowed to sneak in where he has done'. Bradley's annoyance was justified. Just a few weeks earlier, he wrote to Edwards requesting information about the improvements on all the head stations, the quantity of purchased land, the number of cattle and sheep, and other information. Bradley was planning to retire from his pastoral pursuits and Murphy's intrusion could well frighten off potential investors.

At the end of April 1866, a preliminary notice appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* announcing Bradley's intention to offer at auction for bona fide sale on 26 June 1866, his 'magnificent pastoral properties' that occupied a 'large area of the finest sheep country in the colony'. On 1 May 1866, an advertisement outlined the two lots of Monaro land he was offering for sale and commented this was 'unquestionably [the] best opportunity for investing in this interest which can be afforded ... throughout the whole of the Australian colonies'.

The first lot comprised *Coolringdon*, *Dangelong* and *Myalla* Head Stations with a number of runs contained within this lot. The second lot comprised *Bibbenluke* and *Maffra* head stations, offered as the 'very pick of the Maneroo tableland' with its 'whinstone downs and rich flats'. With the stations and the associated runs went the approximately 88,867 sheep, 1,200 head of cattle and other improvements. The improvements included substantial stone homesteads (still standing today) at *Coolringdon*, *Dangelong* and *Myalla*.

Apparently, Bradley did not consult Edwards before deciding to sell his Monaro holdings. It was not until May 1866 that Bradley asked for Edwards's opinion on the sale of the land, although he made it clear there was to be no sale of *Bibbenluke* unless sold in one lot. It seems Bradley maintained his own counsel about his intention to 'retire from pastoral pursuits' and he did not engage with Edwards about the division of the land into various lots and stations. Bradley vacillated between engaging with Edwards over minute details about sheep, flocks, and other station matters and then not talking with him over issues with significant implications for the entire Monaro estate. This was also evident on auction day.

*Coolringdon* (comprising almost 200,000 acres) was sold on auction day to Hugh Wallace. The second lot of *Bibbenluke* and *Maffra* was put up for auction, but when he failed to realise a sale, Bradley offered *Bibbenluke* alone, which also failed to sell. This is of interest, as the competition for *Bibbenluke* under Free Selection was fierce and this sale represented an opportunity for

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92 NLA MS 1154/2/5, Bradley to Edwards, 22.4.1865.
93 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23.4.1866, p.7, col.5.
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
96 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1.5.1866, p.7, col.5.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.

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selectors such as Murphy to gain the land they coveted. At the conclusion of the auction, Bradley accepted a private offer for Maffra from the Ryrie Brothers. Writing to Edwards about the auction results, Bradley advised that as soon as he accepted the offer, he 'repented of what I had done' and tried to induce the auctioneers to persuade Messrs Ryrie to forgo the sale. The auctioneer refused to do this.

Having sold off a large portion of his Monaro land, Bradley focused on consolidating Bibbenluke and directed Edwards to make a 10,000-acre purchase on the run and to attend various auctions that would strengthen Bibbenluke's position. Bradley's family circumstances had changed significantly. His daughters no longer lived with him, leaving Bradley physically isolated from his family, and maintaining Bibbenluke as his single land holding on the Monaro was therefore a sensible approach to moving out of pastoral pursuits in Australia. Bradley set his family up for a long association with Bibbenluke, lasting from 1855 to 1925. At its sale in 1925, Bibbenluke, now a 40,000-acre property sold for £200,000—no doubt affording the beneficiaries a handsome profit.

Bradley's land on the Monaro was not, however, confined to what is known as Bibbenluke. An effective tool for reflecting on Bradley's landed empire is the Australian Squatting Directory for 1871. This often quoted document lists Bradley as the owner of Bibbenluke, Boco Rock, Bulgar Creek, Cooma Station, Cootalantra, Dangelong, Doodle, Gennong, Gilliamatong, Island Lake, Lower and Upper Rock Flat, Maffra, Mt. Pleasant, Myalla, The Peak, Wangellack and Wog Wag. This indicates that from 1855 to 1871, Bradley continuously held the best basalt country of the Monaro. His Trustees saw fit to release a number of these properties and by 1889, Bradley's Monaro Empire only comprised the properties of Bibbenluke and Bulgar Creek. The Trust held Bradley's land in Toowoomba, Cowrie Station, until redemption by the Queensland Government in 1901.

Bradley differed from his native-born contemporaries on the Monaro; while others abandoned their runs, Bradley remained and kept the land in his possession, despite difficulties, such as Free Selection. He successfully played a game of chess on the Monaro Plains that outsmarted his competition. He used the Robertson Land Act to his advantage, although at times it caused both Bradley and Edwards annoyance in its application. Tensions between Bradley and Edwards were at their height at this time, with Edwards no doubt frustrated that his employer did not take firm decisions. Using the organ of the Pastoral Association and his social and business networks, Bradley's power and wealth was evident on the Monaro, and having replaced

99 NLA MS 1154/2/3, Bradley to Edwards, 28.6.1866.
100 NLA MS 1999/24, Edwards to Bradley, 23.2.1867.
101 The Times, 17.1.1925, p.9, col.7.
102 NLA MS 1154/2/1, McAllister to Edwards, 9.12.1901. Cowrie Station was a 47,000-acre property. The property sold for £4 an acre by debentures with a currency of 25 years.
Boyd, he wanted to remain entrenched there. At the time of his death in 1868, Bradley was still the Monster Squatter, having effectively checkmated his competition through his ruthless ambition. It was up to others now to consolidate the landholding and turn Bibbenluke into the pre-eminent Monaro property it became.
Chapter Six: Check Matel Playing chess on the Monaro Plains

Bradley pondered his next move. Edwards was visiting him at Lindesay. Bradley’s numerous land maps were spread across the table. They manoeuvred the chess pieces around the land held by a number of free selectors on the Bibbenluke Run. The plan was to block Garnock and Murphy in particular. Bradley showed Edwards where to select to effectively limit their access and force them to forfeit their claim. Bradley and Edwards’s game of chess on the map of the Monaro often ended with similar outcomes. Whoever the pawn happened to be on the vast Monaro Plain, they would end up forfeiting their claim, whereupon Bradley would step in to capture the pick of the Monaro and contribute to the splendid landed estate he developed.

It was an engaging yet frustrating game. While Bradley considered the Monaro situation, Edwards showed him another solution to the problem of Murphy. His daughters Alice and Minna were busy following their husbands on their journeys beyond Sydney. He sat back and thought about how his life had changed since the early days at Windsor. It was a sparkling April day in Sydney. The harbour was vibrant, the sky a cornflower blue and the yellow of the sun as golden as the wheat that was growing on the Monaro Plain. Just days before, he had entertained Prince Alfred, HRH the Duke of Edinburgh at his harbour-side mansion. He looked out towards Windsor and thought about his parents. What, he wondered, would they think of the empire he had created with his own hands and sheer determination?

Edwards stood up and took his leave until later that day when they would meet again to discuss more ways of outmanoeuvring John Murphy. Alone with his thoughts, Bradley sat down at the cedar desk that had been made for him in Goulburn when his brewery was at its most productive. He looked at the correspondence that lay in front of him: letters from his daughters. There was one from Kate, the one whom he thought had made a poor marriage choice. He knew now that her choice had been a good one for his most outspoken daughter. There were pictures of his grandchildren, bills, and requests for help. He suddenly felt more isolated than ever before. He needed to see his daughters again, and perhaps visit Emily’s grave in Rome.

Edwards reappeared some time later. Bradley spoke to him of Bibbenluke; he wanted to know of its state. Bradley had fond memories of discovering Bibbenluke and his possession of it at the expense of Benjamin Boyd. So many people, Bradley thought, had come and gone in the colony and in his social network.

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He listened intently to Edwards as he explained the work going on there, and how the land was being surveyed, fenced and improved. Bradley asked about his Southdown sheep and the Rambouillet Rams that populated the paddocks. He asked about Coolringdon and what the Wallace family was doing over there. Bradley listened as Edwards brought him up to date on the people and the changing nature of the Monaro. It was no longer the uncivilised region that Bradley had known in 1831, plagued by bushrangers and men looking to make quick money out of sheep. A different sort of bushranger now plagued it—the squatters—who still attempted to make quick and easy money.

104 Sydney Morning Herald, 1.5.1866, p.7, col.5.
FOOTSTEPS: COLLECTING COLONIAL PORTRAITURE

In May 2001, I sat with my parents in a cold, shaded garden in Roseville, Sydney, with a bidder’s card in my hand. Under instructions from Miss Hope Ryrie, the great-granddaughter of Bradley, an auction of the ‘contents of her Lady's residence’ was to take place. At this stage, I was interested in the Bradley family but not actively engaged in working on William’s story. I was yet to determine how my work on this family would progress, but the opportunity to purchase the Bradley family portrait collection was too good to miss.

The auction contained furniture, books, jewellery and portraits from the only direct descendent of William Bradley in Australia. I visited Ryrie in 1989 and saw some of the portraits. She told me about the furniture coming direct from Lindesay and her grandmother, Alice Roberts’ property, Greenoaks at Double Bay. Her memory was sharp in 1989 and she recalled stories of growing up at Greenoaks and on the Monaro at the Ryrie family homestead of Micalago. She also remembered her beautiful grandmother, Alice, and the furniture that was transported from Greenoaks to her home at Roseville after Alice died.

With my parents and their trailer in tow (I was optimistic about the circa 1845 cedar pedestal table), we attended the auction. The quality of goods on offer was remarkable. There were substantial sums on the jewellery when bidding started, and I knew I would only be able to focus on purchasing the portraits. The Mitchell Library was bidding against me for this collection, along with other collectors who wanted a piece of Australiana.

With the average price of the jewellery approximately $3,500, I conserved my funds for the main event. The table I liked sold for $2,400 and the bookcase from Greenoaks went for $48,000. I was nervous about the outcome of the paintings. The auction contents list gave me a feel for the life of a family who had lived well. There were silver christening mugs, including one from Edwards (Bradley’s Monaro manager) for the son of Colonel Roberts in 1880. There was also the coronation medal of Edward VI in 1902, which Roberts attended, and so many other items that connected this family to the wider British Empire.

Perhaps Bradley was watching this auction from a distance. Eventually, the incredibly slow auctioneer began on the portraits. I had intended to wait and watch but in the event, my hand was in the air constantly and my offers rose in fifty dollar bids, then in hundred dollar bids, and finally, in five hundred dollar bids. There was a large adrenaline rush as I spent money to preserve this collection of portraits for posterity. My parents used to take my brothers and I to auctions as children, and they relived some of their old bidding tricks as they watched the mood of the crowd and encouraged me to continue bidding.

When the portrait of William Bradley came up, the auctioneer was frustratingly slow and elaborated on his career (although her understanding was, in my view, quite limited). It was a watercolour painted by Edwin Dalton in 1855. I opened the bidding at $500. The Mitchell Library representative raised a card. I watched, waited and continued to bid. The Mitchell Library bowed out at a now seemingly conservative $1500, and with an extra $100 bid, William Bradley came home to Canberra. The audience applauded. My heart was beating so fast that even now, writing this, I can recall the nervous energy that characterised that afternoon.

I came home with nine portraits. Some were in quite poor condition, particularly the oleograph of Colonel Roberts, which had significant damage from sun exposure. However, I really was not worried. It was the fact that the collection was going to be kept together that compelled my hand to stay in the air and outbid my competitors. I had spent a small fortune on these portraits.

The portraits needed some restoration work and I had to rearrange the wall space in my home. Colonel Roberts presides over the dining table; Bradley and his wife and grandmother all reside in the study. Alice and Minna, twin portraits painted in England in 1862, are in a bedroom, as is William Hovell's mother. Portraits of Alice and her husband hang in the dining room. They do not look out of place among my eclectic antique collection. They seem quite at home.

My ongoing dialogue with Bradley continues as he gazes out into the study. The painting in the oval frame depicts an immense man with piercing grey-blue eyes, a receding head of white, wavy hair and very fashionable whiskers and upturned dark eyebrows. He has a very straight nose and in his evening suit, looks quite the colonial gentleman. He has a strong gaze that does not seem to diminish with time, and when I look at this portrait I see a man who was strong and determined. There are questions I have for him that he will never answer.
I wonder what will happen to these portraits in another fifty years time. Maybe a library or gallery will house this family somewhere in their collection. Recently, I took the portraits to be photographed for my thesis, and the walls looked bare; I felt a strange and unexpectedly strong sense of custody over this family’s history, almost as if I was handing the photographer a piece of my soul. Their value is not merely monetary; they are also a significant representation of a colonial-born family. In many ways, the portraits and this family are now part of my story. After having them in my life for so long and experiencing the sense of loss when I took them off the wall, it will be challenging to let these portraits fall into other hands. It would be almost as if I had betrayed Bradley and his family. After all, Bradley tapped me on the shoulder and encouraged me to write this story. Maybe this is his legacy to me.
Figure 7.1
Alice Caroline Bradley, 1862.
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Figure 7.2
Williamina Bradley Bradley, 1862

Figure 7.2
Williamina Bradley Bradley, 1862
Figure 7.3
Charles Fyshe Roberts, circa 1870
Figure 7.4
Alice Roberts (Nee Bradley), circa 1870
Figure 7.5
Emily Elizabeth Bradley (Nee Hovell)
Figure 7.6
Oleograph of Colonel Charles Fyshe Roberts c1900
Figure 7.7
Figure 7.8
Carthona (left) and Lindesay (right), Darling Point, from Clark Island
Source: Mitchell Library NSW, call number ML 147.
As William Bradley's ship sailed into Sydney on a stifling hot day in mid December 1862, he leaned against the rail re-reading for the hundredth time a tattered letter from his solicitor outlining the steps needed to disinherit his beloved daughter Kate. His heart was heavy. Was this course of action right? He looked up and as his eyes began to focus on the outline of Campbell's warehouse on the quay, he screwed the letter up and threw it into sea, torn between fury and remorse. 'Damn that bloody Irishman's eyes,' he cussed under his breath. As the paper floated away he wondered if he would ever see sweet Kate again. His mood ought to have been better Not only was an arduous journey coming to an end but the ship had just sailed past his harbour side mansion, a symbol of his power. Had he bothered to look he would have seen his servants waving with Hovell, the grandfather of his children. Two of his daughters were returning home to Australia with him, and they pointed at their grandfather excitedly. Bradley refocused his nonchalant mood and breathed in the fresh Sydney air. It was good to be home.

After making the usual visits to see friends, Bradley's long anticipated tour of his properties in Goulburn and the Monaro began the following week. Hovell accompanied him. They first went out to Windsor to visit the house where Bradley was born. He wandered through it, reliving old memories of his childhood on the Hawkesbury River. He visited his mother's grave and they then went to see Phillips at Goulburn, where he met his new Monaro manager, Edwards. They stayed at Lansdowne Park. Bradley was impressed with the development of the site; its long line of pine trees was now almost forty years old. The mill and brewery below were in good condition; Bradley recalled the day the Maudsley Steam Engine started up in the building. They toured the summerhouse Phillips built for his daughters and Bradley spoke of the early days of Goulburn when there was little on the horizon.

Travelling south to the Monaro, Bradley and Hovell inspected all the stations. They travelled miles on horseback in Bradley's efforts to reconnect with the land that had sustained him financially while he was away in England. On the Monaro, he visited Coolringdon, saw James Litchfield, Francis Smith, and all the other workers. He was impressed with the improvements to Bibbenluke and pleased with the garden at Coolringdon. This tour of his properties reminded him that he lived a double life: one in Australia, connected to the earth, and one in England, connected to society. He enjoyed both parts of his life.
Back in Sydney, Bradley began drafting his will. He needed to determine the trajectory of his Empire once he passed on. It was a difficult business. In a heated debate, he had told Kate he would not provide for her, but his friend Salting worked as a mediator between them and he agreed to reconsider. Back home in Australia, with time and distance separating them, he thought about his options. If he left her out, she may contest the will and waste his hard-earned money. His solicitors, Want and Slade, had advised that she would be entitled to a claim on his estate, together with legal costs. Bradley did not want his private affairs played out in public; neither did he want to see his wealth reduced by solicitors’ fees. On the other hand, he still fumed at her choice of husband.

To disinherit Kate would break a pattern that he had practiced for a lifetime. He had always provided for his family and employees, and had supported charitable organisations and others who made his acquaintance, including Caroline Chisholm, as well as the indigenous populations around his stations. He wondered if in his death, he should be any different. Moreover, what would be the effect on his daughters if only three shared in his inherited wealth; might they develop a plan to help Kate out? He had mixed feelings, but at the same time, knew he could not leave his daughter out of his will. If the marriage failed, Kate would need funds to support herself and any children. Bradley thought it unfair to punish his future grandchildren because of their mother’s choices.

On 9 October 1863, Bradley signed and dated his will. He had constructed it to include the maintenance of his Estates at Goulburn and the Monaro. He made provision to ensure that his four daughters would remain independently wealthy of their husbands for the duration of their lives. He had Want and Slade insert a clause specifying that any funds from the Estate were for their ‘sole and separate use for life free from the debts and engagements of any present or future husband’2. This action resulted in an annual income for each daughter, independent of her husband. Bradley envisaged education, perhaps at Harrow, for his grandchildren, and wanted to make sure his daughters could maintain their social position without privation.

Bradley could never have anticipated the disintegration of his estate or the diminishing wealth of his daughters over time. He did not foresee that decisions in his will would adversely affect the very respectability he had built all his life. He hoped his wealth would provide his family with access to the British elite. He knew his daughters did not (and nor did he want them to) follow his example. They could not provide the leadership and management his properties needed to keep them viable. He lamented the loss of his sons who had died as infants. He had no male heir to continue his business style.

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2 William Bradley’s Will, Supreme Court of NSW, No 7622, Series 1.
In June 1864, Bradley walked his daughter Williaminna down the aisle of St Saviour’s at Goulburn to marry Frederick Charles Bryan Robinson, an Irish naval captain, later Admiral. It was a good marriage as Robinson was the son of Admiral Hercules Robinson and his pedigree, credentials and financial situation were well suited to maintaining Minna.

In November 1866, Bradley went again to Goulburn for his youngest daughter’s wedding. Alice was marrying Charles Fyshe Roberts, again, a man with a solid pedigree. Enthralled by Roberts’s descriptions of his time (and wounds) in the Crimean War and the life he led in the Royal Artillery, Bradley was most pleased that Roberts was willing to come back to Australia to live in his wife’s homeland.

Alice and Minna both had affection for their birth-town of Goulburn. This was strange, Bradley thought, as they had spent a long time in Sydney or abroad and their connections with the town were limited. He enjoyed returning to Goulburn with his two beautiful daughters and their respectable husbands. He hoped that in some way Goulburn society would see the transformation of his family from native born Matildas to young colonial women of respectability and wealth.

Bradley died on 4 April 1868 in his respectable Sydney mansion, Lindesay, which was a long way from the Hawkesbury River home where he had grown up and embarked on his life-long pattern of self-improvement. His death from apoplexy was quick and unexpected. Six weeks later, his probate was proved at £103,000. His daughter’s lives changed forever, as for the next sixty-four years until the death of his last remaining daughter, Alice, in 1932, they spent much time and energy challenging the decisions of the trustees.

‘Much regret was felt in Goulburn’, when news arrived announcing the death of Mr. William Bradley at his Lindesay mansion in Sydney. ‘Mr. Bradley’s name has been so closely connected with the history and progress of Goulburn that his death assumes the dignity of a public calamity,’ wrote the reporter from the Southern Argus in Goulburn. He was remembered in Goulburn because his success in sheep breeding was an accolade to Bradley’s management practices and to his capacity to experiment, particular with Southdown Sheep. Bradley’s successes as a colonial sheep breeder were on a par with the elevated Macarthur family, and it was recorded that Bradley’s daughters all married well. Perhaps the reporter was unaware of the family tension that existed prior to his death over Kate’s marriage choice.

Bradley named his daughter ‘Williaminna Bradley’; adding in the surname makes her full name Williaminna Bradley Bradley.

Codicil to William Bradley’s Will, 12 April 1864.

The Empire, 10.4.1868, p.2, col.4, reproduced from the Southern Argus (Goulburn).

Ibid.
However, Bradley went to his grave reconciled with his somewhat wayward daughter, and she had produced a new grandson who was showing promise.

William Bradley was laid to rest with his daughter Esther in the St Stephen’s Churchyard. His four daughters were overseas in India and England. Amongst those at his graveside stood his friend Brodribb, his Monaro manager Edwards and his protégée Litchfield. Brodribb scattered some soil from Goulburn and the Monaro on the grave as they paid their respects to a man whose posterity, determination and deep love for his native land had changed their fortunes and those of many others around them. Bradley’s boots were buried with him. Stained with the soil from Lansdowne Park and the basalt dirt of the Monaro Plains, they told their own story of Bradley’s footsteps and adventures.
In the only obituary known to exist for William Bradley, the reporter from Goulburn’s Southern Argus wrote:

Mr. Bradley was a kind and humane master to the assigned servants who were placed in his care by the Government and they have always spoken of him in terms of great respect. Nearly all the land about Goulburn belongs now to Mr. Bradley’s heirs. From Gundary out to Stoney Creek, thence down to Murray’s Flats, was all his. To the north of Goulburn, the land out to Norwood belongs to his estate, as well as a great deal at the western side of the town. He also owned extensive estates in the Manaro district. His death will be felt by all classes in the community. Ever ready to lend a helping hand to anything productive of good to his native land, he was unobtrusive in his generosity. His life was quiet and he seemed to have been respected by all political parties. He died at the age of about seventy years.7

The land described by the Argus’ reporter was only a brief snapshot of the extent of Bradley’s landholdings. As we have already seen, land acquisition and turning this to a profit was a key factor in establishing and maintaining Bradley’s wealth and prosperity. His death in 1868, however, set in motion a series of events that factionalised his family and diminished his lifetime’s work in ensuring his family’s respectability. As events such as court cases, litigation and the combined effect of drought, an unstable global economy and a drop in the price of wool unfolded, the effects on his daughters were twofold. Firstly, these events combined to diminish his daughters’ wealth and their capacity to live the lives Bradley envisaged for them. Secondly, the respected name of the Bradley family, which Bradley himself developed, was subject to public scrutiny, as the private affairs of the family were laid bare for all to see in the Supreme Court. There was gossip about the actions of the daughters and the influence of their respective husbands on the trustees of Bradley’s Estate. While “the smell of sheep manure has long since dissipated”8 from Bradley’s boots (and it never really touched the well-heeled shoes of his daughters), it is through successive generations that the largesse of that sheep money garnered on the southern reaches of New South Wales had an impact. In assessing Bradley, one must consider an assessment of the lives of his second-generation native-born Australian daughters. Throughout their lives, and despite the difficult nature of their father’s will, they were successful in integrating into the British world and in crossing cultural and social divides, which distinguished them from their father. However, this came at a price and for Bradley’s daughters it was the systematic breaking up of their father’s hard won estates that cost them dearly.

7 The Empire, 10.4.1868, p.2, col. 4, reproduced from the Southern Argus (Goulburn). Note that the reporter inaccurately recorded that Bradley was born in 1798, that he was almost 70 - he was born in June 1800, died April 1868, making him 67. In addition, he did not live at Lansdowne Park for forty years. His residence in Goulburn, on a full-time basis (at both Lansdowne Park and his townhouse) was from approximately 1822–1849. From 1849, he resided at Lindesay.
This chapter will assess the translation of power and wealth that Bradley generated at Goulburn and on the Monaro into a respectability that allowed him to marry his native-born daughters into the aristocracy of England, Ireland, and Scotland. These marriages were significant in propelling Bradley's own ambitions as a man of two worlds who developed a kinship that traversed these worlds. In assessing Bradley, it is important to look more deeply at his daughter's lives; he wanted them to be part of a world into which he too desired entrance, and their lives reflect that ambition. In the first instance, the men who married his daughters provided the scaffolding from which this family hung its credentials. Bradley used his daughters' marriages to gain power and in some way accumulate a family heritage he may have felt was lacking in his own background. A by-product of this was the creation of an interconnected family web that was both a network and a means of gaining respectability.

This chapter will also examine Bradley's complicated will and estate. The will was disputed, lost money for its beneficiaries, consumed his daughters' time, together with that of their husbands and his friends who were appointed as trustees, and resulted in court cases that bitterly divided the family. This post-death period is important, as it demonstrates Bradley's largesse and the effects of the realisation of his colonial ambitions. His will and Trust are remarkable, as they sustained the lives of numerous generations of Bradley family members, none of whom held the Bradley name. In constructing his will, Bradley was not specific, which caused anomalies in the terms of provision for the generation of capital from his estate and resulted in a number of issues for both trustees and beneficiaries. The financial stability he left his daughters with was the very entrée card into the British society in which they lived. Yet the people with whom Bradley entrusted his financial matters brought his name into disrepute through court cases and public discussion about his estate. It is important to the story of Bradley to see the full effect his landed empire had in providing support and income for his daughters.

In 1848, Bradley laid his wife, Emily, to rest in the Foreign Cemetery in Rome. Her tomb lies near the entrance gate and her contemporaries include Keats, Shelley, and Goethe. The iconography is still intact and the grave in good condition. Emily had Italian heritage through her grandmother, the renowned Italian opera singer, Esther Foscari, and on one level her death and burial on Italian soil was a homecoming. On another level, it was surely a burial location that neither she nor Bradley anticipated.

Married by special licence in 1831 to the thirty-one year old William Bradley, Emily was the second child of William Hovell, the Australian explorer, and together they had eight children. Five survived and the other three, including two sons, were buried in St Saviour's Cemetery in Goulburn. All five surviving daughters' marriages gave their father a lever

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9 See Appendix 10 for the foot-stepping of my trip to Rome Foreign Cemetery. Perhaps Bradley placed flowers on the grave of Shelley, whose distant relative, William Shelley, worked in partnership with him at Goulburn.

10 A family tree can be found in Appendix 11.
into the Victorian world of respectability, human endeavour, enterprise and patronage. These marriages demonstrate that the British elite were often open to those with money, regardless, sometimes of its source and any taint of convictism that may have stained a family's heritage.

Emily Jane Bradley, born in Goulburn in 1832, married James Langford Pearse in Sydney on 2 September 1852. Pearse's mostly English heritage comprised a forebear, Nicholas, born about 1530 whose descendants were substantial and wealthy land-holders in Devon. One branch of the family moved to Cork, Ireland and it was here in May 1823 that James was born and named for James Langford, his mother's father. The family vault lies below the Chancel of St Mary's Church, Shandon, Cork. His father, Dr. George Pearse, had a distinguished military career in India as the Principal Inspector-General of Hospitals, Madras Army, and served as an Honorary Physician to Queen Victoria. In a son-in-law whose pedigree was paramount, William Bradley had done well to secure a marriage between the Pearse and Bradley lineages. It also helped that the bright younger brother of Pearse, George Godfrey, went on to become a General in the Indian Army. The brother-in-law of his eldest daughter was Field Marshal Lord Robert Cornelis Napier of Magdala.

Colonel, later Major-General James Langford Pearse arrived in India as part of the 5th Native Infantry on 23 June 1844, and until his retirement from the service in 1870, spent twenty-five years serving in India. As noted in Chapter Six, in 1851, Pearse received leave for six months to travel to Australia in search of his brother, who was missing somewhere in the Australian bush. By December 1852, he received orders to embark to Rangoon (now Yangon) and Moulamein, Burma, as part of expansion of the British Empire. It was to this region that he took his new bride Emily, who was noted as the 'the sweetest rose in Australasia'. After serving in the Burmese War from January to April 1853, he held various positions including the Assistant in the Mysore Commission and Superintendent of the Nandi Division near Bangalore.
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Figure 7.9
Major-General James Langford Pearse, Secretary of the Mysore Commission.
Source: BL MSS EUR G91/ (186b) Bowring Collection: ‘A Memoir of Service in India.’ Unknown photographer, c. 1860s.
Pearse’s brother, Godfrey, left substantial documents that record the life of his brother and his ‘dear, good hearted but self-willed, spoilt and exigent’ wife, Emily. He recalled a story about Emily that perhaps her father would not have been pleased to have heard or known she was thinking, particularly as he had given Pearse’s pedigree some close attention. Pearse wrote:

When nearing India, Emily for the first time heard mention of half-castes; she got it into her head that swarthy Jim, her husband was one. She had no sleep, no rest till the sight of my fair and handsome mother and father showed her what a horrid phantom she had been nursing in her breast.

This is an interesting example of how naive in some ways Bradley’s daughters were, and possibly contributed to General Pearse’s assessment of their self-willed nature. Her independent personality was an outcome of her upbringing on the Goulburn Plains, being the eldest daughter of one of the wealthiest men in the colony and having no maternal influence past her sixteenth birthday. It was also a reflection of her Australian-born heritage. Her marriage to ‘swarthy Jim’ was difficult for General Pearse and his family to understand, as her personality contrasted sharply to that of James. Pearse once asked her how she managed to marry James. She replied by saying naively that she ‘was half afraid of him, he made me feel sober, I could not contradict him as I did others.’ It seems this daughter of Bradley was young, naive and out of her depth in the social situations in which she found herself. She appears to have been on good terms with her new family and unconfined by societal strictures as she hunted black antelope with her father-in-law. It is hard to imagine what her father would have thought of this episode. One reason for her acceptance into the Pearse family was her father’s wealth. The Pearse family noted that he ‘was very rich ... [having] an enormous estate.’ This was Emily’s entrée card, making her attractive to both James and his family. General Pearse noted that through William Bradley ‘my brother’s children will inherit much wealth.’ He was impressed with Bradley’s bank balance and his large land holdings, which were computed by miles, not acres. At some point, Bradley had met General Pearse as he once described himself as being ‘very partial to Mr. Bradley,’ noting he was a ‘splendid looking man of six feet, four inches.’

16 BL MSS EUR 417, op. cit., p.212.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 BL MSS EUR 417, op. cit., p.213. This incident occurred towards the end of 1853, presumably after the birth of Emily’s first child. She rode ten miles in pursuit of the antelope, and while it is not clear if she killed the animal, it certainly featured on the dinner menu that evening at the Pearse home.
20 BL MSS EUR 417, op. cit., p.212.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
Emily's money assisted their establishment of a home and later with the 'Waler' industry they engaged in.\textsuperscript{24}

Emily involved herself in life in India, producing five children and surviving the Indian Mutiny, which raged to the north in 1857. Her husband was not a well man and suffered from the heat of the country. In October 1853, he returned from Bunnal with an illness and saw his first-born child, a 'fair, fat, pretty daughter'\textsuperscript{25} for the first time. He remained on leave until January 1854 when he took up an appointment as the Junior Assistant to the Commissioner of Mysore.\textsuperscript{26} During his illnesses, he developed an interest in coffee and established two coffee estates, Bibbenluke and Gunta Naick, which remained in the family well into the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{27}

In addition, Pearse was a director of two goldmining companies, the Colar Gold Mining Company (Southern India) and the Great Southern Mysore Gold Mining Company (Mysore) that sustained Emily and James' lavish lifestyle, for which they were renowned.\textsuperscript{28} The Great Southern Mysore Gold Mining Company, plagued by high costs and court cases, went into liquidation in 1890.\textsuperscript{29} Owning a gold mining company was another entrée card into British society.

The Pearse family, backed by William Bradley's finance and their own investments, were in a positive financial position to support their sons' education at Eton and Harrow Schools, which allowed them to pursue successful military careers like their father. James Pearse died in 1892 of complications from 'congestion from the lungs following on from influenza'\textsuperscript{30} at the family

\textsuperscript{24} Waler Horses were the colloquial name for a variety of horse types (for example, officers' horses: thoroughbreds; artillery horses: for pulling gun carriages and ammunition; troopers' horses: stocky types; and scout horses: a more agile pony for sporting, polo and message relays) imported from New South Wales to India for the British Army. See http://www.walerhorse.com/whs/ accessed 30 January 2010; and Yarwood, AT: Waters; Australian horses abroad, Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, Carlton, 1989. Pearse, with his brother George, established a successful import business of 'Walers'. See BL MSS EUR 417, ibid.

\textsuperscript{25} BL MS 49162, folio 82; Letter to Mrs. Emily Napier from Mrs. Anne Sarah Pearse, 19 October 1853.

\textsuperscript{26} BL IOR/L/MIL/1/159 E344, Microfilm No. 17652, The Record of Service for Major James Langford Pearse of the Madras Staff Corps.

\textsuperscript{27} For transactions and history related to the Bibbenluke and Gunta Naik Coffee Estates, see the Pearse Family Papers and the company papers of P W Flower and Sons at the Guildhall Library (GL), London. See GL MS19393-2, Envelope, Mortgage of land and premises of Gunta Naick Coffee Plantation, Mysore, India, by Beatrice Laura Pearse, 1915; GL MS 19379 PW Flower and Sons. Mysore coffee plantations: deeds, agreements, correspondence etc. re owners, 1883 bundle; GL MS 19390. PW Flower and Sons. Copy account and transfer shares concerning the Isabel and Bibbenluke coffee, 1900 bundle of 2 envelopes; and see GL MS 19393 PW Flower and Sons., in the letter file of Charles Potter concerning Bibbenluke and Gunta Naik coffee, 1913 files.

\textsuperscript{28} JL Pearse appears as a director of the Colar Gold Mining Company, see The Times, 15.10.1880, p.6, col.3 and on the memorandum of agreement in the Great Southern Mysore Gold Mining Company, see The Times, 28.12.1880, p.11, col.3. See BL MSS EUR 417, op. cit., for the lavish lifestyle of the Pearse family. In May 1881, the Great Southern Mysore Gold Mining Company had a nominal capital of £75,000 divided into 75,000 shares of £1 each. Of the nominal shares, 40,231 were taken up by investors exclusive of the 25,000 shares reserved for the directors of the company. See the PRO BT/31/2729/14770 File on the Great Southern Mysore Gold Mining Company. Pearse engaged in this enterprise with his friend Captain William McTaggart. See McTaggart's obituary in The Times, 21.11.1919, p.16, col.2.

\textsuperscript{29} PRO BT/31/2729/14770, op. cit.

home, Lindesay, (named after the Bradley family home in New South Wales) on the Isle of Wight. Emily died at her exclusive London residence, 8 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, in 1909 and was buried with her husband on the Isle of Wight. Her probate was proved at £3,876 and she left the shares in her father’s estate to her living children, and to her grandchildren. Her probate does not seem a lot and as will be demonstrated later, the frustrations with her father’s estate meant her income was not in the state her father possibly envisaged when he wrote his will.

It is through the lineage of Emily that the Bradley family became part of the British aristocracy with a position in the House of Lords. Emily’s daughter, Edith Ann, married Guy Francois, the Comte de Miremont in New York in 1894 and their daughter, Inda Colona (also known as Hilda) married into the distinguished Moncreiffe family. Hilda’s son, Rupert lain Kay Moncreiffe (later Sir lain Moncreiffe of that Ilk) married the Countess of Errol, Diana Denyse Hay, an hereditary title, which their son, the Earl of Erroll, Merlin Moncreiffe, retains today. A crossbencher in the House of Lords, he holds the hereditary title of Lord High Constable of Scotland and is the Chief of the Clan Hay. It was a long way from Goulburn to the Hay family seat in Scotland at the Bridge of Earn, but not too far. It proves that within three generations the divide of the colony and the Empire could be crossed. This is a reminder of the integration of the imperial elite throughout the British world.

Bradley’s third daughter, Kate, married Surgeon Samuel Thomas Heard, also of the Indian Army. Born in County Cork in 1834, Heard had an ‘amiable disposition with a natural gentlemanly deportment’ which ‘endeared him to all his friends’ and possessed a ‘very superior moral character’. He served for 15 years in the Madras Army as a surgeon. His responsibilities included large-scale vaccination programs in the central provinces, and operating theatres. He was also the officiating superintendent of the Bangalore Central Jail. Heard was the second son of an Irish landowner, and thus unlikely to inherit, and the match with Kate Bradley gave him money and security that he could never eclipse. However, his pedigree was impressive.
Renowned for her beauty, Kate married Heard when they were in England and her father was unimpressed. Bradley did not like Heard, despite military records reporting on Heard’s superior moral character. While the reasoning for his dislike remains unknown, there was a severe breakdown between Kate and her father. Salting, Bradley’s long-time friend, was the witness at the wedding, and it was through Salting that Kate mended the break in her relationship with her father. When he died, he left her a quarter-share with her three sisters in his estate.39

Kate used her father’s money to purchase a 5,000-acre island, Rossdohan, off the Kenmare Coast, near Sneem in the Ring of Kerry in southern Ireland.40 On their island, they ‘built an extremely handsome house’41 designed by London architect John Paul Sneddon. The island became an escape from their London residence and a location where they could entertain their friends and neighbours, the du Vallons, the Graves and the Blomfield families.42

Heard was an avid arborist and upon his retirement in 1872, planted an arboretum on Rossdohan, protected by the frost but subjected to gale force winds. The flora thrives because of the warm cross current gulf winds in Kenmare Bay.43 Heard initially planted a windbreak on the artificially created island (it had originally been peat covered rock). His experiences on his father-in-law’s properties (particularly on the Bradley property of Bibbenluke, which he visited a number of times) and the Gulf Stream gave Heard the inspiration to plant Australian and New Zealand native plants. Eucalyptus, Acacia, Melaleuca, Hakea, Agonis, Kunzea, Boronia, Callistemon, Pittosporum, and Cyathea dealbata were among the species that Heard exported to his island.44 This is a British world story. As far as grand Victorian schemes go, Rossdohan Island was a folly for Heard and one that he intended for the enjoyment of all people. The Australian connection is as significant today as it was in the nineteenth century, with the Bradley daughters transplanting their roots to another British world setting.45

39 Kate named her first son, Edward Severin after Salting. Kate’s granddaughter, Katharine Lohan, recalls that her grandmother ‘was cut off with the proverbial shilling’. She believed the Heard family tree should have ‘more than satisfied the fastidious Bradley’s’. See Lohan, K: op. cit., p.29.

40 For my footsteps to Rossdohan Island, see Appendix 12. See also Day, A: op. cit.


42 Kate Heard, the daughter of Sam and Kate, later married Hubert Caliste de Jacobi du Vallon, who served with her brother William as a diplomat in Syria.

43 Heard’s arboretum has featured on the BBC’s series, Meetings with Remarkable Trees and in books on Irish Gardens and articles on the island’s flora. See bibliography for a full listing.

44 These species are still visible on Rossdohan in 2009. In 1906, the size of some species of Eucalyptus on the island reached ninety and eighty feet with circumferences of seventeen feet. In addition to the tree species, Heard developed an impressive silver leafed tree fern collection, which evoked dreams of ‘coral islands and tropical explorations’. Hyams’ describes the island and its planter as ‘if its planter was an instrument of nature but one which had intelligence and could select what, if not how, he planted.’ See Hyams, E: op. cit., pp.67 and 72.

45 At the time of writing this, I am engaged with the Sneem Community Council and the Kerry Geopark in raising awareness about this island with the Irish Government. The island is unspoilt and untouched and the Australian trees still flourish there.
Figure 7.12
Portrait of Samuel T. Heard
Chapter Seven: Australian Matildas Abroad

Figure 7.13
Portrait of Kate Heard

Figure 7.13
Portrait of Kate Heard
Bradley's second daughter, Esther, married Edward Maitland on 3 May 1855. She died a year later on 7 May 1856, at Lindesay, after giving birth to her son, Charles Bradley Maitland on 5 May 1856. Esther is buried with her father in Camperdown Cemetery; her death was brought on or expedited by her pregnancy. Maitland was an interesting colonial figure who, like his brothers-in-law, had a strong English heritage. His uncle Sir Peregrine Maitland was the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada from 1818-1828, and later the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. Maitland attended Caius College Cambridge, obtaining his Arts degree in 1847. He took a year's leave and travelled to Mexico and the Californian goldfields before arriving in Sydney. In 1854, he was the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Police Magistrate for Wellington NSW and in May 1855, the Commissioner of Crown Lands for Goulburn (succeeding his wife's grandfather, Hovell, in this role).

Maitland was known to William Bradley and he knew the area of his wife's birthplace. In Goulburn, Maitland, 'a large man with a domed head', was involved with the development of the Mechanics Institute, taking part in a soiree to raise funds for the building of the Institute in January 1856. In January 1858, after the death of his wife, he gave a farewell speech at the Sydney School of Arts before returning to England, taking his young son with him.

There is no evidence about what sort of father Maitland was, although one source claimed that Maitland 'apparently took no part in his upbringing'. Evidence suggests that William Bradley paid costs and provided an annual income for the upbringing of his grandson, but it is unclear with whom Charles Maitland lived. The lives of subsequent Bradley generations were both colonial and British, and they spanned the British Empire.

Williaminna (known as Minna) Bradley Robinson, the second youngest of the Bradley daughters was married at St Saviour's Cathedral Goulburn in 1864 to Commander (later Vice-Admiral) Frederick Charles Bryan Robinson, the youngest son of Admiral Hercules Robinson. Robinson was born in 1836 in Ireland and became a Commander on 30 September 1863 just prior to his June 1864 wedding to Minna. Bradley must have had great faith in the abilities of his new son-in-law. His pedigree and wealth were impressive, coming from a landed Irish protestant background. He surely passed Bradley's litmus test.

48 The Empire, 29.1.1856, p.2, col.6.
49 Sydney Morning Herald, 9.1.1858, p.4, col.6. This was the same time as William Bradley took his three daughters, Kate, Minna and Alice to England, in February 1858. See the Sydney Morning Herald, 9.2.1858, p.4, col.1.
Figure 7.12
Portrait of Edward Maitland
Minna abandoned her homeland, moving firstly to India, then to Portsmouth and Southsea, England. The Robinsons were struck by two infant deaths and another adult child predeceasing Frederick in 1892. Six children were born to them, and the last, Neville Lindesay Bradley Robinson, claimed his own and his mother's life in September 1881. Having endured childbirth, Minna wrote her will on 13 September and died on the 17 September. Mother and son were buried together in a plot in the Highland Road, Southsea cemetery, close to Lansdowne, their home on fashionable South Parade. Her remaining son, Henry William Bradley Robinson, brought a lawsuit against the trustees of his grandfather's will in 1896. He claimed the purchase of the estate's shares in the collapsed Oriental Banking Corporation was illegal under the terms of his grandfather's will. The eldest daughter, Kathleen Bradley, died at Admiralty House Trincomalee of fever in 1892. Her death notice in The Times records that she was the 'granddaughter of the late William Bradley Esq., of Goulburn and Sydney'. Although already deceased, this gave Bradley yet another mark of respectability in the British world.

Vice-Admiral Robinson was an aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria, joining his brother-in-law Colonel Charles Fyshe Roberts in this honour. Goulburn was a world away from the heart of the Empire, but it was closer than it seemed. Robinson's brothers rose to importance in the British Empire, further providing the Bradley family with links to the British elite: William was knighted and became the Governor of Western Australia and Prince Edward Island, Canada; Henry was knighted; his father's namesake, Hercules, became Baron, Lord Rosmead. The landed British aristocracy was a long way from Goulburn and the Monaro plains, but Bradley's properties generated the money that funded these family members' activities.

Alice, the youngest Bradley daughter, was the only one of the children to remain in Australia for significant periods and like her sister Esther, she is buried here. Married to Colonel Charles Fyshe Roberts in November 1866 at St Saviour's Cathedral, Goulburn, Alice maintained two houses: one at Double Bay, Greenoaks, and one at Bowral, Merilibah. She too engaged with the world of nineteenth century domesticity, and in advancing the careers of her children. Her husband was born at Ickwell, Bedfordshire, the son of Captain Charles Roberts. At various times, the family held two properties in Ickwell, the Old House and the imposing Ickwell Bury manor house. Roberts was educated at the Bedford School prior to his military education at Carshalton Military School and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

52 Two of these children are buried or remembered with their parents in Highland Road Cemetery, Southsea. See Appendix 13 for the journey to these graveyards.
53 Note that Minna named her son Lindesay after her Sydney home.
54 He was the second son to have died, the first dying in September 1866 at Southsea Sydney Morning Herald, 15.11.1866, p.1, col.1.
55 The Times, 1.7.1892, p.1, col.1.
56 See Walsh, GP: 'Roberts, Charles Fyshe (1837–1914)', ADB, vol.6, p.35.
His first posting was to the Crimea where he suffered wounds before serving in British Forces India at the time of the Indian Mutiny. In 1865, he arrived in Australia and his life became inextricably linked with Australia until his death in 1914. Appointed the Colonel Commandant of the Artillery Forces in Australia in 1876, Roberts held this position for six years until he became the Commandant of the NSW Forces. Colonel Roberts was largely responsible for sending the Australian troops to the Sudan War in 1885. His connections with Australia are also evident through his uncle, Thomas Fyshe Palmer, the Scottish martyr sentenced to seven years transportation for his role in an act of alleged sedition. This is a story about how the colony allowed some people to escape their past and build a different life for themselves.

After meeting and marrying Alice, Roberts took her ‘home’ in 1868, returning to his native Bedfordshire where their first child was born in the nearby village of Eversholt, in 1870. In 1871, Roberts retired from the military and until 1873, his record is somewhat obscure. In 1873, a second daughter was born at Hyde Park, London, with Roberts appointed the Acting Secretary to Sir Charles Cowper, then the New South Wales Agent-General in London, and an old friend of William Bradley from their days in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly. The old colonial networks were still at play across the British world. This role was the catalyst for the Roberts family to return to Sydney in 1874 and his subsequent involvement with his father-in-law’s estate, including the sale of Lansdowne Park.

From humble beginnings in a Windsor wattle and daub hut, Bradley provided a lifestyle and income for his daughters that allowed them to diversify the range of options available to their children. Coffee plantations, Gold Mining Companies, Royal Navy and Army careers, horse importation businesses and other enterprises all sustained his grandchildren. It is questionable whether they may have engaged with these activities if Bradley’s money had not funded the education required to participate in civil society.

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57 For a comprehensive review of Thomas Fyshe Palmer’s life and that of his fellow martyrs, see Clune, F: The Scottish Martyrs, Their Trials and Transportation to Botany Bay, Angus and Robertson Sydney, 1969; also the Oxford National Dictionary of Biography and the ADB. Fyshe Palmer was educated at Queen’s College, Cambridge and was an acquaintance of Dr Johnson. After his conviction Palmer was “Expelled from his Fellowship” at Queen’s College (see http://www.queens.cam.ac.uk/queens/Misc/Fellows/1700-99.html). In 1792, Fyshe Palmer joined the ‘Friends of Liberty’ society, which sought political and personal freedoms. Sentenced in 1793 in Perth, Scotland, Fyshe Palmer was sent to Botany Bay.


60 For substantial background on the Bradley family, see Appendix 9, including an account of Roberts’s role in sending Australian troops to the Sudan in 1885.
Figure 7.13
Portrait of Colonel C. F. Roberts, C.M.G., Military Under-Secretary
Source: The Sydney Mail, 16.1.1892, p. 140.
The British world that Bradley coveted entry into was a matter of course for his grandchildren, who emerged from the nineteenth century with financial backing and parents who allowed them to pursue dreams that far exceeded the sanguine expectations of their grandfather, William Bradley. These grandchildren provide an illustration of the way in which colonial lives, in a broader imperial context, could lead to Buckingham Palace and the Palace of Westminster. The key to their entry into this world was their grandfather’s wealth and the funds divested through the will that he wrote in 1863.

When William Bradley drafted his will and added a codicil, he probably never envisaged that over time, his beneficiaries and trustees would endure the challenges that they did to maintain his estate. For the next seventy-nine years following his death, Bradley’s will provided an income for his grandchildren and their children. It was remarkable that the lifetime Bradley spent accumulating wealth was able to sustain so many people into the twentieth century, albeit to varying degrees. As noted earlier, issues arose in the administration of his will due to the lack of specificity on Bradley’s part in terms of provision for the generation of capital from his estate.

It is clear through the reading of the vast estate papers that exist in Sydney, Canberra and London archives that decisions were not made in the best interests of the estate or in good faith to the spirit of Bradley’s will. Through the administration of his will, Bradley lost the very prestige he coveted. He was accurate in his assessment of his daughters’ husbands and wisely limited their involvement in the management of the estate, as over time they generated unnecessary work for the trustees and caused delays. Equally, he gave to his trustees a largely unpaid task that consumed their time and their energies. In Goulburn, while Bradley’s death was a public calamity the administration of his estate caused further public calamities for his beneficiaries, executors and the trustees.

In Bradley’s codicil in 1863, he appointed his friends and agent, Sir Edward Knox and Charles Smith, as executors and trustees and guardians to any infant children. They each received £1,000 ‘in consideration of the trouble they will have in the execution of their office.’ Had Bradley realised the extent to which his estate was to later vex and trouble these gentlemen, he may well have offered them more than £1,000.

Dividing his estate into four equal parts, one-quarter share for each of his living daughters, Bradley envisaged each daughter would receive an annual income derived from the properties, stock funds and securities that Bradley himself had set up, or those that had been established by the trustees. This was in addition to the marriage settlement that he made with each of the husbands, although he initially excluded his daughter Kate.

61 Codicil to William Bradley’s Will, 12 April 1864.
The one person Bradley neglected to provide for was his grandson, Charles Maitland. This was probably because until his death, Bradley provided Edward Maitland (Charles' father) with a 'large allowance' to maintain his grandson. Maitland, a church cleric, with no income to support his son, applied to the Court to have an annual annuity paid from the estate to his son. The Chancery Court appointed Edward Maitland as the guardian of Charles Maitland (who was already living with his father in Brighton, Sussex) and ordered the remaining trustee of the original Indenture of Settlement of 2 May 1855, Charles Nicholson, to invest trust funds for the maintenance and education of Bradley's grandson until he reached his majority. The settlement of 1855 negotiated between Maitland, Esther Bradley and her father resulted in Salting, Phillips and Nicholson appointed as trustees to the settlement.

In what seems an unfortunate calamity, the trustees and executors slowly whittled Bradley's wealth away. The beneficiaries were sometimes placed in the very position that their father did not want them to be in—one where they had to write for money to maintain their lifestyles. The early 1870s saw the beginning of difficulties between the trustees and the beneficiaries. Emily Pearse often wrote to Knox complaining of the cost of 'expensive education'. In 1872, she was preparing her eldest son, William, for the Bar and Civil Service and her second son, Napier (named for his uncle, Field Marshal Robert Cornelis Napier, 1st Baron Napier of Magdala) for Woolwich. The expense kept the family 'tied to India' as presumably she needed the military income of her husband, her father's income, and that generated from their other business interests as noted earlier in this chapter. Education was only one of the expensive items that led the sisters, at times, to join forces against the executors. They had their solicitors in London send 'friendly letters' to the executors reminding them of their obligations under their father's will. The tone of the letters indicates a growing distrust and one that Knox himself acknowledged existed between the beneficiaries and the trustees.

All four daughters relied heavily on the income generated from their father's properties and the investments he made, as they had large families and the education of their sons was of

62 MLM MSS 98/59, Sir Edward Knox Papers, p.71, 31.7.1872. Sir Edward Knox maintained a series of papers on Bradley's will and trust. These are at the Mitchell Library. The references are: ML MSS 98/40; ML MSS 98/59; ML MSS 98/60; ML MSS 98/114.


64 It is not the intention of this thesis to conduct a thorough investigation of Bradley's will. This is covered in Appendix 14.

65 MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit., pp.75–78, 5.12.1872, EL Pearse to E Knox.

66 Ibid.

67 The expense paid dividends in the case of Napier. He emulated his father's service record and became a Colonel in the 4th Sherwood Foresters, serving in the Boer War (with his cousin Lieutenant Charles Roberts) where he was invalided, as well as in India during his career.

68 See MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit., pp.15–17, 24.2.1870, E Knox to E L Pearse.

69 See Ibid.
prime importance. Profits from Bradley's estate, however, were low. After Bradley's death the returns diminished significantly, with the stated reasons being the 'results of poor seasons'. However, during this time, Edwards, the manager of Bibbenluke, was advising McDonald Smith and Co. (the Sydney agents) that despite the continued dry weather the 'cattle and sheep are in a far better condition than I have ever seen them'. He advised that the wool was holding its price at the recent wool sales. Edwards believed Bradley's daughters had very little right 'to expect any income from Bibbenluke' as he was ensuring that a 'valuable estate' was being created for them.

Edwards suggested to McDonald Smith and Co. that Bradley's mistake in managing his properties was in allocating limited funds to secure land under the Robertson Land Act, which had resulted in the channelling of current profits into land purchases and improvements. Edwards was beginning to demonstrate a somewhat duplicitous nature. During the 1860s, as we have seen in Chapter Six, he encouraged Bradley to take up land and make improvements. Bradley generally acquiesced to Edwards's demands, and bought up large tracts of land on the Monaro from the early 1860s. However, during the 1870s, Edwards was largely critical of Bradley's approach, despite he himself reaping financial rewards from Bradley's estates.

During 1869, Major-General Pearse took an active role in the exchange of letters with the trustees. He expressed awareness of the 'depressed markets' in the colonies, but indicated that wool prices in England were now 'looking up ...for both producers and merchants'. Knox's reply, in February 1870, asked when Pearse himself was to come to the colony to see for himself the state of his father-in-law's properties. Knox also wrote, 'the Executors came into possession of the property at a most unfortunate time and nothing short of improved prices for wool and sheep can produce a different result'. In July 1870, Pearse wrote again to Knox stating, 'Mr Bradley told me himself what splendid returns [the great Goulburn and Bibbenluke properties] gave him annually'. He expressed his 'surprise at this falling off', blaming the continuation of improvements and land purchases out of the annual income designated for the beneficiaries, a practice that Pearse believed to be 'not strictly legal'.

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72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
77 MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit., pp.5–8, 25.11.1869, J. L. Pearse to E. Knox.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
Pearse based his assessment of the legality of the expenditure on his own interpretation of the will. He claimed that the will did not authorise the repeated alteration of income by the executors, except at their own wish, and in particular, Pearse argued that no legatees had agreed to the outlay.\textsuperscript{81} In addition, he argued that the executors could not expend funds except for ordinary maintenance on the properties and that the legatees were entitled to receive particulars of the outlays and expenditure periodically. Pearse was careful to advise Knox that it was not his wish 'in any way to embarrass or give undue concern to the Executors'\textsuperscript{82} but the 'errors and misconceptions'\textsuperscript{83} in the interpretation of Bradley's will needed to be rectified. Pearse effectively questioned the legality of the trustee's actions.

Eight months later, Knox replied, advising that he found the actions made by the legatees in regards to seeking legal advice 'most distasteful'\textsuperscript{84} to himself and the other trustees. In a robust letter detailing the financial records of Bradley on his death, Knox advised Pearse that Bradley's assets amounted to some £141,886 on his death, independent of Bibbenluke, which was valued at £26,014.\textsuperscript{85} From April 1868 to January 1871, the income from Bradley's estate was £18,675-5-11.\textsuperscript{86} To each of the legatees, over this three-year period, the sisters realised approximately £1,556 per annum from their father's Estate.\textsuperscript{87} Knox agreed with Pearse that the purchase of land was not 'wholly within the terms of the will',\textsuperscript{88} but argued that it was necessary for the conservation of Bibbenluke. At this point, Knox may have started to become aware of the difficult position in which his friend had unwittingly placed him. It was little wonder, too, that the sisters questioned the management of their father's estate.

The trustees recommended an aggressive action plan for the maintenance of Bradley's Bibbenluke and Goulburn properties, with some £15,000 necessary for fencing at Goulburn and Bibbenluke, capital works at Goulburn totalling £4,000 and at Bibbenluke, some £10,500. Funds for the improvements were to come from an account that Bradley maintained for investment purposes, which at his death had contained some £16,950.\textsuperscript{89} Worse was to come for the sisters.

\textsuperscript{81} The Term 'Legatee' was used to describe the beneficiaries. See Ibid.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{84} MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit., pp.37–59, 24.3.1871, E Knox to J. L Pearse.
\textsuperscript{85} William Bradley's probate was proved on 26 May 1868. Despite extensive searches at the SR NSW, the Supreme Court and in London at the Probate Office, no probate documents exist for Bradley, which is highly unusual. I have looked up until 1950 for these documents at all places, as I believe that his will was not finalised until 1947 but have not found the documentation to support this theory. The only 'evidence' of Bradley's wealth on his death is through the letter from Knox to Pearse that outlines the various stocks and information on land etc. See Ibid.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{87} Calculated from the figures given in MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit., pp.37–59, 24 March 1871, E Knox to J. L Pearse.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
Since 1825, Bradley and his family held *Lansdowne Park* as a foundation stone of their wealth and prosperity. Its sale in 1872 devastated Bradley's daughters. The Goulburn estate, consisting of the brewery, *Lansdowne Park*, their father's townhouse and thousands of acres of land was their ancestral home, and a symbol of their native-born heritage. Despite all protestations from the daughters, the sale of the ‘best and most beautiful [land] in and around Goulburn’ occurred on 28 March 1872. The sisters were unable to purchase the land through private sale before the public auction. The estate established by Bradley to provide for his children and their children was facing more difficulties. The sisters saw little of the money and further land sales saw no net benefit returned to the estate as the trustees invested the money into ‘secure situations’, including some unusual land transactions (such as the selling of 716 acres of land on the Monaro for ten shillings) and investment in the Oriental Banking Corporation.

At the same time that the trustees were working to sell off the Goulburn land, they also sold other acreages scattered across the Monaro, Port Macquarie, and Gladstone, Queensland. Bradley paid £890 for his fourteen lots of prime land on the Gladstone harbour during 1854 and 1855. His trustees accepted £75 for the fourteen lots. Bradley's two-half acre lots in the township of Port Macquarie, which he paid £168 for in April 1840, sold for £8. One other lot offered in this auction was a twenty-acre lot in Cooma, which sold for £21. Bradley had purchased this same block of land in 1858 for £45. In total, Bradley purchased land to the value of £1103 with his trustees realising just £104 for the same land.

William Bradley may not have been overly impressed with his trustees' management of his land. The estates he had spent thousands of pounds developing were significantly undervalued and undersold by his trustees. While no comprehensive financial records of the trust exist for the 1870s, there seems enough evidence from letters and newspaper records to question the motives, ambitions and financial acumen of the trustees. Perhaps if Bradley had been more specific in his will, challenges around shares, stocks, improvements and land acquisition and sale may have been less problematic for both the trustees and beneficiaries.
As Bradley's land went to auction or sale across the eastern seaboard, the trustees informed the legatees to expect low annual incomes due to improvements on the various remaining properties. In 1879, the costs of improvements was £9,000 with this money raised from the profits of the estates, which ordinarily would have been split four ways under the terms of Bradley's will. Knox and the other executors' actions could not escape the suspicion of the legatees and their husbands.

Heard's solicitor reviewed the accounts sent to his wife, Kate, and questioned the practice of reducing the income to the legatees and reinvesting these amounts back into the improvements of the properties, in particular into Bibbenluke. Knox's response was to threaten to 'realise the Bibbenluke estate and permanently investing the proceeds'. Despite the consternation of the legatees over the reinvestment issue, there was never any change in the policy of the trustees towards this aspect of the management of the estate. Throughout the next period of the estate from the 1880s onwards, the trustees increased the amount of money required to maintain and protect Bibbenluke. The legatees, to whom Bradley had intended to leave his money, were missing out.

The first intimation of legal proceedings against the trustees was in 1892 when Alice Roberts took the trustees to the Supreme Court Equity Division. This was to address the crediting of the estate's accounts with the gross outlays, interest and deterioration costs on the Goulburn property from 1871 to 1874, as well as Bibbenluke. The sum expended totaled over £28,212. This matter was settled quickly but the issue opened up the need for the books to be regularly available for inspection by the legatees' nominated representative. Difficulties arose in 1892 when Heard and Roberts requested an investigation of the Bibbenluke accounts, which revealed a deficit of £20,717.5.10 not credited to the Bibbenluke account. The legatees derived their annual income from this account and from the annual wool dip. The only money the estate generated was from the Bibbenluke clip. The average price per bale in 1892 was £13. This price dropped in 1893 to £7 per bale, which had a negative effect on the legatees' income. With the wool price's direct correlation to annual income, it was a concern to all legatees. They believed the wool should sell in the Sydney markets rather than in London. In the two years from July 1892 to July 1894, the value of the estate's assets

102 MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit., pp.311–313, 11.4.1892, D. McAllister to E. Knox. The matter was referred to Court appointed arbitrators. The result was a deficit of £3092.57 in the Goulburn account and £25,120.19.7 in the Bibbenluke account, less £8 000 for monies already expended and accounted for in previous years. The Bibbenluke account was higher than the original estimated discrepancy amount of £20,717.5.10 as the arbitrators believed the property's value had increased so much, they decided to return the whole of the money that passed through the station for improvements since Bradley's death.
dropped from £280,000 to £231,225, a reduction of 17 per cent. The reduction is explained partially through the drop in the price of wool from £13 in 1892 to £7 a bale in 1894, which is a decrease of some 46 per cent. From January 1894 to July 1894, the estate’s assets dropped from £6,047, down from £237,272 to £231,225. A year later, in July 1895, the assets dropped to £163,771, which was a further 29 per cent devaluation of the estate. The records also show a decrease in the value of the Bibbenluke account. In July 1892, the Bibbenluke station account was valued at £170,885. In July 1895, the same account was valued at £125,412, a decrease of £45,473, totaling 27 per cent. From 1892 to 1900 when the financial records cease for the Bradley estate in the Knox papers, the assets of the estate dropped from £280,000 to £183,698, some 34 per cent, totaling £96,302. There are questions remaining about what happened to Bradley’s money.

The decrease is too large for the price of wool to be the sole cause. Nor was it the sole effect of the substantial improvements and land purchases on Bibbenluke. Although the general worldwide depression of the 1890s reduced the personal income, salary and investment dividends of many people across the British world, this too is only one factor. The turning point for the estate was 1895. Up until then the legatees had suffered the losses and the diminishing income and value of their father’s estate. The pressure of her inability to fund her family’s lifestyle had a negative effect on Emily Pearse. Her father would not have desired this situation, having spent his life creating wealth that would sustain his daughters for life. In June 1895, she penned a letter to Knox arguing that with the income to the legatees depleted and the lack of profit, the costs of management and Edwards’s salary and allowances should be reduced until such time that the prospects of the estate improved. She stated while Edwards was a very old friend of hers ‘it seems scarcely fair that this one charge [Edwards’s salary] which was fixed in prosperous times should alone escape these days of scarcity and reduction’. She suggested that Edwards’s salary should be calculated against the net income of the estate and ‘then as things improve for us they will improve for him also’.

Knox replied tersely, advising that he could not guarantee that Edwards would ‘meet your wishes for a reduction in his salary’ given that Edwards was working to secure and maintain the Australian properties of the legatees. Pearse’s letter angered Knox, who declared that the trustees had distributed £330,000 to the legatees for their personal use since 1868. During this time, Knox claimed that the trustees had never applied to the court for a commission on the disbursements, thus saving the legatees thousands of pounds.

103 MLM MSS 98/60, op. cit., p.225 and p.33.
105 Ibid.
107 Ibid.
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Knox reflected, ‘I can only say that if I had been able to realise a tithe of the trouble and vexation that the administration, not even my friendship for your father which induced me to accept the office of Executor would have prevented me to do so.’\textsuperscript{108} He continued, ‘I often wonder what your father would have thought of the disgraceful proceedings now going on, the anguish of Capt. Smith and myself at the suit of one of his grandchildren, no doubt on the instigation of some of the life tenants.’\textsuperscript{109} There was no further correspondence between Emily Pearse and Knox. Family friend William Salting noted in a letter to Knox that the Equity Court suit against the ‘Bradley Faction’ was an ‘ungracious action considering the amount of time and tumult bestowed on this Estate from pure friendship.’\textsuperscript{110} The children of a colonial patrician had been reduced to a faction.

One does wonder what Bradley would have thought of the proceedings and the activities that went on with his estate. Bradley was a shrewd businessman. He appointed people to his estate because they possessed business acumen and the initiative to keep his properties returning an income for his children and their children for many years. In hindsight, consideration to an end date for the estate so that the length of the management could have been contained may have proved beneficial. In 1832, Bradley considered himself respectable.\textsuperscript{111} He capitalised on the advancements given to him by successive governors and developed a fine estate with the capacity to support generations of his family. Through his actions, Bradley linked his daughter’s lives to the wider British Empire. The Colony of New South Wales provided this family with the opportunity to open up new worlds. The daughters assimilated within the wider British Empire, whether in India as an Army wife, on an island socialising with other families of the Anglo-Irish gentry, or in Southsea and the Isle of Wight, the playground of Victorian aristocrats. His daughters eclipsed their father’s sanguine ambitions when they married into their respective families. The trajectory of these daughters indicates that within three generations, one could successfully enter the imperial elite of the British world. This is an example of a wider phenomenon: the way that colonial wealth created a fluid relationship between the imperial centre and the periphery.

William Bradley was the link to the success of his enterprises. After his death, nobody followed his leadership style. The financial security he attained was linked to respectability. While Bradley’s personal respectability did not diminish through the court cases that his family undertook, the combined effect of a disintegrating wealth basis and the public airing of his financial affairs in public meant that the purpose and narrative of his life was sullied by his family.

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid.
See Appendix 14 for an account of the suit.
\textsuperscript{111} SR NSW, Colonial Secretary, Letters relating to Land, Reel 1101/2/7809, Memorial of William Bradley, 1.5.1832.
While the gloss came off the family name temporarily, it later transpired that decisions had not been made in the best interests of the estate, leaving questions about Bradley's choice of executors and trust members. It is tempting to wonder to what extent a different outcome may have been achieved if the family themselves had been left in charge. Despite the family tension and the issues surrounding his estate, William Bradley was remembered for his respectability, for his contributions to the Australian pastoral industry, being remembered in his obituary as a man respected by all political parties and a man who was a productive contributor to his native-land.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{112} The Empire, 10.4.1868, p.2, col. 4.
William Bradley and Edward Knox were great friends. Bradley predeceased Knox and he placed upon his friend a burden that he could never have anticipated. Bradley thought his will was well formed and unlikely to be problematic, but it caused his dear friend much angst. This was not his intention.

Bradley desired a respectability that he had also instilled in his daughters. For the most part, he was right about their husbands: good at soldiering but not businessmen who could manage large estates. He believed his daughters were ‘real I-am-not-amused Victorian, beautiful and dignified’ women, who married into the British world by sheer fortune generated by him. He never knew his grandchildren, but he hoped they would be as upright, respectable and civil as their mothers.

On Rossdohan Island, following the burial of her husband Samuel in Sneem, Kate Heard stood looking over the Kenmare Bay. It was a windy, cold, bleak Irish day. She was at home amongst the eucalyptus trees and the banksias and hakea. The wattle was about to bloom and it was as if she was a child again, at Lansdowne Park. She could hear the voice of her father calling to her to ride her pony in a more lady-like way and she could see her sister Emily rushing through the growing pine trees, playing hide and seek with her little brothers. Her mother, pregnant again, sat on the verandah looking out over the estate they called home. She sang to them before they went to sleep and she had a pure sweet voice. But so much had happened. Repairing her relationship with her father had brought her great happiness; she had worked hard to redeem herself in his eyes. Although she never saw him again before he died, she still had his letters, welcoming her back to her beloved family. Kate pondered her fortune now. It was 1922 and after all these years, her father was providing for her and they still owned Bibbenluke, although she did not have much affinity for the place. She was more at home here on her husband’s island, bought with her inheritance and now a famous arboretum with its Australian plantings and its great sense of peace and tranquility.

The antics of her sisters in making sure his bequests were honoured may have caused her father some embarrassment. He had made a fortune so that his family could live without worrying about when money was coming and whether or not they could afford Eton or Harrow for their boys. It was a life where they could consider what type of commission they would buy their sons or what type of trousseau they could give their daughters when they married into nobility in

Lohan, K: op. cit., p. 36.
England. It was a good life. At the heart of her father's life was a desire to be respectable and develop a good reputation.

It was Shakespeare's character Cassio, she recalled, in Othello, who famously stated:

> Reputation, reputation, reputation! O! I have lost my reputation. I have lost the immortal part of myself, and what remains is bestial. My reputation, Iago, my reputation!

Iago responded:

> As I am an honest man, I thought you had received some bodily wound; there is more offence in that than in reputation. Reputation is an idle and most false imposition; oft got without merit, and lost without deserving: you have lost no reputation at all, unless you repute yourself such a loser.

Kate felt that despite the embarrassment of having their family fortune debated in the Supreme Court, they were justified in pursuing action against those who controlled the fortunes and lives of herself and her sisters from so far away. She knew Sir Edward Knox was not happy with the situation at the end and she regretted that her father's will was not more swiftly wrapped up and the problems alleviated. Kate was reflective as she packed her letters and diaries into a cedar box her father had given her as a present many years ago. She was not planning to return to Rossdohan.

Her father's obituary slipped out from one of her diaries. She remembered receiving it from Knox with a kind letter. She was unable to attend her father's funeral, but had seen his grave later. In Goulburn, they had called his death a public calamity. What a calamity his will was, she thought. He would not have liked the way that his money was driving so many people to engage in such unseemly behaviour. Nevertheless, times were changing. The First World War had been and gone and left scars on his descendants, some of whom did not know or understand that their ancestor, William Bradley, funded their lifestyle and gave them a life outside Australia.

Kate stood at The Cut, looked back towards her beloved Rossdohan and recalled the shared memories of her family, who for three generations had called this island home. As she left for the last time, a large eucalyptus tree, the seed of which she had gathered with Samuel at Bibbenluke, cracked under the pressure of the wind and fell to the ground.

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114 Shakespeare, Othello, the Moor of Venice, Act II, Scene III, 225–226.
CONCLUSION
Richard Holmes has written that 'biography is a handshake across time' and in writing and speaking about Bradley, I have tried to demonstrate the interconnected relationships Bradley had with land, people, places and colonial events. I wonder how the life that is lived differs from the life that is told through the public record.

Detailed research has produced some confident conclusions. The answer to the perennial question: did Francis Greenway design the Old Goulburn Brewery is a conclusive no, he did not—it was Francis Lawless. Inevitably, there will be revisionists who will come forward to dispute my findings. In a broader sense, my thesis contributes to the wider historiography of Goulburn and Monaro. However, the pursuit of Bradley and his family is never over. There will always be much more to discover about the man himself, his place in his world and his legacy. I have learned to accept the limitations of biography.

In accepting the limitations of biography, I have come to understand, like Clendinnen, that there is a 'needle 'I' between the past and the reader through which everything must past'. In constructing what is an original thesis to overcome source issues, perhaps I have also used the Mckenna model, with my hand visible on the pages. Simon Schama's famous words that 'historians are left forever chasing shadows, painfully aware of their inability ever to reconstruct a dead world in its completeness however thorough or revealing their documentation,' has specific resonance for my somewhat unorthodox approach to this thesis. Perhaps I will be doomed, like others before me, to be 'forever hailing someone who has just gone around the corner and out of earshot'.

William Bradley died suddenly. He was buried at St Stephen's Churchyard, Camperdown, with his daughter Esther. No family members mourned him at his graveside; his four daughters and their families were abroad. While there is no record of who attended his funeral, there can be no doubt that members of Bradley’s social and business network were among the mourners. Sir Edward Knox, Sir Charles Nicholson, Thomas Barker, members of the New South Wales Legislative Council, and perhaps some employees from the Monaro, such as Brodribb.
Conclusion

or Litchfield. There is no recorded eulogy for Bradley but there is enough on the historical record to indicate that Bradley was praised as a 'splendid man', guided by his 'zeal, industry, and integrity'. He died a wealthy man and his fortune, as discussed earlier, allowed his family members to remain abroad. His death at Lindesay, Darling Point, symbolised the progress and great wealth that distanced him from his birth in a wattle and daub hut at Windsor. By the time of his death, it is clear that he had achieved his ambitions. These ambitions were typical of the first generations of native-born Australian colonialists, and comprised the desire to become someone who held power and wealth in a society that came to recognise those who worked hard to change their fortunes.

Throughout his life, Bradley applied the personal characteristics of 'perseverance, energy, and courage' to his enterprises. In an age when Samuel Smiles called on men to help themselves, Bradley applied the principles of industriousness to his ventures and used scientific and technological approaches to sustain his enterprise and create wealth. He used the economics of supply and demand in his approach to his landed empire and his mill and brewery. He was a man of his age. Bradley accumulated much power and wealth in his lifetime, which he used to create communities on his Goulburn and Monaro properties. There is no evidence that he used his power and wealth in ways that caused offence or disrespect. It was his application of his principles, be they scientific, humanitarian, economic, social, political, managerial, moral or investment, that characterised Bradley's approach to life and to his various interests.

As a visionary, Bradley left his mark on the landscape of southern New South Wales. His agitation for political representation, for the railways and services to Goulburn and beyond, and his great belief in the worth of hard work and the principals of the colony meant that he had a perspective on life in nineteenth century New South Wales that was both extraordinary and beyond what was expected of him. Wherever he went, Bradley never forgot his birth as a native-born Australian and wore this as a badge of great pride. He may have left his mother's criminality lurking in the cupboard, but he was proud of his humble background on the land from which he came. There was a conviction in Bradley about the value of his country; this is demonstrated through his public actions, as borne out in this thesis.

Bradley's actions in Goulburn would be called social engineering today, in line with his developing business empire and his quest for respectability. The first change was to bring Goulburn forward and take advantage of the engineering feats developed through the Industrial Revolution. This was a grand vision. To take a steam-beam engine to Goulburn, a remote outpost on the edge of the British world was a remarkable feat. As we have seen, his

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5 Wright, WD: Canberra p. 51.
7 Brodribb, WA: op. cit., p.54.
plan was colonial paternalism at its best, with Bradley shaping the values of the town for which he had such affection and transforming it into a respectable and flourishing society based on his own complex aspirations. Financial security through the ownership of land was an ambition he inherited from his father’s early days in colonial New South Wales. By transforming Goulburn, he showed that his ambition exceeded that of his father.

While Bradley’s parliamentary representation in early New South Wales was a long way from parliamentary democracy, it served a number of purposes. Not only did he have some limited power to influence the Legislative Council’s activities, he was able to influence these to benefit himself and ultimately the community he was establishing on the Goulburn Plains. He gave voice to Caroline Chisholm’s cause in the House of Lords; presented his own evidence before select committees for which he was derided through the press because of his successes with land and stock management when others were selling up and leaving the land. While he maintained a veneer of independence, Bradley, like his contemporaries, aligned himself with those Council members who supported his own causes. In this sense, Bradley was not unusual, he used the network that surrounded him, just like they too, presumably, used him.

Of course, Bradley was a ‘monster squatter’, but even in this he applied scientific methods to pasture improvement, the health of his stock and the development of infrastructure on his properties. Bradley’s method to eradicate scab and catarrh in sheep demonstrated his ingenuity and his application of scientific principles. Good fortune favoured those prepared to take well thought through risks in the colony.

Through an analysis of Bradley’s Monaro properties, a clear understanding of the necessity of placing quality managers in charge is evident. He had conscientious managers in both Brodribb and Edwards, and he also provided them with a good support network of overseers, such as James Litchfield, Thomas and Andrew Morrison and Frances Smith.

This thesis is a record of some of William Bradley’s achievements. From what I have learned about Bradley, his greatest achievement was in laying the foundations for his family’s respectability in a colony that was shaped by convictism, entrepreneurship, and hard work. He shaped the values of the town of Goulburn by enacting principles of industriousness, perseverance, acceptance, tolerance, and patience. Bradley’s achievements hinged on his capacity to transpose British values into a workable respectability that allowed him to build wealth and a landed empire that was socially acceptable. William Bradley was also a man with a vision for the southwest frontier and for the Monaro. Without this vision, lesser men abandoned the harsh and inhospitable environment. The best example is the infamous squatter, Ben Boyd, of whose land Bradley purchased so much. William Bradley stayed, and with a ‘prophetic eye’, as his manager Brodribb put it, turned his family’s ambitions into reality.
Through solid investments, William Bradley altered the pattern of his family's existence. He inherited the characteristics of perseverance, energy, and courage from his father. Brodribb believed these traits were essential elements of a squatter's characteristics, with Bradley's ability to use these attributes assisting in his enterprise and despite the negative connotations of being a member of the 'squattocracy', Bradley was considered a respectable member of colonial society.

Bradley's wealth was sufficient to meet the demands of successive generations. He coveted respectability and entry into the British elite, and like many wealthy colonials, he travelled extensively in Britain and Europe. In searching for a place in metropolitan society, he married his daughters well. It was his grandchildren, however, who finally achieved that coveted position, acquired on the back of colonial wealth.

Banjo Paterson might easily have had a man like Bradley in mind when he wrote, 'The Squatter of Olden Time':

I'll sing to you a fine new song, made by my blessed mate,
Of a fine Australian squatter who had a fine estate,
Who swore by right pre-emptive at a sanguinary rate
That by his rams, his ewes, his lambs, Australia was made great-
Like a fine Australian squatter, one of the olden time.

And now his fortune he has made to England straight goes he,
But finds with grief he's not received as he had hoped to be.
His friends declare his habits queer, his language much too free,
And are somewhat apt to cross the street when him they chance to see-
This fine Australian squatter, the boy of the olden time.
My journey with Bradley and his family is ending and I have saved this footstep to the very last because there are few places left to go in my pursuit of this family. I came to this project with my eyes open to the landscapes of the Bradley family and I have come a long way. As Emerson suggests, I discovered along the way that the issue is not the length of one’s life, but the depth of that life.

After more than 85,000 words I write this final footstep in the wake of William Bradley looking out over the Monaro Plains from the Bredbo Cemetery. It is a familiar landscape. For Bradley, this is where his Monaro Plains story began and so it is fitting that I sit and write these final footsteps where he started. The blue of the mountain haze, the slightly green spring grass and the eucalyptus trees are all part of a landscape that has changed little in two hundred years. It is an ancient landscape, and one that is evocatively Australian. It is slightly cold despite the spring sun that is sitting high in the sky. It would not be the Monaro if it wasn’t cold.

On my long journey with Bradley, I have slowly given over part of my life to him and his family. I have trespassed into their world and learnt much about myself along the way. I am not surprised. As Michael Holroyd has noted, paraphrasing Hugh Kingsmill, the biographer is required to ‘give some account of his or her own life as a passport for travelling into the lives of others.’ The places I visited in pursuit of Bradley are well documented now, and my footsteps tell their own story of a modern day explorer re-imagining a nineteenth century landscape. There have been some enjoyable sidetracks from my foot-stepping, and I have delved into the lives of people associated with Bradley but whose stories remain untold.

As I contemplated my last journey with Bradley to the Monaro Plains, I wondered what event or moment in Bradley’s life gave him the courage to begin some of his ventures. As I sit here in this well-kept cemetery, it seems to me that Bradley had an ability to manipulate situations to his advantage, but he was also lucky. He had a knack of being in the right place at the right time.

What I will take from my extraordinary journey with this family will be the shared memories and understandings that I gained. I have seen the highs and lows of this family—the deaths, the homes, the lost dreams, the islands and the wealth that gave the family the ability to live the life of Victorian aristocrats. My dialogue with this family and many others has been ongoing and deeply fulfilling.

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1 Holroyd, M. (Basil Street Blues), op. cit., p.303.
This story has been about connections between the past and the present. It has connected people, land, stories, and even plants on Rossdohan Island, and I have sought to build a bridge between two worlds. Now that I have stopped following Bradley and his family, I am somewhat melancholy, as my travel companions have shown me many things along the way. I hope that I have pointed to pathways that others might follow. It is time for a new pair of boots and I can see new shadows in the distance that are beckoning me to follow them.
This story was about integrating nature, the past, and the present, a direct connection between people, time, stories, and even plants on Roedelius Island. I once thought it could be a bridge between our worlds. Now that I have stopped spending time there, my friends and I hope that my stories and my journey may be a way for others to connect to the beauty they might follow it. It is time for a new set of stories, and I can see new chances at the planting that are fading away, yet to follow there.
## APPENDIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Issues associated with Bradley's Mills and Brewery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bradley's list of convicts from 1836-1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Others who may have designed Bradley's Brewery and Mills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bradley's projected risks and costs</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Combined list of the Bradley family convicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Thorn Brothers' enterprise at Goulburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The connections between Bradley and his fellow Legislative Council members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bradley's Monaro runs</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Family information, including an account of Roberts' role in sending Australian troops to the Sudan in 1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Footsteps to Rome Foreign Cemetery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bradley family tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Footsteps to Rossdohan Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Footsteps to Southsea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Post 1868 – the controversy of Bradley’s will</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX ONE

ISSUES WITH BRADLEY’S MILL AND BREWERY
Comparative table of various issues with Bradley's Mill and Brewery - major sources – there are other sources that have not been included in this listing. Full sources are listed at the end of the tables.

**ISSUE 1: LAND SIZE: DID BRADLEY PURCHASE 300 ACRES OR 600 ACRES FROM REV W B BROUGHTON?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Evidence/Notes/Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Plan – Final Draft Aug 1983</td>
<td>p.4: Broughton's 1818 parcel; purchased by William Bradley in 1833 (source was Pennay, P4); No acreage mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Halloran 2006 Text</td>
<td>p.10 – 300 acres purchased in 1833 on which he built his steam powered industrial complex, no source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGB Notes</td>
<td>p.2, land was purchased in 1833, no source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing Process Book</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennay</td>
<td>p.1 – Broughton's 600 acres. Lots of sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website 2 Sep 2008 &amp; Current</td>
<td>William Bradley bought the current site especially in 1833.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda Day 2010</td>
<td>Purchase of 600 acres from Broughton of which an 11 acre, 15 perches was selected for the Brewery and Mill; NSW LPI Serial 33, No. 92 and NSW LPI Book F, No 105; SR NSW Primary Application PA 17346.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW Heritage Office – website</td>
<td>The mill/brewery complex was originally part of a parcel of land promised to William Henry Broughton in 1818. In 1833 William Bradley took an interest in Broughton's stockyards and bought 600 acres of what was called West Park. Its close proximity to the Bradley's Lansdowne Estate on the other side of the Mulwaree Chain of Ponds was the most likely reason behind his interest. The resting of the town of Goulburn in 1832 would also have contributed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ISSUE 2: WHEN DID SHELLEY AND BRADLEY BEGIN THEIR PARTNERSHIP?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Evidence/Notes/Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Plan – Final Draft Aug 1983</td>
<td>p.8 – 1838, &quot;establish brewery partnership&quot;; p.9 repeated (source was O'Halloran's paper).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Halloran 2006 Text</td>
<td>William Shelley became a partner in the Goulburn Brewery businesses when Thomas Bradley died in 1835, p.162.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGB Notes</td>
<td>p.2, 1838 – 'following the death of Thomas Bradley and the finalising of his estate” p.13, no source.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p.13 – 'Then William took on a partner, Wm Shelley, who provided the additional capital needed to complete and commission the complex.” p.13, no source.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing Process Book</td>
<td>p.1 (same as OGB Notes), no source.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennay</td>
<td>&quot;Advertisements in 1837 proclaim the intention of the proprietors to purchase grain… and by then the steam beam engine was probably in place.&quot; p.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website 2 Sep 2008 &amp; Current</td>
<td>Construction of the Bradley Grange was underway in 1833. It was designed by Francis Greenway for Jonas, Thomas and William Bradley, and was completed sometime after 1836 operating as a partnership in the names of William Bradley and William Shelley, millers and brewers. Note this is different from Nov 2007 when the site said it was being constructed in 1834.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda Day 2010</td>
<td>By at least December 1837 – prior to deed of co-partnership in October 1838. Source: Sydney Gazette, 9.12.1837, p.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW Heritage Office – website</td>
<td>In 1838 William Bradley and William Shelley became co-partners in a milling and brewing venture. This venture appears to have had its origins in 1836. Construction of the mill appears to have started in this year. A visitor in 1837 wrote that a Mr Bradbury (sic) was building a granary and steam engine flour mill. Advertisements in 1837 proclaimed the intention of the proprietors to purchase grain after the ensuing harvest. It was complete and operational in 1838 and remained as a mill until 1869.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ISSUE 3: WHEN WERE THE MILLS BUILT?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Evidence/Notes/Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Plan – Final Draft Aug 1983</td>
<td>p.5 “designed as an entity from about 1834 (source: O’Halloran) P. 12 – 1836 p.9 – using an O’Halloran Source: construction of flour mill and possibly brewery also commences in 1834; Mill completed 1836; Mill in full operation 1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Halloran 2006 Text</td>
<td>p.2 – dating from 1833, no source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGB Notes</td>
<td>p.2: Construction under way in 1834, no source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing Process Book</td>
<td>p.1 (same as OGB notes) and “completed sometime after 1838”, no source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennay</td>
<td>“Construction appears to have started in 1836” p. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website 2 Sep 2008 &amp; Current</td>
<td>Construction under way in 1833. Designed by F G for Jonas, Thomas and William Bradley and was completed sometime after 1836, no source.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda Day 2010</td>
<td>Construction begins in 1836, completed in 1838. Plaque is a start date. Based on evidence from:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
  
  • Backhouse
  • Blue Books
  • Thomas Walker
  • Waugh
  • Franklin
  • Steer
  • Pennay

| NSW Heritage Office – website          | 1836 – 1840                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
## ISSUE 4: WHEN WAS THE MAUDSLAY STEAM BEAM ENGINE IMPORTED AND OPERATIONAL?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Evidence/Notes/Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Plan – Final Draft Aug 1983</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Halloran 2006 Text</td>
<td>No mention of the historical antecedents of the engine. (p.97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGB Notes</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing Process Book</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennay</td>
<td>&quot;Advertisements in 1837 proclaim the intention of the proprietors to purchase grain... and by then the steam beam engine was probably in place.&quot; p.10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website 2 Sep 2008 &amp; Current</td>
<td>Photo of William Bartlett with the Engine which says 'it was installed in 1836.' The actual photo has a caption saying it was built in 1837. The same page has words by O'Halloran stating 'The beam engine which powered the Mill's machinery was made by Maudslay Son and Field in 1837:'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda Day 2010</td>
<td><em>Arrived Australia on 31 October 1837 on board the Andromache;</em> (The Australian, 3.11.1837); operational by 17 August 1838 (Australian 17.8.1838). Brought to Goulburn by land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW Heritage Office – website</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ISSUE 5: WHO WON THE CONTRACT FOR BUILDING AND COSTS; CONSTRUCTION OF THE MILLS?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Evidence/Notes/Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Plan – Final Draft Aug 1983</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Halloran 2006 Text</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGB Notes</td>
<td>&quot;Certainly whoever supervised the construction, at whatever stage, seems to have been meticulously faithful to the architect’s design.&quot; P.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing Process Book</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennay</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website 2 Sep 2008 &amp; Current</td>
<td>Construction of the Bradley Grange was underway in 1833. No source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda Day 2010</td>
<td>£5000 (Franklin); Francis Lawless.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW Heritage Office – website</td>
<td>No mention</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ISSUE 6: WHO DESIGNED THE COMPLEX?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Evidence/Notes/Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Plan – Final Draft Aug 1983</td>
<td>&quot;there would be value in testing the hypothesis that the designer was Francis Greenway.&quot; p.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Halloran 2006 Text</td>
<td>p.2 &quot;the internal evidence of the built work of the Bradley Grange itself supports the view that it is a design of Francis Howard Greenway.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGB Notes</td>
<td>&quot;...Suggests that Francis Howard Greenway was also the architect and builder of the Goulburn Mews, Mills, Maltings and Brewery for the Bradley family.&quot; (p.6) &quot;Doubtful if the four sets of integrated buildings at Goulburn could have been the result of such filching of designs.&quot; (p.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing Process Book</td>
<td>'Seems to have been designed by Francis Greenway for Jonas, Thomas and William Bradley.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennay</td>
<td>Indicates that there is no evidence to either prove or disprove claim. (p.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website 2 Sep 2008 &amp; Current</td>
<td>It was designed by Francis Greenway for Jonas, Thomas and William Bradley, and was completed sometime after 1836 operating as a partnership in the names of William Bradley and William Shelley, millers and brewers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda Day 2010</td>
<td>Francis Lawless – convict bricklayer and overseer, associate of William Bradley - known and acknowledged by Bigge and others for being able to copy a Greenway design. Also constructed and designed or both:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parramatta Convict Barracks; Benevolent asylum; Carter's Barracks (built on a Greenway design); Turnpike Gate and Lodge; and St Peter's Church, Campbelltown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW Heritage Office – website</td>
<td>Initially claims Francis Greenway, then:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Though no architect is known to have been associated with the Goulburn Complex, comparison may be made with some other geometrical examples such as Francis Greenway's Hyde Park Barracks of 1817, and with Greenway's treatment of Robert Campbell Junior's residence and outbuildings in Bligh Street in 1822.'</td>
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APPENDIX TWO

BRADLEY’S LIST OF CONVICTS FROM 1836-1838
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SOURCES:

The General Returns of Convicts in NSW, 1837

NSW Government Gazette, 1836 – 1838

APPENDIX THREE

JOHN VERGE AND
AMBROSE HALLEN

THEIR CLAIMS TO THE TITLE
OF ‘DESIGNER’ OF BRADLEY’S
MILL AND BREWERY
JOHN VERGE

There is a Bradley connection with John Verge, as in June 1835 he designed for William Hovell (Bradley’s father-in-law) a cottage for the price of £3.3.0.\(^1\) In 1835, Hovell was renting the Molle’s Mains Station\(^2\) near Minto, a 3000-acre property when he commissioned Verge to design a cottage. It is known through Lady Jane Franklin’s diary of her overland travels from Sydney to Port Phillip that Hovell’s Goulburn home in 1839 was a “good brick house with green window frames and a brass plate to [the] door.”\(^3\) It seems Hovell moved between his two residences, with substantial time spent at Molle’s Mains before his eventual removal to Goulburn and likely that the cottage described by Lady Franklin was the one Verge designed for Hovell.

There would be no benefit for Hovell to build a cottage on the Molle’s Mains property when he knew that in March 1836, his lease of the Molle’s Mains station was up for renewal for a seven-year period.\(^4\) Hovell then moved to Sydney briefly before taking up residence in Goulburn to begin a new life with his daughter and grandchildren and his “respectable and wealthy Native of the Colony”\(^5\) son-in-law, William Bradley. It is possible that the cottage Verge designed for Hovell was on his Goulburn land.

Verge also designed the Bungonia Church on the account of Charles Campbell for a price of £6.1.0 in 1834. Tenders were called for the building of the church in 1834 and again in 1836 by Verge and his local contact, Robert Futter of Lumley Park.\(^6\) It was still being constructed in 1837 when Bishop Broughton travelled through Bungonia.\(^7\) Verge also completed a design for a Parsonage House at Goulburn Plains for the troubled Church and School Lands Corporation in September 1831. The Parsonage was in anticipation of the Reverend Mr Vincent residing at the Goulburn Plains with tenders called in 1832. The tenders, however, were too high with Mr Vincent stationed at Sutton Forest, and the erection of a Parsonage, along with a Church at Goulburn did not begin until February 1838 under the direction of Sydney architect James Hume, Verge having retired.

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\(^1\) ML A3045, John Verge Ledger, 1830-1842, p.51.
\(^2\) The location was between Narellan and Campbell Town called Catherine Field, not far from Minto and was approximately 4 miles from Campbell Town on the Cowpasture Road.
\(^3\) Russell, Penny, This Errant Lady, Jane Franklin’s Overland Journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2002, p.99.
\(^6\) SMH 25.9.1834, p.3, col. 2; Sydney Monitor, 9.1.1836, p.4.
\(^7\) ML MSS 206, Reports and Correspondence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge – 1862-1863, p.198.
Verge was also responsible for the design of Bedervale at Braidwood for Captain John Coghill for £16.8 Verge certainly therefore was operating in and around Goulburn, was well acquainted with the local church and was a likely candidate for Bradley’s Mill. Bradley’s solicitor, George Allen also used Verge to design and construct his “elegant villa” in Glebe, Toxteth Park and Verge was also known to have made alterations to Francis Howard Greenway’s work at St James’ Church.10 Assisting Verge in his claim to designing the Mill or the entire complex, is his relationship with Goulburn and the evidence that has emerged to suggest that Verge was known to Bradley through his interest in the development of the Church of England in Goulburn. It is unlikely though that despite the connection, Verge had a hand in Bradley’s mill.

AMBROSE HALLEN

The second architect requiring consideration is Ambrose Hallen. Hallen arrived in the Colony in 1827 on board the Layton and was expected to take up work with John Oxley, Surveyor-General as an assistant surveyor. Upon arrival with his recommendations from his friend, the English architect-engineer, Thomas Telford, Hallen was appointed a town surveyor, and he was then made the architect and town surveyor before becoming the Colonial Architect in 1832, after a period of the office being vacant from 1826.11 While the Government, including a design for a large courthouse in Sydney, did often not adopt Hallen’s works he was moderately successful in private enterprise. Hallen’s lack of success with the Courthouse design had also plagued all previous colonial architects (including Greenway) although Hallen at least had a foundation stone laid in 1834, a year after he laid the plans out for the Executive Council. His inability to capture the right building for the Courthouse was perhaps indicative of Hallen’s public service in NSW. He may not have had the requisite skills to undertake the work, and in the background was Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Surveyor General of NSW following John Oxley’s death in 1828. Between Mitchell and Hallen there was hostility and tension, sharpened by Mitchell’s sense that Hallen should be removed from the post of Colonial Architect and his own protégée, Mortimer Lewis be instated in this prime position. Hallen demonstrated, however, great resilience in the face of Mitchell’s hostility and continued to work, albeit perhaps a little tentatively.

As a surveyor and then as colonial architect, Hallen began repairs to the Female Factory at Parramatta, supervised the re-shingling of the Hyde Park Barracks and Parramatta Convict Barracks, and made modifications to the Military Barracks at Parramatta. Interestingly, in this time, he had access to both the Hyde Park Barracks and Parramatta Convict Barracks - the former

9 SG 27.9.1831, p.2, col. 5. Toxteth Park is now part of St Scholastica’s College.
10 See Herman, M: pp.177-178.
designed by Greenway and the latter by Francis Lawless and presumably, he had access to the plans of both buildings in order that he could at a minimum calculate the roofing requirements of the buildings. He may well have noted the structural features that made both these buildings work and those features that allowed for the building’s footprint to be used for a multiplicity of uses.

During this time, Hallen also had an interest with John Verge in the design of the Treaty House at Waitangi, New Zealand. James Busby commissioned the Treaty House, however, Verge’s design was overly ambitious, and Busby had Hallen undertake some modifications. A further commission was on the plan for a semicircular quay to be built at Sydney Cove, however, this was not constructed. Perhaps Hallen was out of his depth with the various undertakings that commanded his time and the skilled labour shortages that the colony was experiencing would not have assisted. The animosity towards him intensified and Hallen tendered his resignation to take effect from the end of 1834 and Hallen left the post a short time later in early 1835.

Hallen’s brother, Edward, was also an architect of some note in the colony, having designed the original Sydney College with the foundation stone laid on 26 January 1830 and later becoming (and remains) the Sydney Grammar School. Both brothers married sisters – the daughters of the explorer William Lawson and the brothers built homes in Potts Point, Telford Place and Rose Hall.

While both Verge and Hallen have some claims, it is unlikely either of these men engaged in the design of Bradley’s mill.

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13 SRNSW: Lands Department; NRS8489, Note books compiled from Lands Department records by Henry Selkirk, 1798-1887; [4/7646] Book C, Notes mainly on surveyors compiled from Department of Lands archives and other sources 1807-1842, Mr Hallen, p.24.
APPENDIX FOUR
BRADLEY'S RISK AND PROJECTED COSTS
A Goulburn Herald reporter in 1856 wrote about their visit to Bradley's Mill and Brewery and noted that Bradley's outlay, particularly on the brewery must have been "many thousand pounds". The reporter was correct in the assumptions about Bradley's outlay. An article in 1834 in the Sydney Gazette outlined the estimated costs for working a steam engine mill in the colony that could grind and dress 1,800 to 2,000 bushels per week, which was a similar size to the engine that Bradley was to import at Goulburn. Based on the engine working at 244 hours per week and including labour (miller, engineer, labourers, manager); fuel costs; and interest on the capital, it was estimated that the costs per week were about £41.10.0. The article suggests that on the dealing and manufacturing process, some 22.5 per cent profit could be made with amounts ranging from £180-£200 per week before costs.

By 1838, some known costs can assist in calculating an estimate of Bradley's expenditure on this venture. The land was £600; the contract for building £5,000 and an estimate on the cost of the steam engine at £7,812 at best may have cost Bradley about £13,412. In 1838 when Bradley took on William Shelley as a business partner, each man contributed a further £15,000 to the deal, making William Bradley's investment by the end of 1838 some £28,412, today just over $4.2 million. Assuming a 22.5 per cent annual return (as per the 1834 Sydney Gazette article) on this investment (and excluding Shelley's contribution from 1838), Bradley needed to make around £2,841 per year. It seems unlikely in the formative years of the Bradley's mill that a 22.5 per cent profit was realised. If Greenway was involved in the mill building, he stood to gain at the 8 per cent rate about £400 which given his publicly tenuous financial situation would have been a tidy sum. Despite no transaction existing between Greenway and Bradley, it is clear that Bradley researched the costs of the operation.

Further to Bradley's research was the information available to him as a local pastoralist. In January 1837, a bushel of wheat sold for 12 shillings in Goulburn, and with the projected capacity of the steam mill to grind 2000 bushels a week, some income figures can be generated. Argyle was an anomaly from the Sydney market with an irregular local wheat supply. To make a 22.5 per cent profit, Bradley needed to grind at least 2000 bushels a week.

1 Goulburn Herald, 1.3.1856, p.5, col. 6.
2 Sydney Gazette, 18.9.1834, p.2, cols. 1-2
3 This estimate is based on a smaller steam engine at Oldbury, Sutton Forest that could grind eight bushels of wheat per hour and cost £1,500 (Sydney Gazette, 9.3.1837, p.2, cols.4-5). At that rate, the Oldbury Mill may have been likely to grind 64 bushels a day and at a minimum 6-day week, the most the engine could grind per week was about 384 bushels of wheat. The capacity of Bradley's was 2000 bushels a week with a projected five times greater capacity than the Oldbury engine. This also increases the projected guesstimated cost of Bradley's engine to about £7,812. This is only an estimate. Records of sales at the Maudsley, Field and Son Company were lost in a fire.
4 This was approximately $4,291,778. Calculated by converting £28,412 from 1838 to 2007 (limits of conversion available) using the retail price index via: www.measuringworth.com This was then converted to AUDS via www.xe.com on 11 January 2009.
5 Estimate calculated on the £5,000 for the contract as outlined in NLA MfM G 27758, Diaries of Lady Jane Franklin, 1839-1840, p.196.
for 16 weeks per year. With a modest four-shilling profit per 100 pounds of fine flour, he could expect a £400 weekly income (£6,400 gross per year) from the mill operation. This does not include settlers who wanted their own wheat ground and after costs, even though it is based on a contracted grinding period, the income represents a 22.5 per cent return on Bradley's total investment of approximately £28,412. In contemporary terms, the buying power of Bradley's approximate £400 weekly income is equivalent to some $62,892.7 These figures are of use when contemplating the sheer grand size of Bradley's mill and brewery as a multifaceted operation in Goulburn.

7 Calculated by converting £15000 from 1838 to 2007 (limits of conversion available) using the retail price index via: www.measuringworth.com. This was then converted to AUDS via www.xe.com on 11 January 2009.
APPENDIX FIVE

COMBINED LIST OF WILLIAM, THOMAS AND JONAS BRADLEY’S CONVICTS
**COMBINED LIST OF WILLIAM, THOMAS AND JONAS BRADLEY’S CONVICTS**

Note this data is incomplete and may not reflect all information on these convicts.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Lavelle</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Parmelia</td>
<td>2.3.34</td>
<td>Maneroo</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>James Law*</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Lord Melville</td>
<td>21.10.30²</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Lemond</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mary Anne II</td>
<td>26.10.35</td>
<td>Goulburn</td>
<td>Sheerness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michael McNally*</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Lady McNaughton</td>
<td>26.10.35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicholas McNally</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Dublin</td>
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<td>Patrick Molloy*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Morrison</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Martha</td>
<td>1818</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Nash</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Castle Forbes</td>
<td>1823</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Nicholas</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>9.2.32³</td>
<td>Goulburn</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis O'Hara</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Roslyn Castle</td>
<td>15.9.34</td>
<td>Goulburn</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Paine</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Co. Harcourt</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hut keeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Regan</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Hillsborough</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>Arrival</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Tried, Country</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margaret Regan</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Atlas</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carpenter?</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Ronan</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Surry 2</td>
<td>1816</td>
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<td>C Russel</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Sanger</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>John Sharky</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Dorothy</td>
<td>1820</td>
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<td>Forth</td>
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<td>Hive</td>
<td>11.6.34*</td>
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<td>Norman Smith</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Susan</td>
<td>8.7.34*</td>
<td>Goulburn</td>
<td>London</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Smith</td>
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<td>England</td>
<td>28.9.35</td>
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<td>William Storier</td>
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<td>Henry</td>
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<td>Thomas Tinsley*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Tyrell*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harvey Vesey</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Recovery</td>
<td>25.2.36*</td>
<td>Goulburn</td>
<td>London</td>
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<td>William Whelan</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Kenedy</td>
<td>1825</td>
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<tr>
<td>Benjamin White*</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Bussorah Merchant</td>
<td>26.7.28*</td>
<td>Goulburn</td>
<td>London</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward White</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>M. Wellington</td>
<td>1825</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>Arrival</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Tried, Country</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stephen Williams</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>M. Hastings</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Labourer</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Wright</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>5.1.33°</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Denotes that this convict escaped and appeared in the Government Gazette as an Absconded Prisoner or that they had been apprehended for absconding.

**SOURCES:**

The General Returns of Convicts in NSW, 1837

Published by AGiBR in association with the Society of Australian Genealogists, Sydney, 1987.


For Ship's arrival and place of departure, http://users.bigpond.net.au/convicts

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1. No record of a ship Andromedia arriving in Australia in 1830. Only arrived in 1820, 1833, 1834.
2. No record of a ship, Lord Melville arriving in 1832.
3. No record of a ship, Norfolk arriving in 1831.
5. No record of a ship, Hive arriving in 1835.
6. No record of a ship, Susan arriving in 1835.
7. No record in SAG book of where Vesey was from. Two other ships named Recovery arrived in 1819 and 1823 respectively.
8. No record of a ship, Bussorah Merchant arriving in 1827.
9. No record of a ship, Mary arriving in 1832.
Prior to Shelley's death in 1844 and Bradley's departure for England in 1846, in competition to their venture, two brothers, Daniel and George Thorn, established the Brisbane Brewery also known either as the Brisbane Grove Brewery or Thorn's Brewery in or about 1843 on their father's property Thornleigh. Located to the south of Bradley's brewery, the brewery was also adjacent to the Mulwaree Ponds and sited in what is now the bottom front paddock of The Towers, an imposing mid to late Victorian Italianate villa built by the Thorn family. The Thorn family were closely connected with Bradley, both economically, through land and by virtue of their shared native-born Australian status. Upon their father John Thorn's death in 1838, their mother Jane Matilda retained possession of Thornleigh and the Thorn brothers established a fellmongering and their brewery complex.

The Thorn's began the construction of a small brewery sometime in 1843 with the first brewer, Thomas Capel in place by 1845 when he had left Bradley's employ. It would seem Daniel Thorn undertook this construction. It is likely he toured Bradley's enterprise and gained useful knowledge on how to build a brewery. Like the Bradley family, the Thorns worked in partnership to construct the brewery. While it is unclear where the capital came from for the purchase of commodities for the brewery, the Thorn family had a range of land holdings on the Goulburn Plains.

The capacity of this brewery is unknown, but as noted, the Thorns poached Bradley's brewer in 1845. Perhaps they thought they might try to capture Bradley's market share and that by employing Capel, their brewery would enjoy success equal to that of Bradley's. It seems though, that the need for constant liquid funds to maintain a building, staff, a regular supply of barley, good marketing and production capacities thwarted the Brisbane Grove Brewery and it is likely that the enterprise was not the threat to Bradley as the Thorn's may have hoped.

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1 MacAlister, C. op. cit, p. 100.
2 Jane Matilda was born on Norfolk Island in 1796, the daughter of convict Mary Hook and Daniel Humm, a Corporal in the NSW Corps. Hook was sentenced to death for stealing her mistresses' household wages valued at ten guineas and a silk cloak at St. Giles in the Fields, London. Her sentence was famously commuted to transportation on 24 April 1789 by a royal pardon and along with 21 other capital convicts condemned, Hook was offered transportation for 7 years as an alternative to death. She accepted but seven of her contemporaries initially declined the pardon, instantly becoming celebrated. See: http://www.hronline.ac.uk/oldbailey/html_units/1780s/s17880507-1.html and http://www.hronline.ac.uk/oldbailey/html_units/1780s/d17890422-2.html accessed 24 February 2008. Jane Matilda married John Thorn in 1815, son of Humphrey Thorn, convict aboard the Neptune. See http://www.hronline.ac.uk/oldbailey/html_units/1780s/t17880625-25.html Humphrey Thorne, Theft: simple grand larceny, 25th June 1788; accessed 3 February 2008.
3 See Bayley, W.A. Lilac City, The Story of Goulburn, New South Wales, Goulburn, 1954, p.52. Keith Deutsher in Breweries of Australia, stated the Thorn brothers were operating a brewery during 1847-1849. In Deutsher's notes in the Goulburn District Historical Society archives, he thought the brewery started in the 1860s but did suggest that some of his notes may be in error. Despite this claim he does not provide any evidence for his 1847-1849 dates.
4 When things became financially difficult at Thorn's, Capel returned to Bradley's brewery.
Figure 1
Photo of the Thorn family’s Brewery “in 1843.” It is unlikely that this was their brewery as they did not have the funds to build same. The older building on the left is likely to have formed part of the first brewery on the site.
Source: Tazewell, S. op. cit, p.89.

The *Goulburn Herald* provides evidence that by 1848 Thorn’s brewery was operational as they proclaimed in November 1848 that the Thorn beer was “good and wholesome”.\(^5\) During the summer of 1848-1849, the assiduous drinkers at the *Goulburn Herald* reported that at Mr Thorn’s Brisbane Grove Brewery, there had been “great improvement lately made in the quality of table ale”\(^6\) at the premises. The delivery of ale in two gallons or more was a “cheap and excellent beverage”\(^7\) and one that the reporter “strongly and confidently recommended”.\(^8\)
It did not take long for the brothers to run into financial difficulties, a misfortune that persisted into the 1860s for the family. One month after the reporter’s glowing account of the brewery’s capacity in March 1849, an advertisement appeared in the *Goulburn Herald* advising the sale of the brewing utensils, malt, barley and copper from the Brisbane Grove Brewery.\(^9\) Bradley was not at the auction, as he was returning home after his absence in England, and perhaps he sent Phillips to the auction of the Thorn brothers’ brewing utensils.

Of note with this auction notice is the suggestion that perhaps the early brewery building of Thorn’s may not have been as initially commodious as an 1894 photograph indicates. Historians have relied on this photograph to describe the features as the 1840s brewery. It is unclear, however, exactly what the 1840s brewery at Brisbane Grove looked like. The 1894 building is similar to the design of Bradley’s Brewery. It is unlikely the brothers had the finance for the building of such a commodious building in the early 1840s when the colony

\(^5\) *Goulburn Herald*, 4.11.1848, p.3, col. 2.
\(^6\) *Goulburn Herald*, 10.2.1849, p.3, col. 4.
\(^7\) Ibid.
\(^8\) Ibid.
was undergoing a period of pecuniary distress. It is likely that the 1894 brewery building of
the Thorn brothers was not the original building but built later when the family could afford
to build such a large building. The original brewery was known to be smaller, and this is a
reason why the Brisbane Grove Brewery was perhaps not as successful as the family envisaged.
The L-shaped two-storey building is joined by a tower housing a third floor with the Georgian
style of Bradley's brewery replicated in Thorn's building.

The Brisbane Grove Brewery was never really a financial threat to Bradley. While Bradley lost
his brewer (and then gained Blackshaw), he was forced to accommodate another player in a
market that he had not dominated for very long. As both were operating in the 1840s, there
was obviously ground for some friendly rivalry between the younger native-born Daniel Thorn
and Bradley, the entrepreneur's elder native-born status.  

The Brisbane Grove Brewery site supported another enterprise of the Thorns that accompanied
and outlasted their brewery operations. At Thorn's Bridge (now Thorne's Bridge) and adjacent
to the commodious brewery building was a wool-washing and fell mongering operation
(where wool is removed from the sheepskin) that the brothers operated. Like the Bradley's, the
Thorn family worked together. Not only were Daniel and George involved in the partnership,
their elder brother William was also involved as well as their mother. It was the same with their
land holdings.

The Thorns' land holdings were interlinked with those of Bradley. In July, August and September
1824 the family were promised three parcels of land of 60, 150, and 410 acres in the County
of Argyle at the Mulwaree Ponds. In November 1825, John Thorn secured a further 800
acres that adjoined the previously granted 410 acres on the Mulwaree Ponds. Thorn secured
a further 1,130 acres for £310.15.0 in the County of Georgiana, near the Bolong River in
March 1836 and just after his death in August 1838, his wife, Jane Matilda secured 706 acres
adjoining the holding at the Bolong River for £170.10.0 at public auction.  

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10 The Towers villa has been attributed to Daniel Thorn's building capacity in the 1840s so it must have been a busy time
for the Thorn family. In 1859 Thorn was elected to the First Municipal Council of Goulburn and served until his death in
1860 aged 35. See the Goulburn Evening Post, 207.1972; p.8 – note this is from information from Tazewell and may not
be accurate.

11 NSW LPI, serial 54, p.220; 12 July 1839; Serial 56, pp.38-39; 31 December 1839; see also NSW LPI, PA12157; PA 13819;
PA 32575.

12 NSW LPI, serial 58, p.241, 12 July 1839. These grants were promised in 1824 and 1825 and confirmed after Thorn's
death in 1838.

13 NSW LPI, serial 69, p. 74, 22 December 1836; Lot 61; gazetted 22 March 1836.

14 NSW LPI, serial 69, p.74, 27 February 1839; Lot 37; gazetted 8 October 1838.
In 1865, just prior to George (son of John) Thorn's insolvency in 1867, Bradley provided him with a £3,500 mortgage over the Brisbane Grove land. Bradley and his executors were later to purchase land from the Thorn family: a 2,560 acreage for £200 in 1868 and a 25 acre portion near Tiranna for £130. The 2,560 acreage was from Jane Matilda Thorn via the Sheriff, indicating payment for the default of her son's debt to Bradley of £3,500. The Thorn's financial difficulties persisted for sometime until in 1884 Daniel George Thorn, the son of Daniel Thorn sold out to Henry Payten after two years of operating the Brisbane Grove fellmonger establishment for £6,500.

17 NSW LPI, book 253, No 944; 1 November 1884 and book 269, No, 753 28 May 1883.
APPENDIX SEVEN

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST NEW SOUTH WALES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND THEIR CONNECTION TO WILLIAM BRADLEY
## PRESIDENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Connection to William Bradley</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, his Excellency Sir George Gipps, Knight</td>
<td>Provider of land grants to the Bradley family, but later introduced land Acts that forced payment on lands outside the Limits of Location. Opposed to Bradley and the squatting faction.</td>
<td>Ringwould, Kent, England</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## MEMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Connection to William Bradley</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commander of the Forces, General Sir Maurice Charles O'Connell</td>
<td>Family seat was at Valencia Island in County Kerry near the Heard family island, Rossdohan. See Appendix 9.</td>
<td>County Kerry, Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Australia, William Grant Broughton, MA, DD</td>
<td>Bradley and Broughton's land bordered each other in Goulburn; Bradley purchased land from Broughton on which he built his mill in 1836; Bradley endowed St Saviour's Cathedral. Despite Broughton's position as Bishop of Australia, he bought and sold land for a profit in Goulburn.</td>
<td>Westminster, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Honourable the Colonial Treasurer, Campbell Drummond Riddell</td>
<td>Bradley purchased Riddell's former house, Lindesay.</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Honourable the Colonial Secretary, Edward Deas Thomson</td>
<td>Received a testimonial from his friends in the Legislative Council of more than £2000 – provided by Sir Charles Nicholson, good friend to Bradley.</td>
<td>Edinburgh, Scotland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## NOMINEE MEMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Connection to William Bradley</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Berry</td>
<td>Pastoralist on the south coast with similar interests as Bradley.</td>
<td>Cupar, Fifeshire, Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Blaxland</td>
<td>Responsible with others for the deposition of Governor William Bligh. With Bradley opposed Gipps' 1844 Squatting Regulations.</td>
<td>Hemphall, Kent, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J G Nathaniel Gibbes</td>
<td>Came from Great Yarmouth, birthplace of William Hilton Hovell. He lived at Yarralumla after T A Murray with whom there was a family connection.</td>
<td>London, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings Elwin</td>
<td>No connection established.</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Hamilton</td>
<td>Outspoken critic of the squatting faction when they opposed Gipps' regulations in 1844.</td>
<td>Loughton, Essex, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Icely</td>
<td>Bradley purchased his Sydney residence, Lindesay from Thomas Icely; pastoralist and stock breeder; leading Anglican. Bureid near Bradley at St Stephen's Cemetery, Camperdown.</td>
<td>Plympton, Devonshire, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Connection to William Bradley</td>
<td>Birthplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Lithgow</td>
<td>No direct connection to Bradley.</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Lowe</td>
<td>Antagonist to Gipps and his land laws but later when in the British Parliament, opposed laws allowing for squatters to monopolise land in Australia.</td>
<td>Bingham, Nottinghamshire, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Maurice Charles O'Connell</td>
<td>As noted above.</td>
<td>County Kerry, Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Herbert Plunkett</td>
<td>No direct connection to Bradley, although when responsible government was introduced in 1856, Plunkett won the seat of Argyle.</td>
<td>Mount Plunkett, County Roscommon, Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell Drummond Riddell, Hon. Colonial Treasurer</td>
<td>As noted above.</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Deas Thomson, Hon. Colonial Secretary</td>
<td>As noted above.</td>
<td>Edinburgh, Scotland</td>
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**ELECTED MEMBERS AND THEIR ELECTORATE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Connection to William Bradley</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Bowman Cumberland Boroughs</td>
<td>Pastoralist, held Mohawk run on the Monaro.</td>
<td>Native born in Richmond, NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bradley Argyle</td>
<td>The subject.</td>
<td>Native born in Windsor, NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Coghill St Vincent and Auckland</td>
<td>Held land on the Monaro.</td>
<td>Unknown – but was a free settler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Condell Melbourne</td>
<td>Like Bradley, Condell was a brewer.</td>
<td>Madeira Island, off Portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Dumaresq Hunter, Brisbane and Bligh</td>
<td>Pastoralist.</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Ebden Port Phillip</td>
<td>Representative of the Port Phillip Squatters.</td>
<td>Cape of Good Hope, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Lawson Cumberland</td>
<td>Lieutenant in the NSW Corps and Veteran's Corp (post 1810) with Bradley’s father, Jonas; opposed to Bradley over squatting.</td>
<td>Finchley, Middlesex, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Lord Bathurst</td>
<td>Pastoralist and son of Simeon Lord.</td>
<td>Native born in Sydney, NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Connection to William Bradley</td>
<td>Birthplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannibal Macarthur Parramatta</td>
<td>Held land near Bradley in Goulburn; supported Gipps in the squatting debates.</td>
<td>Plymouth, Devon, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Macleay Gloucester, Macquarie and Stanley</td>
<td>Held land on the Murrumbidgee near Tarcutta.</td>
<td>Ross-Shire, Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence Murray Murray, King and Georgiana</td>
<td>Partner in land with Thomas Walker, pastoralist on the Monaro, Murrumbidgee and at Yarralumla; firm supporter of the railway to Goulburn; Bradley was a guarantor for Murray's Gunning land.</td>
<td>Balliston, County Limerick, Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Nicholson Port Phillip</td>
<td>Friend and business partner of Bradley; also a gentleman squatter holding large runs on the Monaro.</td>
<td>Cockermouth, Cumberland, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Panton Cook and Westmoreland</td>
<td>Held land in Queensland as Bradley did.</td>
<td>North Leith, Midlothian, Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Sutor Roxburgh, Phillip and Wellington</td>
<td>Involved in pastoral pursuits. Founding member with Bradley of the Union Club.</td>
<td>Native born at Baulkham Hills, NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger Therry Camden</td>
<td>Wrote about Bradley in his text, Reminiscences of Thirty Years Residence in New South Wales and Victoria, also held land on the Murrumbidgee.</td>
<td>Cork, Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Thomson Port Phillip</td>
<td>Despite being a squatter, opposed reforms and their debates in the Council, thereby politically opposed to Bradley.</td>
<td>Aberdeen, Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Walker Port Phillip</td>
<td>Wrote about Bradley and his brewery in his 1838 publication A month in the bush of Australia. Held land at Port Phillip near Bradley's manager, William Adams Brodribb.</td>
<td>Leith, Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Wentworth Sydney</td>
<td>Bradley and Wentworth were on the Australian Patriotic Association together, thereby ensuring Bradley's solidarity with the Wentworth faction in the LC. Links between the social composition of the Wentworth and Bradley families. Both men sought respectability and to be amongst the elite of the colony.</td>
<td>Native born on Norfolk Island. Arrived on the mainland as an infant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Arcy Wentworth Northumberland Boroughs</td>
<td>Wentworth's daughter, Sophia married Robert Towns. Bradley was the executor of Towns' estate.</td>
<td>Portadown, County Armagh, Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>Acreage, 1848 Data</td>
<td>Establishment Date if known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgar Creek</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullanamang</td>
<td>96,000</td>
<td>1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coolringdon</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooma Creek</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooma Station (N)</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment</td>
<td>Acreage, 1848 Data</td>
<td>Listed on Hancock’s 1860 Map</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wangellock or Incumbilly</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL KNOWN ACREAGE**: 570,860

Sources: NSW Government Gazette, 1848; Sydney Morning Herald; Depasturing Licences; Lhotsky and Jauncey Memoirs
WILLIAM BRADLEY PEARSE (1885-1905)

The birth of William Bradley Pearse in 1885 was cause for celebration in the Pearse family as there were great expectations placed on the future success of James and Emily’s firstborn son. Named for his grandfather, William Bradley, who was also his godfather (although not present at the baptism), William Bradley Pearse, like all his Pearse forbears who were named William, died in tragic circumstances and never realised the sanguine expectations of his family. Naming their son William was a fateful decision for James and Emily. After an education at Harrow and studying for the Bar, he died at the age of 20 in London, from the accidental discharge of his Derringer pistol. His paternal grandfather’s brother, William Henry Pearse died in Ireland as a result of a dog bite from a favourite pet dog and his uncle, also a William, was presumed dead after ‘plunging into the interior’ of Australia between 1851 and 1852. Despite immense efforts to trace him, including James going to the colony (and meeting Emily Bradley) the family concluded he perished in the bush.

THE HEARD FAMILY

Despite the significant arboretum on Rossdohan Island, it is difficult to ascertain how much time Samuel Heard spent there as there are numerous trips to Australia, to London and he employed a manager to oversee his Irish affairs. His marriage to Kate Bradley in 1862 bore three sons and a daughter. Heard died in 1921 leaving the estate and contents of his ‘dwelling house farm and lands at Rossdohan’ to his eldest son, Edward Severin Heard (named for Severin Salting), and to his wife the contents of his London house with his probate sworn at £9019. The Heard family and their friends looked on Rossdohan ‘as a kind of heaven… the place was so beautiful and good’. In the auto-biography of Katharine Lohan, the great-granddaughter of William Bradley, she writes of a family love affair with this island noting, ‘No one, who has ever been to Rossdohan, even once, can ever forget it. It was exquisitely lovely’.

Two sons, Edward (1865-1944) and Hugh (1869-1954), followed the example of their father and joined the services, although in a departure from the army service of their father, they both joined the Royal Navy. Another son, William (b.1878), pursued a career in the diplomatic corps. The resources of their mother funded their education.

1 The Times, 20.11.1875, p.1, col. 1; also BL MS 9906.cc.7, The Pedigree of the Family of Pearse, by General George Godfrey Pearse, London 1897.
2 Ibid.
4 Probate and Will of Dr Samuel Thomas Heard, 26 January 1922.
5 Lohan, Katharine: Bang goes the Green Baize Door, Cornwall, 1982, p.49.
6 Ibid.
Edward was described in his early career as being ‘keen’ but lacking ‘tact and judgement’ and ‘not very English’ by his superiors. Despite this he was seen as ‘able and reliable’ when needed and he rose to the rank of Colonel. He married Georgina Gertrude McGrath, the daughter of Major-General Beauchamp McGrath and had one daughter, Maureen Kate who married Wing Commander George Frederick Pretyman, OBE in 1919.

Hugh was educated at Dedham Grammar School, Essex and Stubbington House School, Hampshire. He was later promoted to the rank of Admiral and served in World War One on the Northern Patrol in the Mediterranean. Noted as a ‘promising … capable and zealous’ young man, Hugh served in India, China and in the East Indies. He received the Companion to the Distinguished Service Order in August 1915 for his services in the patrol cruisers and in 1917 awarded the Commander of the Crown of Italy for his services in the Mediterranean. Huge later received a Companion to the Order of the Bath in 1923 (CB Military Division). He died a bachelor in Fontainebleau, France in 1954.

The third son, William Beauchamp Heard pursued a career in the foreign office and was from 1904 onwards the King’s Vice-Counsel at Sniyrna.

THE MAITLAND FAMILY

Edward Maitland

Edward Maitland published a number of books and articles, including By and By, a three volume work of religious romantic fiction. Maitland became known for his exploration of his own mystical abilities having experienced visitations from the dead and he began to believe he had various spiritual properties and numerous incarnations.

8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 The Times, 5.6.1937, p.16, col. 3.
12 PRO ADM 196/43, p.84; The Service Record of Admiral Hugh Lindsay Patrick Heard.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid and The London Gazette, 7 August 1915.
16 The Times, 10.9.1904, p.12, col. 3. Sniyrna (later Smyrna) is in Turkey and is now known as Izmir.
17 Interestingly, his brother, Charles Maitland also suffered a mental affliction despite an intellectual capacity and demonstrated prowess with the pen through numerous articles and publications. Like his father, Charles David Maitland (1785-1865), Charles was a trained surgeon but eventually turned from medicine to religion for his income. See Charles Maitland entry in ODNB On-Line edition.
Although Maitland published a wide selection of books and for newspapers such as the Spectator and the Examiner, his two volumes of biography of Anna Kingsford, described as Maitland's *magnum opus* attracted much criticism as the books were more about Maitland than Kingsford. It was this rejection by the public and his peers that led to his physical and mental breakdown in 1896. Retiring to his friend's home, Colonel Currie at Tonbridge, Kent, he died there on 2 October 1897. Maitland was a 'man of fine feeling and much intellectual power, but he lacked balance, and gave way to various whims' recalled the obituary in the Athenaeum; it noted also that in his later years he had 'relinquished the society of his former friends.' The obituary hints at cynicism towards Anna Kingsford and Maitland for the 'new and strange religion' that he wrote about, in *The Perfect Way: on the Finding of Christ* (1882). Maitland died in constrained circumstances, with a probate proved at £131,19.19. He bequeathed his estate to his only living next of kin, his son Charles Bradley Maitland. 

Charles Bradley Maitland pursued a career for himself in the services like his uncles, in the British Army in India. In February 1880, having already qualified as a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1879, he sat the examination at London University for entry to Her Majesty's Indian Service. He scored 58% in total and with references from his kinsman, Brownlow Maitland, Clerk in Holy Orders and MA at Cambridge, Charles Bradley Maitland entered the Service. His kinsman described him as a 'sober, steady, reputable' lad who had 'good moral character and habits'. Maitland was set to join his mother's family in India, and little else is known of this grandson of William Bradley apart from his death in 1903.

**The Robinson Family**

Williamina (known as Minna) Bradley Robinson, the second youngest of the Bradley daughters was married at St. Saviour's Cathedral Goulburn in 1864 to Commander (later Vice-Admiral) Frederick Charles Bryan Robinson, the youngest son of Admiral Hercules Robinson. Robinson was born in 1836 in Ireland and was made a Commander on 30 September 1863 just prior to his June 1864 wedding to Minna. William Bradley must have had great faith in the abilities of his new son-in-law. His pedigree and wealth was impressive and he came from a landed Irish protestant background. He probably passed Bradley's litmus test.

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19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Letters of Administration for Edward Maitland, 17.3.1899.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
Minna abandoned her homeland, moving firstly to India then to Portsmouth and Southsea, England. The Robinsons were struck by two infant deaths and another adult child predeceasing Frederick in 1892. Six children were born to the Robinsons, the last, Neville Lindesay Bradley Robinson claiming his own and his mother's life in September 1881. Having endured childbirth, Minna wrote her will on 13 September and died on the 17 September. Mother and son were buried together in a plot in the Highland Road, Southsea cemetery, close to Lansdowne, their home on fashionable South Parade. He was the second son to have died, the first dying in September 1866 at Southsea. Her remaining son, Henry William Bradley Robinson was to later in 1896 bring a law suit against the trustees of his grandfather's will and claim that the Estate's shares in the collapsed Oriental Banking Corporation were illegally purchased. The eldest daughter, Kathleen Bradley died at Admiralty House Trincomalee of fever in 1892 and is remembered on her parent's grave at Southsea. Her death notice in The Times records that she was the 'granddaughter of the late William Bradley Esq., of Goulburn and Sydney.' This gave Bradley, even though he was also dead, yet another foothold into the British world.

Vice-Admiral Robinson was an aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria, joining his brother-in-law Colonel Charles Fyshe Roberts in this honour. He maintained a good ship with a high level of discipline and was respected for his early work in combating the threat of piracy in the Far East. Robinson became the Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies during the 1890s. He remarried in 1889 Alice Blackburne-Tew and had a further three children. On 16 December 1892 he retired as the malaria fever and cystitis he had contracted were 'beyond control.' He died at Southsea on 18 January 1896 and was buried with his first wife, Minna, and two of his children.

His brothers rose to importance in the British Empire, furthering providing the Bradley family with links to the British elite. One brother, Sir William Cleaver Francis Robinson was the Governor of Western Australia and Prince Edward Island, Canada. His brother Henry was knighted. His father's namesake, Hercules, became Baron, Lord Rosmead named for the geographical location of the Robinson family in Ireland.

27 Two of these children are buried or remembered with their parents in Highland Road Cemetery, Southsea. See Appendix 14 for the journey to these graveyards.
28 Sydney Morning Herald, 15.11.1866, p.1, col. 1.
29 The Times, 1.7.1892, p.1, col. 1.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
Lord Rosmead was the Governor of Hong Kong, New South Wales and the High Commissioner for New Zealand and South Africa.

THE ROBERTS FAMILY

Alice was the only Bradley daughter to remain for significant periods in Australia and is buried here. Married to Colonel Charles Fyshe Roberts in November 1866 at St. Saviour’s Cathedral, Goulburn, Alice maintained a house at Double Bay, Greenoaks, and at Bowral, Merilibah. She too lived in the world of domesticity like her sisters before her and in advancing the careers of her children. Her husband was born at Ickwell, Bedfordshire, the son of Captain Charles Roberts and the nephew of the Scottish martyr, Thomas Fyshe Palmer. The family held at various times two properties in Ickwell, the Old House and the imposing Ickwell Bury manor house.

Ickwell Bury, Bedfordshire, England, home to the Fyshe Palmer Family
Roberts was educated at the Bedford School prior to his military education at Carshalton Military School and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. As a young Lieutenant he was posted to the Crimea where he was wounded and he also served in British Forces India at the time of the Indian Mutiny. In 1865, he arrived in Australia and his life became inextricably linked with Australia until his death in 1914. Appointed Colonel Commandant of the Artillery Forces in Australia in 1876, Roberts held this position for six years until appointed the Commandant of the NSW Forces. Colonel Roberts was largely responsible for the sending of Australian troops to the Sudan War in 1885. His connections with Australia are also borne through his uncle, Thomas Fyshe Palmer, the Scottish martyr, sentenced to seven years transportation for his role in an act of alleged sedition.

Fyshe Palmer was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge and an acquaintance of Dr. Johnson. Influenced by the writings of Dr. Priestly of Birmingham, he abandoned his family's creed and adopted progressive Unitarianism and he became a preacher in this faith. In 1792 an age of political reform in Scotland, inspired by the tensions and public reform in France, Fyshe Palmer joined the 'Friends of Liberty' society, which sought political and personal freedoms. Sentenced in 1793 in a stacked courtroom in Perth, Scotland, Fyshe Palmer was sent to Botany Bay.


After his conviction Palmer was 'Expelled from his Fellowship' at Queen's College. See http://www.queens.cam.ac.uk/queens/Misc/Fellows/1700-99.html.
Despite hardships and privations on the way to Australia on board the Surprise, Palmer wrote of the colony as 'the finest country I ever saw' and of the 'honest and active governor' Francis Grose. Prior to the expiration of his sentence, Palmer engaged with his other Scottish Martyr colleagues in the purchase of a vessel for their return trip to England. Caught on Guguan, one of the volcanic Ladrone Islands in the Pacific Ocean when seeking supplies for their vessel, Palmer became a Spanish Prisoner of War as England was at war with Spain. Palmer died on the island from dysentery on 2 June 1802 and buried there. Two years later, in May 1804, an American captain, Captain Balch in the American ship Mary, stopped at Guguan, had Palmer's body exhumed and reinterred in Boston, Massachusetts. Perhaps as the ADB reports, Captain Balch found Palmer as news had reached England that due to Palmer's religious beliefs the Catholic friars had refused him a Christian burial and thus his body was interred on unconsecrated ground on the seashore 'among pirates'. The ADB also reports that 'a tablet was placed over his tomb in one of the churches of that city, though no trace of it can be found'.

Obelisk commemorating Thomas Fyshe Palmer in Edinburgh, Scotland.

The inscription reads: *To The Memory of Thomas Muir, Thomas Fyshe Palmer, William Skirving, Maurice Margarot and Joseph Gerrald. Erected by the Friends of Parliamentary Reform in England and Scotland, 1844.*

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36 Ibid.
Fyshe Palmer set the scene for his unborn nephew who had a more welcoming entry to Australia and colonial society, particularly when he married Alice Bradley. Roberts' contributions to the development of the Royal Australian Artillery and the Military Forces of New South Wales are largely undocumented in the historiography of colonial military forces prior. There is, however, a wide range of material detailing Roberts' contributions to the colony. He appeared in numerous parliamentary inquiries into the operations of the NSW Military and in the Sydney Morning Herald for almost a year when Australia sent troops to the Sudan.

Roberts was appointed to the Royal Artillery serving in Sydney from 1865 to 1868. Acting as the Aide-de-Camp and as a private secretary to Governor Sir John Young, Roberts was ideally placed to socialise with the elite of the colony. Roberts observed Young exercise his authority over the Executive Council of the Legislative Council, and he had access to Sir Henry Parkes through Young's support and knowledge of Parkes' Education reforms of 1866 as well as Sir John Robertson's Land Bills. The Parkes-Roberts relationship developed and they remained long-time friends. This role placed Roberts well within the sights of William Bradley who was sitting as a non-elect member of the Legislative Council.

After meeting and marrying Alice, Roberts took her 'home' in 1868 returning home to his native Bedfordshire where their first child was born in the nearby village of Eversholt, Bedford in 1870. In 1871, Roberts retired from the military and until 1873, the record of Roberts remains somewhat obscure. In 1873, a second daughter was born at Hyde Park London and Roberts appointed the Acting Secretary to Sir Charles Cowper, then the New South Wales Agent-General in London. This role was the catalyst for the Roberts family to return to Sydney in 1874 and his subsequent involvement with his father-in-law's Estate and the sale of Lansdowne Park. In August 1876, with the raising of the New South Wales Permanent Artillery, Major Roberts was appointed Colonel Commandant of the Artillery Forces. He retained this role until he made Commandant of the Artillery Forces in 1882.

From 1887 onwards, Roberts and his Commanding Officer, Major-General John Richardson with whom Roberts served with in the Crimea in 1855, had a public falling out. Richardson reported in 1887 Roberts 'neglected to follow an order', a claim Roberts contested with his friend, Sir Henry Parkes. In his diatribe to Parkes, Roberts' fiery temper exhibits itself as he questions the legitimacy of Richardson to make claims on officers that do not allow for investigation or change if an inquiry or evidence proves that the report was inaccurate. Roberts found out about his unfavourable report while looking through a letter book (not a confidential...

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39 For biographical details on Sir John Young see Ward, J.H: Young, Sir John [Baron Lisgar] (1807 - 1876); ADB, Vol. 6, pp 455-457.


41 ML A 902, Sir Henry Parkes Correspondence CY Reel 54, Vol. 32, pp.337-343, 11.5.1887, Col. C F Roberts to Sir Henry Parkes.
one) on questions before the Parliament. By seeking to deny the allegations, the full enmity that existed between the two men when they sat on the Royal Commission together and when Roberts had been overlooked for the command of the troops to the Sudan came to a head.

Sitting on the Royal Commission into the Defences of the Colony, were Richardson, Roberts and Knox, Bradley’s former friend and now a Trustee of his Estate. The Commission was to investigate the defences of Sydney, the requirements for resisting a potential attack, stores and armaments procurements, torpedo and naval defences and the status of the Naval Brigade. On some of the motions proposed by the Commission prior to its tabling in Parliament, Richardson and Roberts voted similarly, particularly on the issue of increasing the permanent force numbers in the Volunteer Militia Artillery. There was also dissention between the two men. Roberts gave evidence a number of times before the Commission from March 11 through to April 4 1881. His evidence is succinct and clear on issues surrounding the formation of a permanent artillery force in the colony. His views on marriage were of interest as he stated, ‘a certain proportion [of the permanent force men] ought to be married, for the purpose of doing the necessary soldier’s washing’. Roberts believed married couples who had ‘excellent characters’ would be a useful addition to barracks life. Roberts accepted this position for himself, as his wife accompanied him to all the destinations his career took him. Certainly the officer’s wives enjoyed a lifestyle that was not afforded the wives of the junior non-commissioned officers and regular artillery soldiers. Roberts’ summation of his evidence on April 4 1881 included: the establishment of a military adviser who in a time of war, would assume ‘supreme direction’ along with a permanent artillery force of 250 to 440 men which would be in addition to a permanent and reserve artillery force to defend Newcastle, Sydney and Botany. He also suggested the formation of a torpedo corps along with a small paid militia force; the establishment of rifle companies and the establishment of schools of instruction and a military library and using retired officers who had significant Imperial service to act as military instructors to the forces. Roberts’ final recommendation was that a colonial retirement and pension scheme be established.

The final recommendations of the Commission included a number of Roberts’ recommendations in his final day of evidence to the Commission. These included the drafting of men for a permanent artillery force; the establishment of a militia; a torpedo corps affiliated to the Permanent Artillery; the establishment of schools of instruction and a military adviser appointed and the reorganisation of the ordnance department.

44 Ibid.
In many ways, Roberts worked cooperatively on the Commission with Richardson and he was possibly satisfied with the initial outcomes as the Commission established that the officer commanding the Permanent Artillery (Roberts) would also command the whole of the Permanent and Volunteer Artillery Forces as well as the Torpedo Corps. Richardson left the colony shortly afterwards and, despite ill health, toured the Franco-Prussian War battlefields. When he returned in 1885, he was appointed Commander of the Australian Force for the Sudan. This expeditionary force was the first time that Australian troops had embarked for active overseas service and was enthusiastically greeted by the citizens and troops of the country.

On 12 February 1885 an extraordinary Cabinet Council meeting was held with Colonels Roberts and Richardson providing advice to the acting Colonial Secretary, William Dalley that two batteries of the Permanent Artillery Force could be provided to the Imperial Government. In the initial minute to Sir Saul Samuel, the Agent-General in London, both Roberts and Richardson were to be sent with the troops to the Sudan to command the Australian troops.\(^47\) The next day in a letter to the editor, Sir Henry Parkes stated, 'if our military chiefs - Richardson and Roberts - can make it clear that our defences would be in no degree weakened by their [Artillery and Infantry] uncertain absence in a foreign country, they furnish an unanswerable argument for Parliament to dispense with their services altogether.'\(^48\)

With the sanction of Parliament and the acceptance by Britain of Australian troops, Roberts and Richardson began preparations for the embarkation to the Sudan. From 17 February 1885, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported daily on the preparations and devoted columns to the details of the expedition. Horses were submitted to Roberts for selection; supporters pledged funds; men enlisted from across the colony and volunteer companies sent their names and numbers to Sydney and brigade orders issued. On 3 March 1885, two troopships, the *Australasian* and the *Iberia* left Sydney with 750 men arriving in the Sudan on the 29 March.\(^49\) Despite continued ill health Colonel Richardson embarked, but not Roberts now the Acting Commandant of the remaining New South Wales Troops.\(^50\)

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47 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13.2.1885, p. 5, col. 5.
49 Despite the hype of the war and the immense preparations, little action was seen by the troops, and Richardson and the troops suffered from fever.
50 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31.3.1885, p. 8, col. 2.
Roberts was ostensibly utilised to make preparations for the defence of the colony and he improved civilian defences in Sydney, Botany, Newcastle and up and down the coast line in case of an attack on the colony as a result of the involvement in the Sudan. He held a very public and influential position in the colony and one supported by the funds of Bradley’s Estate.

Because of his public service, in May 1885, Roberts received, as a ‘trusty and well-beloved’ officer, the distinction of the Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St George, another indicator his social status was rapidly improving. In mid-June 1885, Roberts and Dalley were planning the triumphant return of the troops to Australia with disembarking to take place at Circular Quay before a parade up to Victoria Barracks, signalling what might have been the colony’s first ticker-tape parade. Colonel Roberts presided over a banquet for the officers. After the troops were quarantined at North Head, they were allowed five days later to march on a rainy day through to Victoria Barracks to be welcomed home. For Roberts and his family, some significant ground had been laid in developing a public persona and being recognised as a significant player in the interrelationship between the government and the defence forces.

The Sudan War for Roberts was over but it was now time to cement his career as the Military Commandant of the Colony.

From 1888 the Roberts family lived in transit. The five children (four girls and one son) lived in Bowral at Merilibah, and for some time resided in the Mittagong homestead, Oaklands. The Bowral property was listed for sale in March 1888 with only one block of the estate sold. This did not deter the family and they auctioned off the contents of their home. Moving to Sydney, the family took up residence at Greenoaks, Double Bay and this became the family residence until late 1889 when the family returned to England for an extended period because of Colonel Roberts’ earlier wounds sustained in the Crimea. Returning in late 1891 on board the Oratava, Roberts took up a new position in the Colony. In January 1892, the Sydney Mail reported his appointment as Military Under-Secretary as a ‘popular one’ as Roberts had always enjoyed

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51 Roberts set up militia and volunteer forces and was involved in the blocking of a channel into Sydney harbour by means of ground torpedoes in order to thwart an alleged attack. Because of the increased preparations, a night surprise was organised by the Naval Volunteer Artillery and Sydney was on high alert. Roberts, however, took his men to task when the troops broke camp at Middle Head after the night surprise, as some officers of the regiment did not turn out when the alarm was raised. Roberts expressed ‘his disapproval of conduct so unsoldierlike and unbecoming gentlemen who held a commission; and who should by their example show men how to perform their duty and obey orders.’ See Sydney Morning Herald, 8.4.1885, p. 10, col. 1-2.
52 He commanded troops in a spectacular to celebrate the Queen's birthday in May 1885 and was given a general salute when he arrived to inspect the troops who afterwards provided a demonstration of difficult moves before the gathered crowd. See Sydney Morning Herald, 18.5.1885, p. 7, col. 2.
53 PRO CO 844 Vol. 6 Order for Order of St. Michael and St George, Col. C F Roberts.
54 Ibid, see also Sydney Morning Herald, 25.5.1885, p. 8, col. 2.
55 Sydney Morning Herald, 13.6.1885, p. 12, col. 5.
56 Sydney Morning Herald, 26.6.1885, p. 5, col. 3.
'great popularity as an officer'. The *Town and Country Journal* acknowledged his appointment was 'regarded with satisfaction on all sides'.

Behind the scenes, however, Roberts had been agitating his ally, Sir Henry Parkes, now the Premier, from late 1888 for the position of Military Under-Secretary. Roberts was aware the appointment of a Secretary for the Ministry of Defence did not always work, as the civilian nature of the task was not well received by senior military officers. In the event, Roberts asked Parkes to 'take into [his] kind consideration any claims I may have from my long service as a military officer if in your opinion you would consider it promotion to hold the appointment'. Roberts had a long and endearing relationship with Parkes, inviting him to dine at the Roberts' home of Greenoaks at Double Bay and was friendly enough for Roberts to advise Sir Henry of various illnesses that he contracted from time to time. Not surprisingly then, as Parkes left the Premiership in October 1891 he recommended Roberts for the position which Roberts accepted in January 1892. The new role was to shift responsibility from the Colonial Secretary's Department where defence related issues sat with Roberts to preside over all matters relating to colonial defences. As head of the new department, Roberts was the liaison between the Department and the Premier.

In the next few years, Roberts was busy with the internal organisation of his Department and developing the fortifications of New South Wales and security for the Colony. He occupied his time also with inter-colonial military tournaments and at dinner at Government House on a number of occasions. In March 1892, he met the Governor in Cooma and accompanied him to on his visit to Bibbenluke, the Bradley family's celebrated property land. Roberts and Edwards, entertained the Earl of Jersey at the head station of Bibbenluke where the Governor spent a night before continuing to Bombala the next morning. The Governor spent a second night in the homestead before his return to Cooma. In December 1895, Roberts attended a garden party at Government House on the same day he appeared in the paper with other members of the Bradley faction in a suit against his nephew, Henry William Bradley Robinson. In this defence he was aligned with Knox, placed perhaps for his business acumen and reliability, something Bradley may have struggled in the early 1860s to see in his son-in-law, Roberts.

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58 *ibid.*

59 *Town and Country Journal*, 9.1.1892, p. 44. Along with a history of Roberts' achievements in the colony and on active service for the Colony, the Sydney Mail also published a pen and ink drawing of him, taken from a photograph by Freeman Brothers. The drawing clearly identifies Roberts and his CMG and is the basis for a later portrait which is now in the William Bradley History Collection. See *Sydney Mail*, 16.1.1892, p.140, cols. 1-3.


61 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1.1.1892, p. 4, col. 8.


Roberts commanded centre stage in 1899 when he was preparing the troopships Maplemore and the Armenian for departure to South Africa for Australian involvement in another Imperial conflict. By this stage Roberts was in his early 60s and did not accompany the troops. His son, Lieutenant Charles William Fyshe Palmer Roberts, however, sailed aboard the troopship Armenian. Young Roberts served with General French, whose daughter Kathleen was a friend of his sister, Esther. Lieutenant Roberts’ time in South Africa was recorded in dispatches by the Sydney Morning Herald’s special correspondent, A B (Banjo) Paterson. In December 1899, Paterson reported on Lieutenant Roberts and his party being mistaken for Boers by their allies, the Carabineers, and were fired upon with a bullet passing between the legs of Roberts’ horse. The incident broke the monotony of the camp, wrote Paterson, despite the Australians being unable to return the fire. In early January 1900, Roberts made the papers as he ‘begged’ his superiors to allow him and his men to take part in a reconnaissance to Gibraltar Hill to flush out the Boers. Roberts received permission but only as the forward party were in the open and being fired upon by the Boers at which time the permission was promptly withdrawn as the forward party themselves had taken cover from the musketry fire of the Boers. Perhaps Roberts needed to experience battle as his father had in the Crimea and that drove his desire to be amongst the forward party. A certain lack of understanding of battle strategy on Roberts’ part is clear here and an impulsive side to his nature is demonstrated.

In January 1900 Paterson rode out with one of Roberts’ patrols and later commended them on their coolness under fire and their quiet working manner that allowed them to hold their position and equipment under fire. A battle at Slingersfontein, known as Norval’s Farm on 18 January 1900 was described in some detail by Paterson as the New South Wales Lancers had been sent to the Boer hills and hideouts in a particularly rough part of the country. Arriving at a farmhouse, a Lancer troop continued in the area until they were unknowingly surrounded and captured by the Boers. The next morning an advance party was sent out under the direction of Lieutenants Roberts and Heron to search for the 8 men in the patrol. They found two men, one dead and one barely alive who died later and the other 6 were presumed only lightly wounded as the Boers had taken them. Horses had been killed and the saddles and accoutrements taken by the Boers. The remaining men were later found dead. A month later in February 1900, Paterson went again with Roberts on patrol having survived a four day trek in the heat of an African summer and watching horses drop dead and men faint with exhaustion and heat on the way to Kimberley. Upon entering the Kimberley Roberts and his men stopped at a farmhouse where they were surprised by the Boers who came down from the hills and approached the farmhouse with gun fire. It did not last long and the Boers soon retreated to their hills.
Lieutenant Fyshe Palmer Roberts,
Source: The Sydney Mail, 4.11.1899, p.1105.
Following his appointment to South Africa, Lieutenant Roberts, named for his father, grandfather and paternal heritage, was sent to India where began an adulterous affair with his senior commanding officer's wife. Surgeon Anthony Henry Waring married Mabel Alice Mahoney on 28 April 1897 in a Catholic ceremony at St James' Church Twickenham and then sent to India. Between 15 November 1902 and 10 February 1903, Waring alleged the couple had seen each other numerous times. The couple denied the allegations. During the dates described, Roberts is said to have visited Mabel Waring before and after dinner, with Roberts staying with Mrs Waring alone as late as midnight. The affair was not limited to the confines of India and the adulterous couple allegedly regrouped in England from 22 August 1903 to 1 September 1903. The High Court of Justice decreed that the marriage was dissolved and ordered the Co-Respondent to pay the Court £215-3-11 for the costs of the petitioner. The final decree came on 12 December 1904. The matter did not end here for Roberts.

In November 1905 he is recorded as seeking 'leave to England pending the acceptance of his resignation' from his position in the 4th Hussars. In early January 1906, his resignation was accepted and gazetted. Roberts, however, did not intend to resign but wanted his resignation to be effected only if he could find alternate employment in India. He wrote to the War Office and sought a meeting where he was informed if he could not find employment within one month, then his resignation would be cancelled. Roberts, however, believed he had been unjustly treated and sought a review of his case after the meeting with the War Office. Operating at another level was the remarks of Lieutenant-Colonel R Hoare, Commandant of the 4th Hussars who received word that Roberts may rejoin the regiment. He wrote it was 'most undesirable, that an officer should get leave pending resignation and on arrival in England proceed to take steps to have his papers recalled'. Behind Hoare's comments was the issue that Roberts had made an 'unfortunate marriage' when he married Mabel Alice Waring. Underlying this was Roberts' actions during and after the divorce proceedings. Being granted leave to attend the Divorce Court in England, Roberts was not expected to return to the Regiment, however, in 1905, just after the final decree, Roberts and his divorcee wife arrived back at the Regiment. Roberts did not suspect his actions of bringing the new Mrs Roberts back to the regiment, given that she was 'not a lady by birth, being a bandsman's daughter' and known to many of the subalterns of the regiment, would have caused such difficulties.

67 See PRO WO 374/57907, Service Record of Capt CW F P ROBERTS, 1900-1919; 1963t
68 Ibid, Telegram, 1.3.1906, Hoare to Secretary of State, War.
69 Ibid, Telegram, 26.2.1906, Hoare to Secretary of State, War.
70 Ibid, Letter, 28.3.1906, Hoare to Staff Captain, South Africa.
Lieutenant-Colonel Hoare and his regiment found her reappearance in the regiment as "objectionable and undesirable" with Roberts' actions demonstrating 'little consideration for the regiment'. In an interview with Roberts, Hoare advised him that he would never call upon his wife as was customary nor was she to attend events where other ladies of the regiment were in attendance. Effectively cut off from the world she had known, Mabel Alice Roberts must have questioned her own actions and that of her new husband.

As Hoare worked to find Roberts a suitable post, it became clear that Roberts had few skills or qualifications that would render him suitable for different posts and as he was unwilling to live in South Africa due to the expense, Roberts concluded he would resign his commission. Hoare suggested to Roberts this was a 'wise decision'. Despite the expense of South Africa, Roberts and his wife travelled with the regiment although this was unknown to Colonel Hoare who was at the time on leave in England and when he arrived was surprised to learn that the couple was aboard. As well, Roberts and his wife had been doing the rounds of the Officers and their families to the express distaste of his fellow officers and the 'strong feeling of resentment' towards Roberts' 'inconsiderate actions' was creating tension within the Regiment. The issue was not resolved and in early May Roberts was given three options by the War Office, namely to tender his resignation, return to South Africa or retire from the service. At this point, Lieutenant Roberts enlisted the support of his father (who was in England) to request a stay of time to have the issues dealt with and suggested that Lieutenant-Colonel Hoare had placed obstacles in his son's way for a transfer to the Supply and Transport Corps or to an Infantry Regiment. When reading the file of the young Lieutenant it is clear, in the words of J S Ewart, the Military Secretary who read the file in 1906, 'Lieutenant Roberts is one of those rather troublesome people who do not really know what they want'.

Unfortunately for Roberts, his case that went before the Army Council was not accepted nor did it warrant, any 'exceptional or preferential treatment' and resulted in him resigning his commission. In March 1915 following the outbreak of war, Roberts, now aged 35, voluntarily re-enlisted for Cavalry duty for England. He was made a Captain and directed to serve with the 13th Reserve Regiment of Cavalry, Colchester. Serving with the Regiment, Roberts redeemed some of his previous reputation and his Commanding Officer, Colonel Hemarle in

71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid, Letter, 6.2.1906, Minute Sheet 2, J S Ewart, Military Secretary. When I read this file it was clear Roberts was both misguided and confused about what he wanted.
78 PRO WO 374 Service record of Lieutenant C W F P Roberts, 9.3.1915, Application for Appointment to a Temporary Commission in the Regular Army for the period of the War.
December 1918, at the end of the war reflected his disappointment that due to ill health and the English climate being unsuited to him, that Roberts be released from his military service. He recommended Roberts be selected for service in British East Africa, however, the War Office deemed his condition of a spinal disability and continuous sufferance from dysenteric symptoms as too great a risk and medically discharged Roberts.79

This should have been the end of Roberts dealings with the Army, but his former wife, Mabel Alice Roberts whom he had divorced in 1916 was not receiving the annual alimony of £100 which he had paid up until 1920.80 While she does not mention children, Mrs Roberts was clearly living in distressing situations without financial support and had sought help from the War Office to intervene on her behalf. Unfortunately the War Office was unable to assist as Roberts had left the employ of the Services.81 For Mrs Roberts, who had left a comfortable life with her first husband, there does not appear to have been the happiness that she may have envisaged with Roberts. She was not alone, however, in her disappointment in Roberts.

She was replaced by Elsie Colbourne Hammond whom Roberts married on 15 May 1917, a widow with one child, Biddy, by her former husband, and one John with her current husband. In this case, Roberts accused Elsie of having committed adultery despite him having deserted her five years previously. In order to alleviate the situation, Elsie travelled to the family home in Kenya and attempted to restore the relationship. But Roberts refused to cohabit with her and deserted her without cause and without means of support. Roberts had offered her an allowance of £200 per annum; however, given the circumstances of his previous marriage, it is unlikely that the new Mrs Roberts would have received any alimony. The documents went back and forth to the High Court of Justice between the petitioner and the respondent. At the same time as Mrs Roberts arrived in Kenya, Roberts had taken up with another married woman, Hope Stewart who had been living at Roberts’ Farm at Saltun Hamud. Roberts denied having fathered a child, which would have been born out of wedlock, and stated that his wife was committing adultery with Arnold Lawson Harrow-Bunn, a 1917 Military Cross Recipient. Finding for Mrs Roberts, the Court ruled that he must provide all his financial details for the past three years to the Court from his Kenyan and other estates. Roberts’ petition was struck out of court; he was ordered to pay costs and found guilty of adultery.82 Of Robert’s later life there has been little found apart from his death in 1963 and of this even little is known.83

82 PRO J78/2499 Case 7881, the Divorce of C W F P Roberts and Elsie Colbourne F P Roberts, final decree 20.10.1930.
Roberts was not the only grandson of William Bradley to undergo the public scrutiny of one’s life in the Divorce Court. Napier Langford Pearse and Patrick Beauchamp Valentine Heard both had appearances. Napier had inherited the family’s coffee estate, Bibbenluke in India, and made a career as a coffee planter. In 1915 at the age of 56 he married Lillian Celia Preston aged 20 years in a London Registry Office. They lived together at Parkeston-on-Sea, Essex and had no children. Pearse accused his wife of having a continuous adulterous affair with a man named Morrison having set up a home together near Kew Gardens. The marriage was dissolved on 15 October 1920. Bradley's great grandson Patrick Beauchamp Valentine Heard, the son of Edward Severin Heard was a Lieutenant Commander in the Royal Navy and he married Phyllis Peel Smith on 2 September 1920. In this case, Heard was accused of committing adultery and found guilty of this he was then ordered to pay costs of £100 per annum to his ex-wife. These divorce cases put the respectability that Bradley had sought for his daughters and ultimately for his grand-children at great risk.

84 PRO J78/1479 Case 5667, the divorce of Napier Langford Pearse and Lillian Celia Pearse, final decree 15.10.1920.
85 PRO J78/2225 Case 9707, the divorce of Phyllis Peel Heard and Patrick Beauchamp Valentine Heard, final decree 26.7.1926.
APPENDIX TEN

THE ROME FOREIGN CEMETERY
I booked a flight with Easyjet to Rome for an overnight trip to find the grave of Emily Elizabeth Bradley, who died in Rome after a long illness on the journey she and her husband, William undertook to the continent from 1846.

I arrived late at night into Campiano airport and took the bus into Termini Station. After checking into my hotel just near Termini Station I went for a late dinner in a pizzeria just opposite. The pasta was superb, the Italians always get pasta right! I did enjoy it.

The next morning I caught a train to Pyramid Station. Armed with maps and details of the location of the grave, I walked around the high walled cemetery until I found the entrance. It was the most beautiful cemetery I have ever been to. It was well maintained, the gardens immaculate with no graffiti (a common site in Rome) and was very peaceful.

The entrance to the Rome Foreign Cemetery

Source: William Bradley History Collection, 2006
As I entered I met a lady who looked at my papers and showed me exactly where Emily Elizabeth Bradley was buried. She was three rows in from the main entrance heading up towards Shelley and Goethe’s graves.

It was an exhilarating moment. I had come full circle on a journey of graves connected to the Bradley family. I had seen all of William and Emily’s children’s graves, their husbands (bar Dr Samuel Thomas Heard who was buried in Ireland and I visited his grave in 2009), relatives connected to Col Charles Fyshe Roberts and I visited some grandchildren’s graves. I also found, by chance, the grave of Bradley’s dear friend, Severin Kanute Salting. It was truly an amazing experience. This whole journey of graveyards took me across the world. Emily, fittingly as the mother of these children, was the last I connected with.

Side view of Emily’s grave
Source: William Bradley History Collection, 2006

It must have been extremely difficult for William Bradley to leave his wife lying on foreign soil, knowing that he may never or no one may ever visit her grave again. I liked to think that perhaps some of the grandchildren or daughters may have made a trip to Rome to do what I was doing, but I have no evidence that anyone had done so. I laid some flowers.
Her inscription read, as per the internet description I found many years ago as follows:

Sacred
To the memory of
Emily Elizabeth
The wife of William Bradley Esq.
Of Sydney, Australia
Who died at Rome after a long and painful illness
On the XXIID April MDCCCXLVIII in the
XXXVIith year of her age.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Roman numerals read: 22nd April 1848, aged 37. See http://www.dkinst-rom.dk/protcem/work/pcAU.html
After taking numerous photos and updating Emily on all her family’s doings, I left her and went to visit Percy Bysshe Shelley and John Keats. Shelley had a connection to Goulburn through a relative, William Shelley who was Bradley’s business partner in the Goulburn Brewery and Mill Complex. I wandered around the cemetery for about an hour. The beauty of some of the graves and their statuary was amazing.

After I left the cemetery it was back to being a tourist and off to the Colosseo, St. Peter’s Cathedral, the Spanish Steps and the Trevi Fountain before heading back to London after a most successful day visiting Emily Elizabeth Bradley in Roma.
APPENDIX ELEVEN

DESCENDANTS OF JONAS BRADLEY
GENERA TION NO. 1

1. JONAS^ BRADLEY was born 1769 in Bradley, Lancashire, England, and died 25 October 1841 in Goulburn, NSW and was buried at St. Saviours Cemetery, Goulburn, NSW. He met and later married CATHERINE SHIEL. She was born in Ireland and died in 1838 in Windsor, NSW and is buried at St Matthews Cemetery, Windsor, NSW.

Children of JONAS BRADLEY and CATHERINE SHIEL are:

i. THOMAS^ BRADLEY, b. 1796, Windsor, NSW; d. 1835, Goulburn, NSW and was buried in St Saviours Cemetery, Goulburn NSW.

ii. WILLIAM BRADLEY, b. 1800, Windsor, NSW; d. 4 June 1868, Lindesay, Darling Point, Sydney and was buried in St Stephen's Cemetery, Camperdown, NSW.

GENERA TION NO. 2

2. WILLIAM^ BRADLEY (JONAS^) was born 1800 in Windsor, NSW, and died 4 June 1868 at Lindesay, Darling Point, Sydney. He married EMILY ELIZABETH HOVELL on 10 March 1831 at St. Peter's Church of England, Campbelltown, NSW, daughter of WILLIAM HOVELL and ESTHER ARNDELL. She was born about 1811 in England, and died 22 April 1848 in Rome, Italy and is buried in the Rome Foreign Cemetery.

Children of WILLIAM BRADLEY and EMILY HOVELL are:

i. EMILYJANE^ BRADLEY, b. 18 September 1832, Lansdowne Park, Goulburn, NSW; d. 24 May 1909, 8, Cheyne-walk, Chelsea, London.

ii. ESTHER CHARLOTTE BRADLEY, b. 3 August 1834, Lansdowne Park, Goulburn, NSW; d. 7 May 1856, Lindesay, Darling Point, Sydney.

iii. WILLIAM HOVELL BRADLEY, b. 29 March 1838, Goulburn, NSW; d. 25 April 1842, Goulburn, NSW.

iv. JONAS FREDERICK BRADLEY, b. 6 March 1840, Goulburn, NSW; d. 29 January 1841, Goulburn, NSW.

v. CATHERINE BRADLEY, b. 3 May 1841, Goulburn, NSW; d. 18 April 1931, Campden Hill, London.
vi. LOUISA SALTING BRADLEY, b. November 1842, Goulburn, NSW; d. 20 January 1846, Goulburn, NSW.

vii. WILLIAMINA BRADLEY, b. 3 April 1844, Goulburn, NSW; d. 17 September 1881, Lansdowne, Southsea, UK.

viii. ALICE CAROLINE BRADLEY, b. 9 January 1846, Goulburn, NSW; d. 10 February 1932, Sydney, NSW.

GENERATION NO. 3

3. EMILY JANE³ BRADLEY (WILLIAM² JONAS¹) was born 18 September 1832 at Lansdowne Park, Goulburn, NSW, and died 24 May 1909 in 8, Cheyne-walk, Chelsea, London. She married JAMES LANGFORD PEARSE 2 September 1852 in St. James, Sydney, NSW, son of GEORGE PEARSE and ANNE MCCULLOCH. He was born 6 May 1823 in Cork, Ireland, and died 26 January 1892 at Lindesay, Ryde, Isle of Wight as a result of influenza.

EMILY and JAMES LANGFORD PEARSE are buried together at Ryde Cemetery, Ryde, Isle of Wight, UK.

Children of EMILY BRADLEY and JAMES PEARSE are:

i. EMILY ELIZABETH⁴ PEARSE, b. 19 August 1853, Bangalore, Mysore, India; m. WALTER ELLIS, 9 January 1875, Bangalore, Mysore, India.

ii. WILLIAM BRADLEY PEARSE, b. 19 March 1855, Bangalore, Mysore, India; d. 15 November 1875, Bangalore, Mysore, India and is buried in Brompton Cemetery, London.

iii. NAPIER LANGFORD PEARSE, b. 9 March 1856, Bangalore, Mysore, India.

iv. EDITH ANN PEARSE, b. 27 March 1857, Bangalore, Mysore, India; d. 21 August 1931.

v. JAMES LANGFORD PEARSE, b. 18 December 1859, Bangalore, Mysore, India.

vi. BEATRICE LAURA OR NINA PEARSE, b. 4 September 1868, Bangalore, Mysore, India; d. 21 November 1942, 1D Morpeth Terrace, London. She was buried on 24 November 1942, St. Mary's Cemetery, Kensal Green, London.
4. ESTHER CHARLOTTE^3 BRADLEY (WILLIAM^2, JONAS^1) was born 3 August 1834 in Lansdowne Park, Goulburn, NSW, and died 7 May 1856 at Lindesay, Darling Point, Sydney. She married EDWARD MAITLAND 3 May 1855 in Darling Point. He was born 27 October 1824 in Ipswich, England, and died 2 October 1897 in Tonbridge, Kent. She is buried with her father at St Stephen's Cemetery, Camperdown, NSW.

Child of ESTHER BRADLEY and EDWARD MAITLAND is:

   i. CHARLES^4 BRADLEY MAITLAND, b. 5 May 1856.

5. CATHERINE^3 BRADLEY (WILLIAM^2, JONAS^1) was born 3 May 1841 in Goulburn, NSW, and died 18 April 1931 in Campden Hill, London and was buried at Brompton Cemetery, London. She married DR SAMUEL THOMAS HEARD 1862. He was born 1835, and died 5 June 1921 in Rossdohan Island, Ireland and is buried at the Church of the Transfiguration, Sneem, County Kerry, Ireland.

Children of CATHERINE BRADLEY and DR HEARD are:

   i. EDWARD SEVERIN^4 HEARD, b. 1865; d. 28 February 1944, London.

   ii. HUGH LINDSAY PATRICK HEARD, b. 2 August 1869; d. 23 July 1954, Fontainbleau, France.

   iii. KATE ETHEL HEARD, b. 1873; m. HUBERT CALISTE DE JACOBI DU VALLON, 1 June 1907, St. Peter's Church, Frimley Surrey.

   iv. WILLIAM BEAUCHAMP HEARD, b. 1878.

6. WILLIAMINNA^3 BRADLEY (WILLIAM^2, JONAS^1) was born 3 April 1844 in Goulburn, NSW, and died 17 September 1881 at Lansdowne, Southsea, UK. She married FREDERICK CHARLES BRYAN ROBINSON 16 June 1864 in Cathedral St Saviour Goulburn, NSW, son of ADMIRAL HERCULES ROBINSON and FRANCES WOOD. He was born 1836 in Ireland and died on 13 January 1896. WILLIAMINNA AND FREDERICK ROBINSON are buried together at Highland Road Cemetery, Portsmouth.
Children of WILLIAMINA BRADLEY and FREDERICK ROBINSON are:

i. HENRY WILLIAM BRADLEY ROBINSON, b. 1865; d. 3 November 1938, Beach House, Lower Mall, Hammersmith and was buried at Hammersmith Cemetery, Mortlake, London.

ii. ETHEL BRADLEY ROBINSON, b. 1870; d. 12 April 1952, Beach House, Lower Mall, Hammersmith. She was buried with her brother Henry at Hammersmith Cemetery, Mortlake, London.

iii. WILLIAMINA BRADLEY ROBINSON, b. 1872.

iv. NEVILLE LINDESAY BRADLEY ROBINSON, b. 12 September 1881, Lansdowne, Southsea, UK; d. 15 September 1881, Lansdowne, Southsea, UK. He is buried with his parents at Highland Road Cemetery, Portsmouth.

7. ALICE CAROLINE BRADLEY (WILLIAM, JONAS) was born 9 January 1846 in Goulburn, NSW, and died 10 February 1932 in Sydney, NSW. She married COL CHARLES FYSSHE PALMER ROBERTS 15 November 1866 in Cathedral St Saviour Goulburn, NSW, son of CHARLES ROBERTS and EMMA GERTRUDE. He was born 20 August 1837 in Ickwell, Bedfordshire, England, and died 9 December 1914 in Sydney. ALICE and COL CHARLES FYSSHE PALMER ROBERTS are buried together at South Head Cemetery, Sydney, NSW.

Children of ALICE BRADLEY and COL ROBERTS are:

i. ALICE GERTRUDE ROBERTS, b. July 1870 in Eversholt, Bedford, England

ii. WINIFRED MYRTLE CAROLINE ROBERTS, b. 6 July 1873, Hyde Park, London; m. JOHN MACRAE, 1906.

iii. ESTHER MAUD EMILY ROBERTS, b. 1877; d. 23 May 1962.

iv. CHARLES WILLIAM FYSSHE PALMER ROBERTS, b. 1880; m. firstly MABEL ALICE MAHONY and m secondly ELSIE COLBOURNE HAMMOND (whom he later divorced), 1917.

v. DOROTHY VIVIENNE ROBERTS, b. 1887; m. BERNARD BLYTHMAN, 1913, Sydney.
GENERATION NO. 4

8. NAPIER LANGFORD\(^4\) PEARSE (EMILY JANE\(^3\) BRADLEY, WILLIAM\(^2\), JONAS\(^1\)) was born 9 March 1856 in Bangalore, Mysore, India. He married MRS. LINDESAY.

Child of NAPIER PEARSE and MRS. LINDESAY is:

i. NAPIER ELIAS LANGFORD\(^5\) PEARSE, m. the HON. CECILIA CAVENDISH, 26 May 1932.

9. EDITH ANN\(^4\) PEARSE (EMILY JANE\(^3\) BRADLEY, WILLIAM\(^2\), JONAS\(^1\)) was born 27 March 1857 in Bangalore, Mysore, India, and died 21 August 1931. She married (1) WILLIAM ARBUTHNOT 2 December 1879 in Folkestone, Kent, England. He died 12 September 1893. She married (2) GUY FRANCOIS, COMTE DE MIREMONT 1 August 1894 in New York. He died 21 January 1928.

Child of EDITH PEARSE and GUY FRANCOIS is:

i. HILDA\(^3\) DE MIREMONT, d. 14 January 1960.

10. EDWARD SEVERIN\(^4\) HEARD (CATHERINE\(^3\) BRADLEY, WILLIAM\(^2\), JONAS\(^1\)) was born 1865, and died 28 February 1944 in London. He married GEORGINA GERTRUDE MCGRATH, daughter of MAJOR-GENERAL MCGRATH and MRS. MCGRATH. She died 17 September 1934 in London and was buried at Brompton Cemetery, London. EDWARD SEVERIN HEARD was cremated at Charing Cross, London. Edward was Rear-Admiral in the Royal Navy.

Children of EDWARD HEARD and GEORGINA MCGRATH are:

i. MAUREEN KATE\(^5\) HEARD, m. GEORGE FREDERICK PRETYMAN, 1919; b. 8 September 1891; d. 4 June 1937, Creek House, Alresford, Essex and was buried at Ipswich.

ii. PATRICK BEAUCHAMP VALENTINE HEARD, m firstly PHYLLIS PEEL SMITH. He divorced her in 1925 and m. secondly MARINA SOUKOVKINE, daughter of Monsieur Soukovkine, former Chamberlain to H.I.M Emperor Nicholas II of Russia.

Child of PATRICK BEAUCHAMP VALENTINE HEARD and MARINA SOUKOVKINE is:

i. IRINA\(^5\) HEARD
11. HUGH LINDSAY PATRICK\(^4\) HEARD (CATHERINE\(^3\) BRADLEY, WILLIAM\(^2\), JONAS\(^1\)) was born 2 August 1869, and died 23 July 1954 in Fontainbleau, France.

12. ESTHER MAUD EMILY\(^4\) ROBERTS (ALICE CAROLINE\(^3\) BRADLEY, WILLIAM\(^2\), JONAS\(^1\)) was born 1877, and died 23 May 1962. She married VINCENT WALLACE RYRIE in 1903.

Children of ESTHER ROBERTS and VINCENT RYRIE are:

i. BRADLEY VINCENT\(^5\) RYRIE, b. 18 March 1907; m. JOAN MONICA ROBINSON, 23 November 1950, Sydney.

ii. THEODORA VINCENT RYRIE, m. (1) HUGH NEWTON HEREPATH, 1937, Bristol, England; d. 1942; m. (2) LESLIE EDWARD PARKER, 1946, Bristol, England.

iii. ESTHER HOPE VINCENT RYRIE.

GENERATION NO. 5

13. HILDA\(^5\) DE MIREMONT (EDITH ANN\(^4\) PEARSE, EMILY JANE\(^3\) BRADLEY, WILLIAM\(^2\), JONAS\(^1\)) died 14 January 1960. She married LT.-CDR. THOMAS GERALD AUCKLAND MONCREIFFE 17 June 1918. He was born 13 September 1886, and died 3 June 1922.

Child of HILDA DE MIREMONT and LT.-CDR. THOMAS GERALD AUCKLAND MONCREIFFE is:

i. SIR RUPERT IAIN\(^6\) KAY MONCREIFFE, b. 9 April 1919; d. 27 February 1985, London.

GENERATION NO. 6

14. IAIN\(^6\) MONCREIFFE (HILDA\(^5\) DE MIREMONT, EDITH ANN\(^4\) PEARSE, EMILY JANE\(^3\) BRADLEY, WILLIAM\(^2\), JONAS\(^1\)) was born 9 April 1919, and died 27 February 1985 in London. He married (1) DIANA DENISE HAY, COUNTESS OF ERROLL 19 December 1946 in St Margaret's Church, Westminster, London, daughter of JOSSLYN HAY and LADY SACKVILLE. She was born 5 January 1926, and died 17 May 1978 in Oban. He married (2) HERMIONE PATRICIA FAULKNER 1 May 1966 in Moncreiffe Chapel, daughter of WALTER FAULKNER and PATRICIA MONTAGU-DOUGLAS-SCOTT. She was born 14 January 1937.
Children of IAIN MONCREIFFE and DIANA HAY are:

i. MERLIN SERELD VICTOR GILBERT\textsuperscript{7} HAY, b. 20 April 1948.

ii. PEREGRINE DAVID EUAN MALCOLM MONCREIFFE, b. 16 February 1951.

iii. ALEXANDRA VICTORIA CAROLINE ANNE MONCREIFFE.

**GENERATION NO. 7**

15. MERLIN SERELD VICTOR GILBERT\textsuperscript{7} HAY (IAIN\textsuperscript{6} MONCREIFFE, HILDA\textsuperscript{5} DE MIREMONT, EDITH ANN\textsuperscript{4} PEARSE, EMILY JANE\textsuperscript{3} BRADLEY, WILLIAM\textsuperscript{2}, JONAS\textsuperscript{1}) was born 20 April 1948. He married ISABELLE JACQUELINE LALINE ASTELL HOHLER 8 May 1982 in Winchester Cathedral, Winchester, Hampshire UK, daughter of THOMAS HOHLER and JULIE DE JOUFFR. She was born 22 August 1955 in Brussels, Belgium.

Children of MERLIN HAY and ISABELLE HOHLER are:

i. HARRY THOMAS WILLIAM\textsuperscript{8} HAY, b. 8 August 1984, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England.


iii. LALINE LUCY CLEMENTINE HAY, b. 21 December 1987, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England.


16. PEREGRINE DAVID EUAN MALCOLM\textsuperscript{7} MONCREIFFE (IAIN\textsuperscript{6}, HILDA\textsuperscript{5} DE MIREMONT, EDITH ANN\textsuperscript{4} PEARSE, EMILY JANE\textsuperscript{3} BRADLEY, WILLIAM\textsuperscript{2}, JONAS\textsuperscript{1}) was born 16 February 1951. He married MIRANDA FOX-PITT 1988, daughter of EDWARD FOX-PITT and JANET SCYMGEOUR-WEDDERBURN. She was born 29 December 1968.
Children of PEREGRINE MONCREIFFE and MIRANDA FOX-PITT are:

i.  OSSIAN PEREGRINE T G® MONCREIFFE, b. 3 February 1991.

ii. IDINA MAY MONCREIFFE, b. 3 November 1992.

iii. ELISABETH MONCREIFFE, b. 2 February 1995.

iv. ALEXANDRA MONCREIFFE, b. 19 November 1996.

v.  LILY MONCREIFFE, b. 6 November 1998.

vi. EUAN MONCREIFFE, b. 12 September 2000.
APPENDIX TWELVE

AN IRISH JOURNEY: FOOTSTEPS TO OILEÁN ROS DOCHAN
Last night I dreamt of Rossdohan again. It seemed to me I stood at The Cut peering up the driveway and inhaling the smell of the lemon-scented eucalyptus trees that swayed in the gentle breeze. A padlocked gate blocked access and the barbed wire topped gate was a sign I should not attempt to enter the sanctuary I called in my dream to Sam and Kate to come down and unlock the gate to let me in. No answer came in reply and like all dreamers, I was possessed by a force of supernatural powers that allowed me to glide over the gate and wander down the path onto the island.

The grounds were unkempt and the trees swayed in unison, as if they were keeping secrets from intruders. Nature returned to claim back, insidiously slowly, that which people tried to tame and conform. I saw the ruins of the gardener’s cottage and the moss covered rocks gathered to form the low stones wall to keep nature at bay. I drifted past huge rhododendrons and camellias that turned their faces to greet me. I saw the wattle glisten with the moist dew on its tight pom-poms and the bottlebrush swayed in its conical fashion in the slight breeze.

The sound of the sea lapping at the edges of the rocks welcomed me as I turned the corner and saw then the burnt house that looked out over the Bay. I stood warmed in the sun, gazing on an abandoned oasis. I was charmed by the pleasures of the place as I saw the transparent figures of the Heard children playing on the lawns, racing through the trees, playing childish games, and heading to the bay to collect shells.

I could hear Kate with her strict Victorian righteousness calling to them to come in for tea, and Samuel wandering the bluff of the Island with his dog, his tweed hat sometimes blowing off his head, dreaming up new schemas for his plant collections. The Island was not an empty shell at all; it was still living, breathing, and growing. The Heards were there, always one-step ahead of my pursuits of them.

As all dreamers do, I resolved in my dream of a day when Rossdohan could again hear the sounds of young voices and the admiration of garden lovers the world over. I woke from my dream, knowing why people experienced a love affair with the Island.

With acknowledgment for inspiration to Rebecca by Daphne du Maurier.
It intrigued me for some time in my doctoral research into William Bradley, a nineteenth century New South Wales politician, how his daughter, Kate, ended up living on an island, in the South West of Ireland, populated with plants and trees from her father's properties in southern New South Wales. It was intriguing because of the ties to the British Empire Kate and her sisters demonstrated as they married into wealth, prestige, and nobility. With them went the backing of their father's landed prosperity and their own considerable wealth.

Here was a native-born Australian family using their sheep and wool money as an entrée card into civil, British society. The juxtaposition of Victorian values smattered throughout this story - values of personal responsibility, morality and an outlook on life that determined lives were lead within a strict moral code - was fascinating.

William Bradley spent his life searching for respectability in the far-flung outpost of British civility of Goulburn in colonial New South Wales, where he commanded as the first elected member to the NSW Legislative Council in 1843 a society developing from the shackles of convictism, drunkenness, and immorality. Into this society, he and his wife brought nine children, five daughters of which survived infancy. Three of these daughters' lives were forever tied to India where the majority of Bradley's grandchildren were born and raised in their infancy. Kate was one of these daughters.

In February 1858, Kate with her sisters Alice and Minna accompanied their widowed father on a trip 'Home' lasting four years. Aged 17 when she left Australia, Kate did not return with her father or sisters but met and married an Anglo-Irish surgeon, Dr (Colonel) Samuel Thomas Heard, much to her father's chagrin. Heard was the second son of an Irish landowner, doomed to never inherit and his time in the British Army in India was his redeeming hope for a wealth and civility that had perhaps been denied to him.

Renowned for her beauty, it is unclear how Kate and Sam met but in 1862, they married in London. The following September her father returned home to Australia with Alice and Minna, and Kate never saw her father again before his death in Sydney in 1868. Bradley appointed his long time friend, Severin Kanute Salting to act as an intermediary with his estranged daughter and her new husband. Salting treated Kate as the daughter he never had and was responsible for reconciliation between Kate and her father. When Bradley died, he left her a quarter-share in his multi-million dollar estate. It was with this inherited largesse that Kate and Sam decided to purchase the shooting and fishing rights and the land of Rossdohan Island, in County Kerry, Ireland.
FOOT-STEPPING TO OILEÁN ROS DOCHAN

In January 2009 my husband went to the University of Edinburgh on a four-month sabbatical, and I decided I would join him to do some more research for my doctorate and visit some more places connected with Bradley and his family. This trip, Sneem and Rossdohan Island were on the list to visit. In February 2009, I wrote to the Kerryman, and two responses gave me information and leads into the mysterious world of Kate Bradley and her husband, Colonel Samuel Thomas Heard. At the British Library I found a book by Sir Robert Graves detailing the relationship between a number of Heard family members, the du Vallon, Graves and Blomfield families – all connected somehow to County Kerry and Sneem. One of the Hubert du Vallon, was a friend of Edward Heard, and he married Kate and Samuel’s only daughter. I found a picture of Rossdohan House during construction and the island without its famous arboretum as well so it was all fitting into place. One of the books I read intrigued me – the question was asked about why a medical doctor, Heard, undertook the development of an island populated by trees and ferns and all gathered from the southern hemisphere. It also intrigued me.

My conclusions are about the construct of a continued respectability that not only William Bradley aspired to, but Heard did too, the second son of an Irish landowner – doomed to never inherit – so into play came the colonial money of wool and Kate Bradley. Kate made a marriage that her father thought ill conceived, who only sought for his daughters’ financial security, but having a marriage into a landed Anglo-Irish family was perhaps an anathema to Bradley who saw his money going into the ground, despite their Anglicanism. Having repaired her relationship with her father, his sheep and wool money built and financed Rossdohan House and the purchase of this remote island off the Kenmare Coast in the Ring of Kerry in southern Ireland.

It became a tragic house and story. Desperate to be reunited with her husband as the Troubles loomed, Kate was travelling to Rossdohan when Samuel died. She buried him in a moss-lined grave, a homage to his horticultural pursuits and one that perhaps befitted his status as a leading Irish gardener. The following year, the Troubles impacted the island and some family members were in residence when it became time to abandon the family seat. Irish rebels were advancing on Rossdohan Island. By chance, a Royal Navy destroyer sailed up the Kenmare River and Rear Admiral Edward Heard (eldest son of Kate and Samuel) escaped with the remaining family members and servants by alerting the destroyer to their plight by waving sheets and towels out onto the Bay.
The destroyer saw them and returned, sending an armed whaler's crew ashore to rescue Rear Admiral Heard and his family. The Rebels, some of whom were employed as gardeners and workers on the Island, waited until the family boarded the destroyer before burning the house to the ground. The once beautiful and bountiful island, home to the Heard family became a relic of the past and the grand and lofty ambitions that went with the island and home floundered in the tropical winds of Kenmare Bay.
The Kenmare Bay’s southwesterly winds were the exact temperature required for the exotics Heard and his son Edward painstakingly collected from Australia and New Zealand. While there have been people coming and going with different visions and plans for the island, perhaps the spirit of Samuel Heard remains there. I like to think he is wandering somewhere along the buff of the island, perhaps in some Irish tweed, some dogs running with him and the wind buffeting him along as he inspects his island. I think that is what one would do if one was to own an island.
C. 1880

APRIL 2009

In April 2009, I went to Sneem and Rossdohan with this great story of love and tragedy between Kate and Samuel Heard in my head. I wondered if the infamous luck of the Irish would be with me as I uncovered what remained and what would remain hidden from me? It was exciting that in response to my request for information, the editor of the Sneem Parish News, Mr John Vincent O’Sullivan contacted me as did Canon Alan Shaw from nearby Kenmare who sent me details of Heard’s burial records. I had two people with whom this story can come to life again. The plans for the house, I discovered were in London and that two grand-daughters of Kate Heard had written auto-biographies, detailing their holidays on Rossdohan Island.

Connections between land, plants, and man seem to be a feature of this thesis. I was now foot-stepping into my fourth country in search of this family. Following their path was just as much about my journey of discovery as it was about their attempts to stay hidden in historical obscurity.

The Victoria and Albert Museum is a great place to spend a cold London afternoon. In the upper levels of the Museum is the Prints and Drawings Reading Room, open to readers and visitors to view more treasures of the Museum’s collections that do not make it to the Exhibition spaces. In this collection, I found plans and drawings of Rossdohan House, by John Pollard Seddon, the famous London architect.
It was exciting finding these plans as despite seeing photos of the house the plans provided a good indication of the interior of the house as well. While on the only foundations remained after the Troubles, it was good to see what Bradley’s money funded on this remote Irish island. I thought I was now well placed to undertake the visit to Rossdohan Island.

SNEEM, COUNTY KERRY, IRELAND

Martin and I left Galway mid morning to arrive in Sneem for about 3pm when I was going to call John V. O’Sullivan to arrange to meet up with him and Canon Alan Shaw. From Galway we connected to the Ring of Kerry road which wound its way through the Lakes of Killarney to Kenmare and then onto Sneem. It was a winding, narrow road, not helped by the torrential rain. It made the journey we were undertaking somewhat more interesting – how did an Australian woman, used to hot, baking sunshine take up residence in an environment that was an extreme opposite to her native climate? It was an interesting thought to ponder as we drove past the killer sheep and the bare wind-blown mountain faces that hid the beauty and magic of the location behind its boundaries. At least I thought we did it by car, not carriage, or boat. It was difficult to comprehend how the materials required for the massive house that Heard built made it down this winding, narrow road into was really an inhospitable environment.

We drove past two entrances to Rossdohan but continued until we arrived in Sneem and to the Sneem Hotel, a new glam hotel on the shores of the Kenmare Bay. After contacting John, Martin and I set off on our first adventure in the rain. First up was the Church of the Transfiguration (Anglican) where Canon Alan advised Samuel Thomas Heard was buried. After finding him, it was off to Oileán Ros Dochan.
The road itself seemed ominous. A sign advised the speed limit was ‘dead slow’ and cautiously we headed into a world that already seemed distant from where we had been. We arrived at Rossdohan Lodge, the first entrance to the island, but with some ‘private’ signs around, and a sea mist hovering with the added attraction of heavy Irish rain; it seemed likely our adventure would require postponement. Having determined there was no one in the Lodge house we headed off down the wet and muddy road. After our car could go no further, we walked down the road but as we approached the bridge, known as ‘The Cut’ to the Heards – which were arches designed by Sneddon – we came to a locked and barbed wire fence. After peering through the gate and seeing what we could, we returned to the car, and while bogged momentarily, we made it out safely.

Temporarily, Heard’s magical island remained a mystery to me, however, it had taken me almost ten years to arrive here, so I was not really going to let a locked gate get the better of me.
John V. O'Sullivan met Martin and I in the bar that evening. We shared a lovely discussion about a wide range of interesting topics – Bradley, Goulburn, Canberra (John had been to Canberra), family history and of course, the Heard family. I was pleased to meet John as he was so interested in what I was doing. We told him about our adventures out to the island, and arranged we would meet him in the morning to head to the island.

We awoke to a clear day. It was as if Heard or someone else responded to our desire to make it onto the island, or maybe it was the luck of the Irish. We made it over what Sneddon called ‘The Cut’ – a stone bridge filled with compacted earth linking the Island to the mainland. The barbed wire topped gate was slightly tricky but we all made it over, including John’s dog. Here we were, on Heard’s little (at 5,000 acres including we thought, the fishing and shooting rights) island. Wattle, eucalyptus, hakea, palms, ferns, camellias, rhododendrons, New Zealand flax and all manner of plants that I recognised from Australia were growing in unhindered abundance. This was Heard’s famous arboretum. A Bunya Pine, sub-tropical flowering trees, and here I was standing among the numerous trees that soared skyward. It was unbelievable. I was on Heard’s Island. Even the air smelt different.
The trees dwarfed us as we rambled up the path, taking photos, chatting about the trees and the different world atmosphere the island evoked. The eucalyptus was shedding its bark and it was not impossible to imagine the island's gardens in Australia. John picked me a piece of wattle, and I decided it would be befitting for Heard if I picked a bunch of flowers from his remote island and lay them at his grave. The bamboo grew wild. The Atlantic Ocean was not far away. We came to the burnt remains of a later house built on the footprint of the original Rossdohan House. I enjoyed the ruins of Ireland and this one was no different. Despite its ruinous state, I had a distinct understanding as to why Heard loved it here so much – it was calm, peaceful and as John put it, 'just stress free'. Heard's rambles through the garden were not far removed from our ramble.
A Eucalyptus tree on Rossdohan Island
From the flagstones of the veranda, I could see far into the distance over the grey tinged waters of Kenmare Bay. It was stunning and a scene others before us witnessed. The creation of this place was inspiring as an example of taming a landscape and bending it to the gardener’s will. It reminded me of eighteenth and nineteenth century gentry who created mansions and surrounded them by great manicured gardens, forcing nature to bend to the will of the lord of the manor. There was a sense of Heard conquering the native landscape with his plantings and now having the reverse happen to him with both the native landscape and his plantings overtaking the island.

My footsteps directly followed those of Kate and Samuel. We walked all around the ruin and in and out, looking for the plaque Kate and Samuel inscribed, but while we did not find it, we found moss covered rock paths leading this way and that into different areas of the garden. It was immense. The garden beds retained some definition amongst their overgrown state. It was magical and serene. My bouquet of flowers included bottlebrush in flower; flowering wattle; some fabulous leaves as greenery from an unidentified flowering tree; camellias; rhododendrons, tied together with some dried flax leaves. It was a stunning bouquet and one that I hoped Samuel would like.
We wandered down to the lawn where there were two large urns, inscribed with H C 1878 on them, a grinding stone used as a table. I imagined cricket being played. The paths and lawns indicated popular walks for the HÉards and their visitors. While we did not find the silver backed tree ferns, I had enough magic of the island to know that even though Samuel created an Eden for his family, it was not enough to hold his wife Kate here immediately after his death. It was a part-time residence for her, and after the Troubles, perhaps she wanted the island to remain as a living shrine to her husband. It is hard to imagine Kate wanting to be there alone with the winds, even though more temperate from the Gulf Stream, howling up through the island. Perhaps alone, even for a woman who followed her husband through the Indian army camps, the Island would be a little eerie. In some ways, apart from a brief period in the mid twentieth century, Rossdohan remains a living shrine to Heard.

The question remained for me though – how does someone decide they would buy an island and then populate it with sub-tropical, temperate plants? It was a bit out there, even as far as grand Victorian schemes go. There is now island that with money, time and some care could be a tourist attraction for garden lovers and those who seek refuge from the real world.
John, Martin and myself meandered back towards the gate which after we had crossed, we met the caretaker, Mike O'Shea, a local man known to John who filled us in on the current situation. The German owner had died with his will the subject of legal proceedings. It was a shame the island was not a National Park or similar, preserved with its rare tropical plants for many to enjoy.

We left the sanctuary of Rossdohan and said our farewells to John, who went out of his way to not only welcome us to Sneem and the Island, but give us a connection to Ireland. It was sad as I thought about other properties associated with Bradley and his family and the lack of care characteristic of successive owners.

Martin told me not to get any ideas about buying the island. It had not really crossed my mind, but there was a certain appeal to building from the ruins, something that would last longer than a lifetime. My contribution to building this vision is to write about how Kate and Samuel Heard created a Victorian era oasis on a remote island in south-west Ireland that retains a magic for all that visit, and perhaps the love affair Kate and Samuel Heard had with their island will come alive for some others.

Having left Rossdohan Island we headed back towards Sneem and to Parknasilla, the former glorious country house of the Blands, the friends of Samuel and Kate, and their residence for twelve months while they built their own home on Rossdohan Island. From the balcony of the now stunning Parknasilla Hotel, the view to the Heard's estate was grand and you could see the bluff of the cliffs that I imagined Samuel walking along.

The Church of the Transfiguration in Sneem was a lot more pleasant than the previous day and I laid the flowers at the base of Samuel's grave. It was appropriate that these flowers came from his island to his grave and contained the essence of the Australian bush with bottlebrush and wattle particularly.

A trip to Kenmare was next to meet for a short time, Canon Alan Shaw who was also interested in this Anglo-Irish gentry story with an Australian twist. His life story involved a stint in Cooma, NSW on the Snowy Mountains Scheme and he knew the Bradley territory in and around Canberra and Goulburn. It is a small world when the only two people who responded to my request for help and information had been to the area Bradley traversed.
Appendix Twelve

At Samuel Heard's Grave at Sneem
For forty-five years or so, the Heard family and their friends “looked on the place as a kind of heaven... the place was so beautiful and good”. In the auto-biography of Katharine Lohan, Bradley’s great-granddaughter, she writes of a family love affair with this island. Having shared some of Rossdohan’s secrets, I can understand why she wrote, “No-one, who has ever been to Rossdohan, even once, can ever forget it. It was exquisitely lovely.”

An early 19th century photo of the Heard family at Oileán Ros Dochan with Kate Heard second woman from left and her husband, Samuel second on the right, with his dog at his feet.

2 Lohan, Katharine: Bang goes the Green Baize Door, Cornwall, 1982, p.49
3 Ibid.
Last night I dreamt of Rossdohan again. The gate was open and the driveway clear of debris. The trees swayed in the delightful sea breeze and some canoeists called out to me as I crossed The Cut and breathed in the sweet air of Rossdohan. Nature was being tamed again. Sam’s vision for people to enjoy the magic of Rossdohan had become a reality. I saw the garden paths leading off to the bays and the majestic trees welcoming me into their world.

The Island was alive again. I could hear young children playing on the lawn and I could hear them laughing as they played hide-and-seek among the trees and plants. The burnt house was restored and some couples hand-in-hand, were enjoying the vista across the Kenmare Bay that had inspired so many before them.

Ahead of me, I saw two fleeting shadows heading towards the bluff. They slowed as I began to follow, as if willing me to catch up. I pursued the shadows, underneath the canopy of the eucalyptus, across the little bays where the shells lined the pebble beaches and down past the ferns with their exquisite beauty gleaming up at me.

As I sighted the shadows on the clearing near the bluff, they stopped and turned, and in unison raised their hands to wave. Sam tipped his hat, Kate prim in her long Victorian dress and parasol smiled and they turned to blend with the mist that was rising from the sea.

The Island had at last returned to life and was now sharing some of its magic with others. The Heards stood quietly, watching and willing those who entered their oasis to forever have the memory of their time there etched into their heart.

As I woke from my dream, I saw my dreamer’s resolution and those of others who have experienced the tranquility and magic of Rossdohan come springing to life. The Island was hearing young voices, the admiration of garden lovers and all experienced their own part of a splendid Irish heaven.

*With acknowledgment for inspiration to *Rebecca* by Daphne du Maurier.*
APPENDIX THIRTEEN

MY JOURNEY TO
SOUTHSEA, PORTSMOUTH
AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT
SUNDAY 29 JANUARY 2006

I was in the taxi (a disastrous costly mistake), at 6:15 on my way to Victoria station. It was cold and frosty, but I was excited as it was going to be a day of 'on spec' research that was going to be fruitful or otherwise.

I arrived at 9:30 into Portsmouth Harbour Station. It had a modern lighthouse at the end of the quay and I could see all the boats, helpfully listed by name in my Lonely Planet guide. I spoke to a helpful bus driver who suggested I head to the Highland Road Cemetery, where the largest numbers of Victoria Cross winners buried in England were laid to rest. It was a lovely cemetery.

The grave of Williamina Bradley Robinson and her family.
I was looking for Minna Bradley Robinson, whom I believed died in childbirth when giving birth to her son, Neville Lindesay Bradley Robinson. I had no other expectations as to if I would find anyone else, such as her husband, Admiral Frederic Charles Bryan Robinson or anyone else connected to the Robinson family.

I wandered around, quite systematically really and kept my eye on the time so that I would not be caught short. After thirty minutes or so of fruitless searching and rueing the fact that I had not called the cemetery authority, I came across a large plot containing the remains of Minna, Frederic, Neville and Kathleen Robinson. It was a square plot with the sides slightly buried beneath the grass. With a large, beautiful cross, recording the names of: Minna Bradley Robinson, Kathleen Bradley Robinson, Neville Lindesay Bradley Robinson and Vice Admiral Frederic C B Robinson.

I took some photos, and turned to leave the cemetery on my way to find Minna’s house. As I turned, the grave next to the Robinson plot caught my attention. On this grave was Alice Frances Blackburne, the widow of Admiral Vice Admiral Frederic Charles Bryan Robinson after he remarried.

The combined graves of the Robinson Family.
Southsea Quay on South Parade was beautiful. I could see over to the Isle of Wight and the church steeple from where Emily and James Langford Pearse were buried. The information from the probate record indicated Minna lived at Lindesay, South Parade, Southsea. I walked along the swanky South Parade looking at the most beautiful houses. I met a woman who spoke with me about the houses and I explained the house I was looking for. She rang her friend who thought it was a bit further around the corner. I kept walking but could not find it, so I retraced some steps and took some photos of South Parade and headed up towards the Hovercraft Terminal.
Appendix Thirteen

The grave of Major-General James Langford Pearse and Emily Jane Langford Pearse.

It was off to the Isle of Wight via Hovercraft. A big hill greeted me and the cemetery, was of course, at the top. Up to the top (eventually) and into the cemetery. It was a large, sprawling cemetery with a lovely chapel and lych gate in the middle. It was a mammoth task and there was no organised way of doing this. It was getting late in the afternoon and the sun was chilly. Half an hour later, I consulted the information from George Godfrey Pearse who recorded his brother’s funeral. I knew I was looking for was a large statuesque cross, which accounted for a number of gravesites. Having eliminated one-half of the cemetery, I started on the next half.
At this point, I was thinking about how I might have needed to jump over the gate when the cemetery closed at 4pm.

Someone was looking after me as I traversed from one side to another of the cemetery. Under a tree almost ready to bloom for spring was a large, monumental Celtic cross. Inscribed at the bottom was written:

In memory of Major-General James Langford Pearse, Madras Staff Corps, who died at Ryde, 26th January 1892, aged 68 years. "Fallen Asleep"

On the left panel:
Also of his wife, Emily Jane Langford Pearse, Born 18th September 1832, Died 24th May 1909 "Fear Not".

Underneath these inscriptions in the plot, which had a rusty fence, was another cross, in the same style as the top part of the main memorial’s cross.
I realised I had been to all Bradley's daughter's graves, his father, and his mother and I had come full circle. The only one left to find next was Emily Elizabeth Bradley in Rome, which I planned to do the following week.

I turned my attention to finding the Lindesay House, at Southfield, Ryde. I continued up the hill and found a rather unexciting patch of land at Southfield Gardens. As this was the only Southfield on the map, I did not have much choice but to look at the location I found. I found out later Southfield was now a council estate with the older houses knocked down.

At the end of all this, I was exhausted and wandered back down to the Hovercraft Terminal, hopped on, went to the station and headed to Waterloo. It had been a good day.
APPENDIX FOURTEEN

WILLIAM BRADLEY'S WILL
When William Bradley wrote his will and then a codicil to his will, he possibly never envisaged that over time, his beneficiaries and his Trustees would endure the challenges that they did to maintain his estate. For the next seventy-nine years following his death, Bradley's will provided an income for his grandchildren and their children. It was remarkable that the lifetime Bradley spent accumulating wealth was able to sustain so many people into the twentieth century, albeit to varying degrees of support. In constructing his will, Bradley was not as specific as he should have been in terms of provision for the generation of capital from his estate and this led to a number of issues for the Trustees and the beneficiaries. It was ironic in many ways as the financial stability he wanted to leave his daughters was the very entree card into the British society that they now moved and yet the people to whom he entrusted his financial matters were to bring into disrepute Bradley's name through court cases and public discussion about his Estate.

It is clear through the reading of the vast estate papers that exist in Sydney, Canberra and London archives that decisions were not made in the best interests of the Estate or in good faith to the spirit of Bradley's will. Through his will Bradley lost the very prestige that he had built until his death. He was right in some ways to be concerned about keeping the husbands out of the management of the Estate as they, with their respective wives, generated work for the Trustees and caused delays. Equally, he gave to his Trustees a largely unpaid task that consumed their time and their energies. While Bradley's death may have been mourned as a public calamity in Goulburn, the administration of his Estate caused further public calamities for his beneficiaries, Executors and the Trustees.

Bradley appointed a number of his friends and business partners to the management of his affairs upon his decease. Under the terms of his will signed on 9 October 1863, Severin Salting, William Faithfull, Nicholas Phillips and Alexander MacDonald of Sydney were appointed as Bradley's Executors, administrators and Trustees.1 On 12 April 1864, William Bradley amended his will, adding a codicil that removed Faithfull, Salting and Phillips from their duties. Since the will had been executed, Faithfull had 'expressed his unwillingness to accept the trusts reposed in him'2 by William Bradley. Phillips had died on 15 December 1863 after catching a cold at a concert in Goulburn, which developed into rheumatic gout.3

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1 William Bradley's Will, Supreme Court of NSW, No 7622, Series 1.
2 Codicil to William Bradley's Will, 12.4.1864.
Salting had been absent from the Australian Colonies for some time and was ‘residing permanently in England’\(^4\) thereby precluding him, in Bradley’s opinion, of being an Executor.\(^5\)

In the codicil, Bradley also removed the legacies to these three men of £1,000 respectively and revoked their appointment as guardians to any infant children.\(^6\) He then appointed his friends and agent, Sir Edward Knox and Charles Smith as Executors and Trustees. Knox and MacDonald were appointed as guardians to any infant children and each of the three men were to receive £1,000 ‘in consideration of the trouble they will have in the execution of their office’.\(^7\) Had Bradley realised the extent to which his Estate was to later vex and trouble these three men, he may well have offered them more than £1,000.

Dividing his estate into four equal parts, one-quarter share for each of his living daughters, Bradley envisaged each daughter would receive an annual income that comprised income from the properties, stock funds and securities that Bradley himself had set up or those that had been established by the Trustees. This was in addition to the marriage settlement that he made with each of the husbands, although he initially excluded his daughter Kate. The one person that Bradley neglected to provide for in his Will was Charles Bradley Maitland, his grandson by his daughter Esther and her husband Edward Maitland. Esther had died two days after giving birth to her son at Lindesay aged 21. Until his death, Bradley provided Edward Maitland with a ‘large allowance’\(^8\) to maintain his grandson and as Maitland, a church cleric, had no income of his own to support his son, he applied to the Court to have an annual annuity paid from the Estate to his son.

The Chancery Court appointed Edward Maitland as the guardian of Charles Bradley Maitland (who was already living with his father in Brighton, Sussex) and ordered the remaining Trustee of the original Indenture of Settlement of 2 May 1855, Nicholson, to invest trust funds for the maintenance and education of Bradley’s grandson until he reached his majority.

\(^{4}\) Codicil to William Bradley’s Will, 12.4.1864.

\(^{5}\) Salting predeceased Bradley and died in September 1865, leaving two sons, one of whom; George was to later gain international recognition as a major benefactor to the Victoria and Albert Museum (using the largesse of his father’s Australian colonial wool money). See ADB, Vol.2, P.415, Severin Kanute Salting and also Board of Education, London: A Guide to the Salting Collection, third edition, 1926. See also PRO ED 24/313 Salting Bequest: Copy of Will of George Salting Memoranda on the disposal of bequest and on miniatures. Proceedings taken to arrange for disposal of bequest. Notes and correspondence concerning proposed visit of inspection by Mr. Flower and delay of arranging objects of bequest, 1909-1911. A copy is in the William Bradley History Collection. Severin Salting is buried in Brompton Cemetery, London.

\(^{6}\) In this context it meant a child under the age of 21.

\(^{7}\) Codicil to William Bradley’s Will, 12.4.1864.

\(^{8}\) MLM MSS 98/59, Sir Edward Knox Papers, p.71, 31.7.1872.
The Settlement of 1855 was between Maitland, Esther Bradley, her father with Salting, Phillips and Nicholson appointed as Trustees to the settlement.9

The troubles that the Trustees encountered with the Estate emerged during the early 1870s. The four sisters all lived abroad at different stages, in either India or England with Alice the only daughter to make her permanent home in Sydney. All relied heavily on the income generated from their father’s properties and the investments he had made as they had large families with the education of their sons of prime importance. Emily Pearse often wrote to Knox complaining of the cost of ‘expensive education’.10 In 1872, she was preparing her eldest son, William, for the Bar and Civil Service and her second son, Napier for Woolwich. The expense kept the family ‘tied to India’,11 as presumably she needed the military income of her husband, her father’s income and that generated from their other business interests. The expense paid dividends in the case of Napier. He emulated his father’s service record and become a Colonel in the Fourth Sherwood Foresters, serving in the Boer War (with his cousin Lieutenant Charles Roberts) where he was invalided, as well as in India during his career.

Education was only one of the expensive items that led the sisters, at times, to join forces against the Executors. They had their solicitors in London send ‘friendly letters’ to the Executors reminding them of their obligations under their father’s will.12 The tone of the letters indicates a growing distrust and one that Knox himself acknowledged existed between the beneficiaries and the Trustees.13

Profits from Bradley’s Estate, however, were low. Since the Trustees took over the management of his properties, the returns continued to diminish with the stated reasons as being the ‘results of poor seasons’.14 This reason was not accepted by the sisters and their husbands as a legitimate reason for a diminishing of their annual income and to some extent they had a point. At the same time as the beneficiaries were being advised of poor seasons and low wool prices, the manager of the Bibbenluke, Edwards, was advising McDonald Smith and Co that despite the continued dry weather the ‘cattle and sheep are in a far better condition than I have ever seen them’.15 Edwards advised that the prices obtained for the wool was holding its price at the recent wool sales. Edwards’ reaction to the daughter’s complaints of

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10 See MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit, pp. 75-78, 5.12.1872, E L Pearse to E Knox.

11 Ibid.

12 See ibid, pp. 15-17, 24.2.1870, E Knox to E L Pearse.

13 See for example ibid.

14 Ibid.

low income was to state that they had very little right 'to expect any income from Bibbenluke' as he was ensuring a 'valuable estate' was being created for them. Edwards suggested to McDonald Smith and Co that Bradley's mistake in managing his properties was the lack of funding provided to secure land under the Robertson Land Act, which meant that current profits were channelled into land purchases and improvements. Edwards was beginning to demonstrate a somewhat duplicitous nature. During the 1860s, he had encouraged Bradley to take up land, make improvements to the land and for the most part, Bradley (although sometimes slow to take action), generally acquiesced to Edward's demands to buy up large tracts of land on the Monaro from the early 1860s.

During 1869, Major-General Pearse began to take an active role in the exchange of letters with the Trustees and actively developed his relationship with Knox. Knox had met with Pearse's brother, Robert, on his trip to Australia and he kept Knox abreast of family details from India, such as the arrival of Captain Hovell to India, to see his numerous great-grandchildren and his granddaughters, Emily and Kate. He also expressed that he had been aware of the 'depressed markets' in the colonies but he indicated that wool prices in England were now 'looking up ...for both producers and merchants.' Knox's reply, in February 1870, asked when Pearse himself was to come to the colony. Knox wrote:

If you had been an idle man, curiosity may have prompted you to seek a solution of the diminished returns from Mr Bradley's pastoral properties, although without improving matters, the Executors came into possession of the property at a most unfortunate time and nothing short of improved prices for wool and sheep can produce a different result.

Pearse was not interested just at that point in completing an inspection of his father-in-law's properties as his ill health had forced him to leave India for a trip to Europe. No doubt, his wife's money in part afforded him this holiday and they met up with old friends from Australia, including Messrs. Challis, Flower and Nicholson. During his leave, however, Pearse became more actively engaged in seeking answers on behalf of his wife and the other beneficiaries. He wrote a long letter in July to Knox stating, 'Mr Bradley told me himself what splendid returns [the great Goulburn and Bibbenluke properties] gave him annually.'
He expressed his 'surprise at this falling off'\(^{24}\) of income that he presumed could have only been caused by the continuation of improvements and land purchases out of the annual income designated for the beneficiaries, a practice that Pearse believe to be 'not strictly legal.'\(^{25}\)

Pearse based his assessment of the expenditure not being legal on his own interpretation of the will and his own expertise. He claimed that the will did not authorise the repeated alteration of income by the Executors except at their own wish, and in particular, Pearse argued that not all the Legatees had agreed to the outlay.\(^ {26}\) In addition, he argued that the Executors could not expend funds except for ordinary maintenance on the properties and that the Legatees were entitled to receive particulars of the outlays and expenditure periodically. He felt that if the Executors had contacted a solicitor conversant with English Trust Law then the issues in the interpretation of Bradley's will would have been less problematic. Pearse was careful to advise Knox it was not his wish 'in any way to embarrass or give undue concern to the Executors'\(^{27}\) but the 'errors and misconceptions'\(^ {28}\) in the interpretation of Bradley's needed to be rectified. Pearse told Knox he often 'felt half disposed to run down to the Colony'\(^ {29}\) to sort things out with the Trustees as he and his wife needed to know what income derived from this source could be expected. Pearse was effectively questioning the legality of the actions of the Trustees.

Eight months after Pearse's letter, Knox replied that he found the actions made by the Legatees in regards to seeking legal advice 'most distasteful'\(^ {30}\) to himself and the other Trustees. In a robust letter that detailed the financial records of Bradley on his death, Knox advised Pearse that Bradley's assets amounted to some £141,886 on his death, independent of Bibbenlue, which was valued at £26,014.\(^{31}\) From April 1868 to January 1871, the income from Bradley's estate was £18,675.5.11\(^ {32}\) To each of the Legatees, over this three year period, they receiving a quarter share each year, over this three year period, the sisters were only realising approximately £1,556 per annum from their father's Estate.\(^ {33}\) It was little wonder then, that they were questioning the management. In addition, Knox

\(^{24}\) Ibid.
\(^{25}\) Ibid.
\(^{26}\) The Term 'Legatee' was used by all to describe the beneficiaries. See ibid.
\(^{27}\) Ibid.
\(^{28}\) Ibid.
\(^{29}\) Ibid.
\(^{30}\) MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit, pp. 37-59, 24.3.1871, E Knox to J. L Pearse.
\(^{31}\) William Bradley's probate was proved on 26.5.1868. Despite extensive searches at the SR NSW, the Supreme Court and in London at Probate Office, no probate documents exist for Bradley which is highly unusual. I have looked up until 1950 for these documents at all places, as I believe that his will was not finalised until 1947 but have not found the documentation to support this theory. The only 'evidence' of Bradley's wealth on his death is through the letter from Knox to Pearse that outlines the various stocks and information on land etc. See ibid.
\(^{32}\) MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit, pp.37-59, 24.3.1871, E Knox to J. L Pearse.
\(^{33}\) Calculated from the figures given in ibid.
Appendix Fourteen outlined the costs of maintenance for *Bibbenluke* and Bradley's Goulburn properties, which he argued, would provide the sisters with an income into the future. He believed £15,000 was necessary for fencing at Goulburn and *Bibbenluke*; capital works at Goulburn totalling about £4,000 and at *Bibbenluke* some £10,500. These extraordinary figures were to be paid from an account that Bradley maintained for investment purposes, which at his death had some £16,950 at his credit. Knox had to agreed with Pearse that the purchase of land was not 'wholly within the terms of the will', however, it was necessary for the conservation of *Bibbenluke*. At this point time, Knox may have started to become aware of the difficult position that his friend had unwittingly placed him.

The frustration experienced by the sisters and their families stemmed from not having control of the Estate with the actions of the Trustees causing them great distress. Their distance from the Colony made communication difficult, with decisions made by the Trustees without consultation often caused anguish. Moreover, the Trustees in relation to the properties that the sisters had specifically asked not to occur made a number of decisions. The most divisive was the proposed sale of the Goulburn Estate. In December 1870, Emily Pearse wrote to Knox advising that she and her sisters 'protest against either leasing or selling the *Bibbenluke* or Goulburn properties'. His reply in March 1871, to her husband, advised that the Trustees had already undertaken the survey and measurement of 284 acres of land in North Goulburn into blocks for private sale in April 1871. He stated that it was the 'intention of the Executors to follow this subdivision up with others, and, as opportunity offers, to dispose, bit by bit, of the Goulburn Estate'. One can only imagine the reaction of Emily to this news. The Goulburn Estate, consisting of the Brewery, *Lansdowne Park*, their father's townhouse, and thousands of acres of land was their ancestral home, the place which all four girls had strong sentiments about and fond memories of their days growing up and was a symbol of their heritage. Two of the daughters had returned to Goulburn to be married. Despite the protest, the sale went ahead and a further second subdivision was planned.

Described by Finlay and Co as the 'best and most beautiful [land] in and around Goulburn' the land went to public auction in Goulburn on 28 March 1872. There were five lots divided into various acreages in and around the township of Goulburn. The first lot was described as a 'splendid piece of land' that had the potential to catch every bullock team passing by and was 'unrivalled for a public or accommodation house'. The next lot offered a quarry as well as...

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34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
38 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23.3.1872, p.11, col. 6.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
frontage to various streets in Goulburn. The third lot adjoined the land of Captain Francis Rossi and was suitable for cultivation. The fourth lot adjoined the grounds of Bishopthorpe Manor and the final lot was deemed suitable for a vineyard or vegetable garden. The *Sydney Morning Herald* also reported on the success of the first subdivision of Bradley's land in Goulburn and the profit that some people had made by selling on their lots of land after the auction and predicted the profitable sale of the second subdivision.\textsuperscript{41} Despite the protest, the sisters did not challenge the Trustees through any judicial process.

The matter of public versus private sale became another source of frustration for the Trustees. In July 1874, Alice Roberts in a letter to her father's Executors queried the disposal of the Goulburn Estate by private sale. Roberts claimed she had been informed by McDonald that 'if any of us (sisters) wished to purchase it, or any portion of it, it must be put up to public auction.'\textsuperscript{42} Alice continued that her sister, Williaminna Robinson had earlier expressed her desire to MacDonald that she wished to purchase a portion of the Goulburn Estate. Buying a portion of their father's land was not an option provided to the sisters by the Trustees as they elected to go to private sale. No more links with Goulburn remained. The universal wish of the sisters, Alice claimed was to retain the property as they had invested money in the maintenance and development of the property then they should be offered the opportunity to purchase the land if they desired.

The distrust that was emerging early in 1870 was evident with Alice stating that none of them was children any longer and that they must be:

\begin{quote}
Allowed to know what is taking place as every time we have spoken to Mr. MacDonald or Captain Smith on the subject, the only answer we get is that we have nothing to do with it, yet who else can have such an interest in the property?\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

The Estate established by William Bradley in good faith to provide for his children and their children was facing more difficulties and the result was not forthcoming for any of the Trustees or the Legatees as the exchange of letters details.

On the same day that Alice Roberts wrote to query the legality of selling the Goulburn Estate by private sale, her husband, informed her that there had been an offer for the Goulburn Estate amounting to some £60,000.\textsuperscript{44} Her letter to the Executors barely hid her irritation at the actions of the Trustees. She urged them reject the offer for a number of reasons. She valued the estate at £67,750 after taking into consideration the probate value of £48,750,

\textsuperscript{41} *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23.3.1872, p.11, col. 6.
\textsuperscript{42} MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit, pp.83-86, 8.7.1874, A.C Roberts to E Knox.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, pp. 87-90, 8.7.1874, A. C Roberts to E Knox.
improvements of £7,000 and £12,000 worth of sheep on the property. This valuation did not include any allowance for the increase in the value of the freehold land. Alice pointed out to the Trustees that these figures were based on the accounts they had provided her over the last six years. Her argument, however, was not accepted as her father had given his Executors the right to make the sole decision to sell his property without having to consult the Legatees. While Alice and her sisters could express that they did not wish property to be sold until it is absolutely necessary and only through public auction (so that the family could have an opportunity to purchase any property), the Trustees could effectively do what they liked.

Knox's reply a week later disputed all of Alice's arguments for the retention of the property and advised her that the property could be sold by private sale, and was in fact, 'legally desirable.' Alice's subsequent reply to Knox was that she and her sisters were 'all much attached' to Lansdowne Park and disputed figures that Knox had quoted her. It was not only Alice that was distressed by Knox's attitude and the offer for the property, but also Emily who expressed her disappointment in the Trustees and appealed to him 'as an old friend of my father's' to thwart the efforts of McDonald Smith and Co to sell the property. Knox must have been increasingly annoyed with the minutiae of the Estate as he had his own interests that to pursue. From the number of letters between various people, the position of Trustee must have taken an inordinate amount of his time. In his reply to Emily, there is a sense that he was becoming aggrieved by the actions of the Legatees. He wrote that it annoyed him to 'have one's every action commented upon as if it is the sole object of anything the Trust has been to manage matters to the utmost.' In any event, the pleadings from the Bradley sisters had little effect on Knox and the other Trustees as the Goulburn land was prepared for sale and they prepared to rid themselves of one part of the Bradley Estate and the trouble it was causing them.

The land in Goulburn totalled approximately 26,500 acres. The sale of land in Goulburn went ahead in 1874 with a £5,000 deposit paid for the land on a total sale value of £60,000. A £10,000 deposit followed the first deposit to the Bank with the remaining £45,000 paid by a mortgage on the property at 6% per annum. A further £5,000 was due to be paid in August 1875 to the Estate by the Mortgagees with the remaining £40,000 remaining on loan. It appears that the sisters did not see any of the above money; even though the Trustees were aware of their financial predicaments. Instead, they saw fit to invest the money into 'secure

45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 MLM MSS 98/114, Sir Edward Knox Papers, pp. 91-114, 20.7.1874, E Knox to A. C Roberts.
50 MLM MSS 98/114, op. cit, pp. 113-115, 29.11.1874 E Knox to E. L Pearse.
51 See also ibid which details the transactions of the sale.
52 Ibid.
situations, which included some unusual land transactions and investment in the Oriental Banking Corporation.

The first investment seemed to be in some suspicious land transactions that began to take place under the Trustees' authority. In January 1865, William Bradley had provided George Thorn with £3,500, which was repayable on 21 January 1868 at an interest rate of 6% per annum. If Thorn defaulted on the agreement, Bradley had authority to enter the property and collect the rents in lieu of the mortgage payments in some 3,140 acres of land that Thorn offered as security. In addition, Bradley had the power to purchase the property at any sale by public auction if Thorn defaulted. In October 1874, Bradley's Trustees placed the land that Thorn defaulted on up for public auction through Richardson and Wrench of Sydney. Charles Smith, as the Trustee for the Bradley Estate purchased the properties including the buildings for £3,000. This was £500 less than the amount of the original loan payment to George Thorn by William Bradley. Therefore, there was an instance when the Estate, for no real gain purchased further land in Goulburn which is incongruous to the Trustees' earlier stated intentions. A year later, the Trustees sold the land of the brewery, the centre of Bradley's Goulburn operations and the nucleus of his fortune. The 600-acre lot of which the brewery was sited on approximately 11 acres was purchased by William Barnard Walford, William Edward Sparke and Solomon Emanuel for £2,000. Two years later the three gentlemen sold the 11 acre lot that comprised the brewery to William John Bartlett and Joseph Smith Oddy who also purchased the naming rights to the complex for £3,200. It seems that the Executors may not have been acting in the best interests of the Estate when the parcel of 600 acres was sold in 1875.

In June 1876, the Trustees authorised the sale of a further 688 acres of land from the 26,500 acres of land held by the Executors. A part payment of £3,000 was put down again by Walford, Sparke and Emanuel, the same trio who had earlier purchased 600 acres of land from the Estate. The sale comprised land from various sections of Bradley's Estate. A few months later in September 1876, they again joined forces to purchase further acres of land from the Trustees. This transaction was valued at £630. In December of that year, the three gentlemen again purchased land from the Goulburn Estate comprising some 14,187 acres divided into 34 parcels of land for which they paid £24,767.6.3. If the land transactions were confusing for modern interpretation it must have been almost impossible for the sisters to understand and

53 ibid.
54 MLM MSS 98/60, op. cit, p.273.
55 NSW LPI Book 91, p.598 Copy of Mortgage Deed between Bradley and C H Thorn, 21.1.1865.
56 NSW LPI Book 147, No. 864, 9.2.1875.
57 NSW LPI Book 170, No. 765, 19.6.1877.
58 NSW LPI Book 161, No 349, 14.6.1876.
59 NSW LPI Book 162, No. 937, 22.9.1876.
60 NSW LPI Book 178, No. 763, 29.12.1876.
follow what was going on from a distance.

At the same time that the Trustees were working to sell off the Goulburn land, they also worked to sell various Bradley acreages scattered across the Monaro, Port Macquarie, and Gladstone, Queensland. On the Monaro, the profits this time, in comparison to the Goulburn land sales, were insignificant and worth less than the effort it would have taken to sell the land. A transaction between John, Henry and Mary Wallace and the Trustees, resulted in 716 acres being sold for ten shillings. While prices may have been depressed in the colony, this amount is extraordinary. It seemed, however, that the Trustees did not care what prices were realised. In some ways they appear to not want to be involved with the Estate and the multitude of problems it may have presented.

Bradley had also acquired fourteen lots of prime land on the Gladstone harbour during 1854 and 1855. For the fourteen lots, Bradley had paid £890. His Trustees accepted £75 for the fourteen lots. Similarly at auction the same day, 18 December 1874, Bradley's two-half acre lots in the township of Port Macquarie which he had paid £168 for in April 1840 were sold for £8. One other lot offered in this auction was a twenty-acre lot in Cooma, which was sold for £21. Bradley had purchased this same block of land in 1858 for £45. In total, Bradley had purchased land to the value of £1,103 (excluding the 716 acres, which was given away to the Wallace family as above) and his Trustees had realised just £104 for the same land.

William Bradley may not have been too impressed with his Trustees' management of his land, as the Estates that he had spent thousands of pounds developing were both undervalued and undersold at an alarming rate. Unfortunately, no comprehensive financial records of the Trust can be found for the 1870s, which leaves the question of trust in the Bradley Trustees a hard one to reconcile with the details that emerge from contemporary land and newspaper records as well as the letters to and from the Legatees and the Trustees. From the 1880s, however, the financial records are available, but the period of heightened activity in the 1870s is missing and one could legitimately question the motives, ambitions and financial acumen of the Trustees.

As Bradley's land was being sold across the eastern seaboard, the Trustees were informing the Legatees that their annual incomes were being depleted due to improvements on the various remaining properties. In 1879 the costs of improvements to various properties was

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42 NSW LPI Book 245, pp.125-126, 4.9.1854; NSW LPI Book 255, pp.43-52, 1.11.1855.
44 NSW LPI Serial 108, p.208-209, 30 April 1840.
46 Ibid.
47 NSW LPI Serial 146, p. 2115, 18.8.1858.
£9,000 with this money being raised from the profits of the Estates which ordinarily would have been split four ways under the terms of Bradley’s will. Knox and the other Executors’ actions could not escape the suspicion of the Legatees and their husbands. Dr Samuel Heard had a solicitor review the accounts sent to his wife, Kate, and questioned the practice of reducing the income to the Legatees and reinvesting these amounts back into the improvements of the properties, in particular the Bibbenluke Estate. Knox replied to this letter of Heard’s solicitors by threatening to ‘realise the Bibbenluke Estate and permanently investing the proceeds.’

Despite the consternation of the Legatees over the reinvestment issue, there was never any change in the policy of the Trustees towards this aspect of the management of the Estate. Throughout the next period of the Estate from the 1880s onwards, the Trustees increased the amount of money required to maintain and protect the Bibbenluke pastoral holding. The Legatees, who Bradley wanted to have his money, were missing out. Yet, they still did not pursue the Trustees through the courts and preferred to try and keep the embarrassment of their father’s worth being whittled away within the family.

At the same time as they were developing Bibbenluke, the Executors also sought to invest the money generated from the various interests of the Estate into other ventures. This included shares in major Australian banking corporations and in the Oriental Banking Corporation (OBC). The investment in the OBC shares were a major misjudgment by the Executors as the Bank failed in 1884 with the resulting losses by the Estate became the subject of litigation by the Legatees in the 1890s. In 1842, the Bank of Western India was founded as a joint stock bank and in 1845 the name was reconstituted to the Oriental Bank and moved its headquarters from Bombay to London. In 1851, the Bank was granted a royal charter that enabled international exchange banking to occur in the trading region east of the Cape of Good Hope. It changed its name again in 1851 to the Oriental Banking Corporation with a Sydney branch opening in 1862. At the time of Bradley’s death, the Executors expended between £5 and £6,000 in the purchase of shares in the OBC. This investment by the Trustees was deemed well considered at the time and subsequently some of the Trustees purchased their own private shares in the OBC. The liability of each share was £50, the Trustees paid up £25 per share, and the remaining £25 on each share remained unpaid until 1884 when the Bank collapsed. Between 1868 and 1884, the dividend return to the Estate was about 12.5% on the paid up capital of the shares. Financial records from 1874 to 1883 indicate that the total dividend received during this period was some £2,764.

68 MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit pp.135-136, 21.11.1879, E Knox to A McDonald.
71 MLM MSS 98/60, op. cit, p.273.
It was not a huge dividend. In 1872, the OBC shares were valued at £42. This should have been a warning bell for the Trustees and the Legatees.

All of the family members were aware of the shares and perhaps litigation would not have been necessary if the Bank had not collapsed. The purchase of shares and the subsequent financial details provided to the Legatees became interesting in 1874. In the official report to the Legatees, the accounts for the half year to June 1874 states that the Trustees had purchased 150 shares at £47 each, being a total of £7050. In the notes prepared by the accountant, it states that the Trustees purchased a further 150 shares in the Bank in May 1874 at a cost of £45 per share, being a total of £6750. Indeed, there existed a discrepancy of some £300 which was not accounted for in the half yearly records. Six months later in January 1875 the Trustees again purchased more shares at a cost of £47 per share for 28 shares at a total of £1,316. It is at this stage of the Estate's long history that there start to be anomalies between the reported accounts to the Legatees and the amounts of money actually expended by the Trustees. It was also the last purchase by the Trustees of shares in the OBC as the good times were coming to a vicious end for the Bank.

Throughout the mid 1870s, there was a great deal of pressure on the Bank. There had been a loss when the London based merchant firm, Gledstanes and Company failed in August 1872. The result was a claim for £67,000 from the OBC to the Gledstanes liquidators. The OBC Chairman, James Blythe conceded to a shareholder that there was little prospect of the Bank recovering the full amount, but they could expect to recover £24,000. The OBC did little to change its practices in response to the changes in the world economic climate, particularly in India when the rupee paper fell and the price of silver, a major Indian commodity, began to decline. The blow to the OBC was the divide between the new trading standard of gold and the former trading exchange of silver, which consequently divided world's economies into two exchanging standards. Under the imperial policy, the OBC was unable to trade in gold and this began a cycle of inequity in trading standards as well as ensuring that the silver trading exchange would eventually decline. For India, who traded with gold trading countries the impact of the declining silver exchange was overwhelming. As the price of silver fell, the British Government imposed a home charge on the Indian traders to be paid in sterling rather than rupees, thereby eventually devaluing the Indian rupee. After numerous concerns from the Indian banks and traders, a Select Committee in the House of Commons was established.

73 Ibid, pp. 269, 273.
74 The shareholder, a Dr Thom, was dissatisfied with the response from the OBC as he believed that the Bank was doing little to prepare itself for any future losses. The OBC did not reduce its annual dividend in order to recover the costs lost from the failure of Gledstanes. See 'Oriental Banking Corporation' Banker's Magazine, October 1872, pp.966-67. Also cited in McGuire, John, "The Rise and Fall of the Oriental Bank in the Nineteenth Century: A Product of the Transformations that Occurred in the World Economy or the Result of its Own Mismanagement?", paper presented at the ANU, 15th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, 29 June -2 July 2004, p.8.
in 1876 to measure the effects of the depreciation of silver on the exchange between England and India. The Bank became particularly vulnerable to any fluctuations in the price of silver as the fluctuations impacted on the dividends and stability of the Bank.  

Despite all the warning signs to the OBC Directors, the shareholder’s dividend was not dropped and the Indian economy lost £2 - £3 million annually from 1881. The immediate result on the OBC was catastrophic. The share price dropped and returns to shareholders subsequently plummeted from a high of 15% in 1852 to a low of 4% in 1884. Given all of this, the failure of the Bank in May 1884 is not difficult to understand. For the Bradley Estate, however, the collapse meant they were called upon to pay up the £25 remaining on the original share purchase after Bradley’s death.

The total remaining on the Estate’s share holdings in the Bank was £4,450 with a transaction fee to the London agents, P W Flower and Co, of £44.10 bringing the exercise to a total of £4,494.10. In total, the Estate had paid £12,560.10 from 1874-1884 to the OBC. Together with the approximately £6,000 paid earlier in 1868 the shares cost £18,560. For this expenditure, between 1874 and 1883, £2,764 was received in dividends and it can be concluded that the dividends that the Legatees received for the period of investments in the OBC was only £5,428. Yet the Estate lost approximately £13,132 because of the investment in the Oriental Banking Corporation.

The Trustees had had due warning that the Bank was in trouble. In November 1878 Knox had suggested to McDonald that they invest in the City of Glasgow Bank which was a more stable Bank than the ‘fluctuations in Eastern Exchanges’ that they were currently experiencing. Knox was starting to give credence to the argument that the investments in copper, coffee and sugar plantations were not as secure as other investments. His friend, Lanarch, the Director of the Chartered Mercantile Bank, had suggested to Knox that he should have nothing to do with Banks that had dealt for a long time in India and China. Knox was troubled by this

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For example, between 1872 and 1876 the price of silver dropped from 60 pence per ounce to 56 pence. During 1876 the price for silver oscillated between 54 pence and in January to 51 pence by December back to 56 pence. See British Parliamentary Papers, Report from the Select Committee on Depreciation of Silver, London, House of Commons, Currency Session, 1876-1886, Vol. 6, Monetary Policy. In particular see Copy of a letter from the Government of India forwarding reports by the Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce regarding the effects of the fall in the price of silver on trade and remittances on prices in India, August 1877, pp.512-515.

From 1874 to 1883 the share price dropped from a high of £48 to £7¾. In monetary terms this was a fall from £2,730,000 in capital in 1874 to a capital of £450,000 in 1883.

The failure was also compounded by the Bank’s investment in sugar and coffee crops and the effects of natural disasters and disease on these commodities.

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MLM MSS 98/60 op. cit, p.332.
Ibid.
MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit, pp.159-162, 21.11.1878, E Knox to A McDonald.
advice as he wrote to McDonald that 'this [information] must not be mentioned to anyone' and he stated that he would leave the matter of disposing of the Bank shares that the Estate held when the opportunity arose to McDonald. For some reason, this letter never reached McDonald although the two men mentioned it to each other. For Knox this meant that his knowledge prior to the collapse of the Bank did not make it to the evidence provided to the Supreme Court when Bradley's grandson, Henry William Bradley Robinson began a suit against the Trustees.

It took five months from November 1878, when Knox knew he needed to sell the shares, for him to send a telegram to McDonald Smith and Co, in March 1879, Knox advising them that the shares were 'about seventeen' and that the reserve was 'lost'. By May 1879, he stated that 'nothing of importance has occurred in matters with the Oriental Banking Corporation. Shares still maintain a value of £19 and £20'. He continued that people he knew had suggested that the losses of the Bank had now 'bottomed'. Maybe Knox felt safe from his friend's warning as he appeared to have faith in the Board of OBC as they were appointing new directors the following week and he hoped that A W Anderson, Colonial Inspector of the OBC and an associate of Knox, would be appointed as a Director.

At this point, the position of Knox as a Trustee is highly duplicitous. He understood the implications of the fall in the share price of the Bank's stock on the Legatees, but at the same time he was close to a number of the Directors, regularly meeting them for dinner in London where he was on holidays during 1879. In his letters he explicitly talks about not having much opportunity of 'pumping' his dinner guests for information on the OBC. Knox believed that the Bank's Directors only expected the slump to affect its running for a short time. This was a grave misinterpretation and perhaps his dinner guests influenced Knox indirectly. It was a costly mistake that also resulted in MacDonald sharing the view of Knox that nothing could be done. In McDonald's reply to the November 1878 letter that he never received, he stated that even if he had received the letter it would have been 'too late to have cleared out' of the OBC. He and Smith were also holders in the OBC and with the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank, all stocks in the Colony had been affected.

82 Ibid.
83 MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit, pp.163-165, 31.5.1879, A McDonald to Knox.
84 With McDonald then deceased, Robinson pursued his wife Elizabeth McDonald.
85 MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit, pp.159-162, 22.5.1879, E Knox to A McDonald.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit, Letter Pages 163-165, 31.5.1879, C McDonald to E Knox.
The telegram confirmed what they already knew and there was no hope now but to ‘hold on for better times’ with their OBC shares. McDonald was positive about the Bank’s new Board of Directors and hoped they would ‘start afresh with a clean sheet …and clean heart’ and he was upbeat about receiving future substantial dividends for his own shares and the Estate’s shares.

McDonald was looking at the matter with tinted glasses. He had absolute faith in the new Board, confirmed again by another letter to Knox in July 1879, where he expressed his high opinion for one of the new Directors, Anderson whom McDonald knew well and ‘liked very much.’ Perhaps Knox influenced him on this occasion as he shared a collegial relationship with Anderson. McDonald was looking forward to a new and ‘better future for the bank’ now that the former Director, Edward Chapman was gone. The fortunes of the Bank, however, did not recover and the Trustees lost the Estate’s investments. They had lost Bradley’s money.

There is a gaping hole within the known correspondence between Knox and MacDonald Smith and Co for the years 1884 to 1888. The letters, however, can make some of this discrepancy, up from Edwards, the Bibbenluke Manager. He wrote regularly to McDonald Smith and Co, and on occasion received letters from Samuel Heard and James Pearse. The letters between Edwards and the family members demonstrate the distrust that the Legatees were feeling towards the Trustees and their actions. Events of the 1870s land sales and the collapse of the OBC were forefront in the minds of the Legatees when considering whether the Trustees had somehow defrauded them of what was rightfully theirs. The problem, according to James Pearse was that under Bradley’s will, so much power had been given to the original three Trustees that to prove any fraudulent behaviour would ‘be like beating one’s head against a stone wall.’ Pearse was a cautious man and suggested that he would not take any action, unless he was sure of the claims he was making against someone in a court of law. Even then, he had a ‘dislike of plunging into a legal struggle.’ Pearse with the other Legatees were planning to seek the advice of Sir Henry Parkes and his brother-in-law, Samuel Heard, during October 1888.

Following the death of McDonald in April 1888 and the appointment of Edwards and Charles Roberts as new trustees, Parkes suggested that all the Estate accounts be opened for inspection. He further suggested a statement of assets of the Estate to each Legatee and that Bibbenluke could not be sold unless all the Trustees agreed. For the three Trustees in 1888, Knox, Roberts

91 Ibid.
92 Ibid.
93 MLM MSS 98/59, op.cit, Letter Pages 167-168, 16.7.1879, C McDonald to E Knox.
94 McDonald described Chapman as ‘presuming and snobbish in the extreme.’ See Ibid.
95 NLA MS 1154/26/1, Col James L Pearse to H T Edwards, 5.10.1888.
96 Ibid.
and Edwards, it was in the interest of two of these men to keep Bibbenluke. Edwards, of course, as manager drew an income from the property, had access to labour and was busy building his own Monaro mansion, Burnima, which he completed in 1896. Roberts had the interests of his family's future income as well as those of his wife's sisters. Parkes suggested to James Pearse that the absence of any schedules or precise information about the Estate and its finances was very worrying. Verifying the assets of the Estate and assessing the safe deposit of the floating cash fund in a 'good bank' and retaining Bibbenluke until such time that the value of the land increased was, to Pearse, of utmost importance to the Legatees and their families. The Trustees seem to have taken this on board as from late 1888 onwards the detail of the accounts is well documented and amongst the records of both Edwards and Knox there are more substantial accounts of the Estate's finances. Pearse also wrote a more personal letter to Edwards intimating that Parkes had advised him that the Trustees had the option of referring the matter to the Chancery where they would then ensure that the Estate paid for all the legal costs and deprive the Legatees of any source of income and of capital as well. This of course would not be in the interests of the Legatees.

The first intimation of legal proceedings against the Trustees was in 1892 when Alice Roberts took the Trustees to the Supreme Court Equity Division. This suit was to address the issue of the Estate's accounts not being credited with the gross outlays, interest and deterioration costs on the Goulburn property from 1871 to 1874 as well as Bibbenluke. The sum expended totaled over £28,212. The amount had been found when Charles Smith and David McAllister (the new agent) had been inspecting the books in October 1891. Smith sought immediately to rectify the situation, writing to Knox and suggesting that they address the situation and re-credit the account with the money it was owed. Smith's next letter to Knox expressed his surprise that the Legatees had gone quickly to their solicitor to ensure that the matter was referred to an independent 'superfluous' arbitrator. Smith was not too friendly perhaps in his assessment to Knox of the Legatee's position.

While this matter was settled quickly, the issue opened up the need for the books to be regularly available for inspection by the Legatees' nominated representative. A thinly veiled threat to the Trustees by means of David Myers, the Legatees' solicitor suggested that the Trustees needed to have the books in their possession and that 'failing to do so may lead to difficulties hereafter'. The difficulties that Myers alluded to arose in 1892 when Heard and Roberts requested an investigation of the Bibbenluke accounts. McAllister carried out the investigation with Smith's representative, Longfield, also testing the accounts. The men

97 MLM MSS 98/59, op.cit, pp.211-214, November 1888, J L Pearse to C Smith.
98 Ibid.
99 NLA MS 1154/23/2, Col James L Pearse to H T Edwards, 12.10.1888.
100 MLM MSS 98/59, op.cit, pp.290-291, 7.10.1891, C Smith to E Knox.
concurred that £20,717.5.10 had not been credited to the Bibbenluke account. The Legatees’ annual income was derived from the main station accounts, including the Bibbenluke account. The Trustees had negated this. The matter was immediately referred to Court appointed arbitrators and the result of the arbitration of both sets of accounts was £3092.57 for the Goulburn account and £25,120.19.7 for the Bibbenluke account, less £8,000 for monies already expended and accounted for in previous years. The Bibbenluke account was higher than the original estimated discrepancy amount of £20,717.5.10 as the arbitrators believed that the property’s value had increased so much that they decided to return the whole of the money that had passed through the station for improvements since William Bradley’s death.

In total, the Legatees were entitled to some £17,000 in disbursements from the Estate. After this process of arbitration, the matter was referred to the Court for confirmation before payment was made to the Legatees. In any event, the referral to the Court gave the Trustees some time to raise the money owing to the Legatees. Un realised by the Trustees though, was the fact that Bradley’s will did not allow them to take any matter through arbitration and it therefore became necessary to pursue a friendly suit in the Equity Division of the Supreme Court. This prolonged the outcome for the Legatees and the Trustees. The matter appeared before Justice Owen, Judge in Equity who wished for the infants of the daughters in England to be represented before the matter could proceed.

At the same time as the books were being laid open to inspection by both the Legatees and Trustees representatives, there was a feeling amongst the old Trustees, Knox and Smith that they had fulfilled their duty to the Estate and it was now time to seek a way out of the ever-increasing complexities of Bradley’s Estate. In October 1891, Smith wrote to Knox requesting him to see if he be ‘relieved of the Trust’. Despite working for a number of years on the Estate, Smith believed that the Legatees ‘would also be glad to be rid of me’ and so he beseeched Knox to investigate a way out for him. Knox too was frustrated and advised Smith that he was going to readdress the issue of appointing new Trustees in place of himself and Smith, when the opportunity arose and have this confirmed by the Court.

In February 1892, Smith took the opportunity when Heard was in Sydney to seek permission for the removal of himself and Knox from the Trust. Heard’s response was to advise he would discuss the matter when he returned from an inspection of the Bibbenluke property.

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102 ibid, pp.311-313, 11.4.1892, D McAllister to E Knox.
103 The arbitrators were A Gordon, Barrister, Alex Wilson a Stock and Station Agent and David McAllister, the Estate’s Accountant.
104 MLM MSS 98/59, op. cit, pp.276-279, 1.10.1891, C Smith to E Knox.
105 ibid.
106 ibid, pp.299-300, 20.11.1891, E Knox to C Smith.
107 ibid, pp.308-309, 29.2.1892, C Smith to E Knox.
There was no mention between Smith and Knox of Heard's response until May 1892 when Smith advised Knox that along with the arbitration being confirmed by the Court, they would also ask for the Court's consent for himself and Knox to be released from the Trust with Roberts and Edwards appointed in their place.¹⁰⁸ For Knox and Smith, it seemed that their dealings with the intricacies of the Trust were about to end. Unfortunately, they received advice from Roberts and Heard that they were proposing to appoint David McAllister and Thomas Knox, Sir Edward's son as their replacements. Smith's brother, a solicitor had also advised Smith that 'proper Executors'¹⁰⁹ had to be appointed to the Estate; otherwise, he and Knox 'may be held responsible for their defalcations.'¹¹⁰ Smith wanted the Court to settle the Executor and Trustee issue in order that there were no future repercussions for himself or Knox. Knox had no desire for his son, Tom to be 'beguiled into accepting the offer'¹¹¹ of being a Trustee as the family had had its fair share of involvement in the Estate. The Estate that had been built up by Bradley had become, with his death and over the course of the next twenty-thirty years, a source of strain in the relationships between people who had been friends with Bradley and his daughters. The Knox papers have a continuous record of involvements in the Estate until 1898. In January 1898, Smith died and Knox was knighted. In January 1901, Knox died and therefore was absolved of all association with the Bradley Estate.

The 1892 Court Case before Justice Owen meant that the Trustees had to find the extra money that would be necessary to pay out the Legatees. Knox thought that the first and simplest method of obtaining the money was to sell off some of the shares that the Estate held in the Union, Commonwealth and NSW Banks. Knox acknowledged that in recent years the 'margin of profit has diminished considerably'¹¹² and given the failure of the OBC and the loss of capital to the Estate, the sale of the various Bank shares appeared to be a good option. In July 1892, the Estate held £84,031 in stock in the three Banks listed above as well as shares in the Australian Gaslight Company valued at £4185.2.0. In addition, the Trustees held mortgages over various land lots in and around Sydney including property at Randwick and in Charlotte Place, Sydney. The assets of the Estate in July 1892 totaled close to £280,000.¹¹³ Raising the money that the Court would deem payable to the Legatees was not necessarily going to be a problem. The Estate was still making some money from wool from the Bibbenluke clip, with the average price per bale in 1892 being around £13. This price dropped in 1893 to about £7 per bale, which had a negative effect on the income that the Legatees received as the income generated from the wool sales went directly to them. This is why so many of the letters between the Trustees and Legatees focus heavily on the price of wool in London and why it was such a concern to

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 322-324, 21.5.1892, C Smith to E Knox.
¹⁰⁹ Ibid, pp. 330-331, 4.6.1892, C Smith to E Knox.
¹¹⁰ Ibid.
¹¹² Ibid, pp.315-316, 6.5.1892, E Knox to C Smith.
¹¹³ MLM MSS 98/60, op.cit, p.225.
the husbands, such as Heard who believed that the wool should have been sold in Sydney markets and not on the London market.

By sending the wool offshore for sale, the Trustees ensured that the prices obtained were kept low, the costs high in terms of payment to Flower and Co, the Estate's London Agents and the result was a depreciated income to the Legatees. In the two years from July 1892 to July 1894, the value of the Estate's assets had dropped from £280,000 to £231,225, a reduction of 17%. The reduction can be explained primarily through the drop in the price of wool from £13 in 1892 to £7 a bale in 1894 a decrease of some 46%. From January 1894 to July 1894 the Estate's assets had dropped from £237,272 to £231,225 - a decrease of £6,047. A year later in July 1895, the assets had dropped to £163,771, a further 29% devaluation of the Estate. While the Estate was financially secure, the value of its assets began to have a more heightened impact on the Legatees and their families. The continuing falls in the wool price was blamed for the reduction in income to the Legatees, but the records also show a decrease in the value of the Bibbenluke account, which indicates substantial expenditure on improvements. In July 1892 the Bibbenluke Station Account was valued at £170,885. In July 1895 the same account was valued at £125,412, a decrease of £45,473 totaling some 27% in reduction. From 1892 to 1900 when the financial records cease for the Bradley Estate in the Knox Papers, the assets of the Estate had dropped from £280,000 to £183,698, being an actual drop of 34%, totaling £96,302. The question remains, what happened to the money that the Trustees were holding in Trust for the Legatees and who spent it?

The decrease is too large to be explained as a result of the falls in the price of wool in the London and Sydney markets as the Trustees were wont to do. It is also too large an amount to have been spent on substantial improvements and land purchases on Bibbenluke. There was not the need for such improvements. The other factor was the general worldwide depression of the 1890s that reduced the personal income, salary and investment dividends of many people across the British.

Some explanation can be afforded when the assets of Edwards are examined. For many years he had been the manager of the Bibbenluke and Monaro properties of William Bradley, drawing an annual income as well as other benefits for working for Bradley. At the same time, Bradley gave him sheep and cattle to build up his own property, Burnima. During the early 1890s, the Trustees had sought advice from a number of sources about the wording of Bradley’s will, including Sir Horace Davey and Sir William Manning. The Trustees were concerned about the meaning of the word ‘stock’ and ‘funds’ as the English Counsel working for H W B Robinson had suggested that the misinterpretation of these words by the Trustees had made them liable for the losses in the OBC crash in 1884.

Bradley's will stated that he gave the Trustees the power to:

...invest the clear surplus of...trust moneys in the names of this my will in or upon the stocks, funds or debentures of the Government of New South Wales or of any public company or companies in the Australasian Colonies or elsewhere or on mortgage of freehold property in any of the Australasian Colonies or elsewhere with power from time to time in the discretion of the Trustees or Trustee for the time being to vary the investment or investments for the time being of my said trust moneys or any part or parts thereof for any other or others for the description contemplated by this my will.\textsuperscript{115}

The issue seems to have arisen as to what 'stocks' and 'funds' actually meant in the Colony and the difference in the meaning in England Manning suggested to Knox that the word 'funds' in 1863 meant 'paid-up capital.'\textsuperscript{116} The word 'stock' had acquired a spectacular character in England, according to Manning, and he suggested that any plaintiff action in a Court of Equity that would deal with the case would challenge the words 'funds' and 'stocks' going to the 'border of captiousness'\textsuperscript{117} in order to find fault, in this case with the actions of the Trustees. The issue also lay; believed Manning in the local meaning or Lex Loci of the words as well as in the manner in which the Testator had established his enterprises.

Bradley had developed a wide network of shares, stocks and interests in local companies and a range of landed developments throughout his lifetime. Manning suggested that the Trustees could argue that they were following an established pattern that Bradley had developed and therefore the words 'stocks' and 'funds' could be brought into the acts of investing that the Trustees carried out. The effects of Manning's response to Knox's enquiry gave Knox hope that the threatened proceedings against the Trustees would not achieve the result that the Legatees were seeking. Knox believed too that the main protagonist in the case was not Robinson acting as an individual, but merely as the tool of Roberts and Heard.\textsuperscript{118}

The turning point for the Estate was 1895. Until then the Legatees had suffered the losses and the diminishing income and value of their father's Estate. The pressure of not being able to fund her family's lifestyle seems to have eventually had a negative effect on Emily Pearse. Her father would not have desired a situation as he had spent his life creating wealth that would sustain his daughters well into their futures. In June 1895 she penned a letter to Knox that suggested in light of all the reductions the Legatees had to endure, then the costs of management and Edwards' salary and allowances should also be reduced until such time that the prospects of the Estate improved. She advised Knox that she had been 'compelled to ... greatly reduce

\textsuperscript{115} William Bradley's Will, Supreme Court of NSW, No 7622, Series 1.
\textsuperscript{116} MLM MSS 98/59, op.cit, pp.383-384, 13.4.1894, W Manning to E Knox.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid, pp.385-386, 22.4.1894, E Knox to W Manning.
... expenditure in all respects'\textsuperscript{119} including the reduction of allowances to her children that she had hitherto been able to make. She stated that while Edwards was a very old friend of hers and she meant no hostility towards Edwards 'but whilst we are all suffering so heavily, it seems scarcely fair that this one charge [Edwards’ salary] which was fixed in prosperous times should alone escape these days of scarcity and reduction.'\textsuperscript{120} She suggested that Edwards’ salary be calculated against the net income of the estate and ‘then as things improve for us they will improve for him also.’\textsuperscript{121}

Pearse’s letter finally let the ire of Knox that had been building for some time; explode in a response that was an aberration to the normally diplomatic letters that he penned. He started with ‘Madam!’\textsuperscript{122} Thus the tone of the letter was set. Knox advised he had sent her letter to Edwards and requested his presence in Sydney to discuss as a Trustee the matter which she raised. He did not know whether Edwards would be prepared to ‘meet your wishes for a reduction in his salary’\textsuperscript{123} given that Edwards was working to secure and maintain the Australian properties of the Legatees. He suggested that the appointment of Edwards as a Trustee was illegal, as the will did not allow a Trustee to be paid a salary from the Estate funds. The Estate had overcome this problem by having Edwards’ salary paid out to him by a $\frac{1}{4}$ share from each of the Legatees’ annual income. McAllister also received an annual income from the Estate of about £200, which according to Knox was ‘an insufficient allowance’\textsuperscript{124} for the work he did.

Knox declared that since he had been managing the Trust, he had, with his other Trustees, distributed £330,000 to the Legatees for their personal use.\textsuperscript{125} During this time, Knox claimed that the Trustees had never applied to the Court for a commission on the disbursements, thus saving the Legatees thousands of pounds. Knox reflected, ‘I can only say that if I had been able to realise a tithe of the trouble and vexation that the administration, not even my friendship for your father which induced me to accept the office of Executor would have prevented me to do so.’\textsuperscript{126} Knox continued ‘I often wonder what your father would have thought of the disgraceful proceedings now going on, the anguish of Capt. Smith and myself at the suit of one of his grandchildren, no doubt on the instigation of some of the life tenants.’\textsuperscript{127} There was no further correspondence between Emily Pearse and Edward Knox.

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid, pp.423-428, 27.6.1895, E. L Pearse to E Knox.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid, pp.431-434, 12.8.1895, E Knox to E. L Pearse.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid.
One does wonder what Bradley would have thought of the proceedings and the activities that went on with his Estate. Bradley was a shrewd businessman; his son-in-laws were not. He appointed people to his Estate that had business acumen and initiative to keep his properties returning an income for his children and their children for many years. In hindsight, Bradley would have been well served to have offered the Trustees an annual income from his Estate given the level of involvement that they needed to have and perhaps he needed to have given an end date for the Estate so that the length of the management could have been contained. Bradley, a man who sought respectability all through his life would have been dismayed that his grandchildren had pursued a case in the Equity Court. In one sense, the very essence of the respectability that he had created around his family was being brought into question with his financial affairs being exposed to all and sundry.

Henry William Bradley Robinson brought the case forward. In 1889, David McAllister, wrote to Edwards expressing Roberts’ desire to become a shareholder in some bank stocks. McAllister advised Edwards that under the terms of the will, the Trustees could not obtain bank stock.\(^{128}\) This is an important letter in terms of the Estate as it now suggested that the bank stock that the Trustees had purchased in the OBC had not been legal. It is around this time that the grandchildren of William Bradley come into play as they were reaching the age of twenty-five and thereby became entitled to shares in their mother’s share of their grandfather’s Will. In particular, Robinson, the eldest son of Minna, now took centre stage in the struggle for family control over the management of the Estate. In both the Knox and Edwards’ papers there are very few references to Minna and Frederick Robinson, and no letters have been kept from them to any of the Trustees. Their son, however, seemed keen to address the issues of the OBC shares and even keener to suggest that the Trustees had been guilty of a breach of trust in not realising upon the shares prior to the OBC winding up its operations.\(^{129}\) At the time of the closure of the OBC, the court reported that there did not seem to be any serious objection to the payment of liabilities by the Legatees. It is clear that the earlier 1892 proceedings against the Trustees made the Legatees more aware of the financial intricacies of the Estate and they took a more interested role in the assets of the Estate, which from 1892 as discussed earlier, had started to drop significantly. The basis of the Court Case was that the investment in the OBC shares was unauthorized by the terms of Bradley’s will. The claim held the Executors were personally liable and responsible for the money lost in the investment and in interest. The plaintiff was Henry William Bradley Robinson.

\(^{128}\) NLA MS 1154/24/1, David McAllister to HT Edwards, 23 April 1889.

\(^{129}\) MSS 1154/2/6, Newspaper clipping from The Weekly Trade Report, 20.1.1896; Supreme Court Case #6978 reprinted in MLM MSS 98/60 op.cit, p.399.
The claims submitted to the court included:

1. That an account may be taken of the loss sustained by the Trust of William Bradley by reason of the OBC investment and that the Defendants, Charles Smith, Edward Knox and Elizabeth McDonald or one or more of them may be ordered to repay the amount of such loss to the Estate together with interest;

2. That so far as may be necessary the trusts of William Bradley's Will and Codicil may be administered by and under the direction of the Court; and

3. That the defendants, Charles Smith, Edward Knox and Elizabeth McDonald be ordered to pay the costs of this suit.

The defendants submitted to the Court their response stating that the plaintiff did not correctly state the contents of the Will and Codicil of William Bradley. The defendants also claimed that other grandchildren of William Bradley, not named as defendants were 'strongly opposed'130 to the litigation that H W B Robinson was pursuing. They denied that the investment was unauthorised by the terms of the Will and Codicil and that the shares had gradually decreased in value between 1878 and 1884. The evidence in the Estate's own financial records suggests that the share price and dividend dropped significantly from the first purchase of the shares by the Trustees until the collapse of the OBC. Knox, Smith and McDonald vehemently denied that they were aware of the alleged decrease in value of the shares and they had placed their fullest confidence in the OBC Directors and believed the shares to be a sound investment. This was in contrast to Knox's understanding and knowledge that the shares were not good. They noted that as individuals, they had also purchased shares in the OBC.

Thus, the three main defendants denied any breach of trust in not realising the shares before trading was suspended in the Bank. The defendants claimed that William Bradley's Estate was valued at £160,000 and the Estate had thus far yielded £330,570 for disbursement amongst the four beneficiaries. They also claimed that even if the investment did constitute a breach of trust then the Plaintiff had acquiesced in and approved of the same (despite being an infant) as by his own parent's acquiescence and approval the Plaintiff was not entitled to any relief from the defendants. The outcome of the case was tied up in the meaning of the words 'stocks' and 'funds'. The Judge, Justice Owen, pointed out that until about 1873 when Government stock was created in the Colony; there had been no such thing as stock in the technical sense of the term.131

130 Supreme Court Case #6978 reprinted in MLM MSS 98/60 op.cit, p.409.
In terms of the Robinson versus Smith case the question was, according to Justice Owen,

"whether the Testator has used the words 'stocks, funds or debentures of the Government of New South Wales or of any Public Company ... in the sense in which the word 'stocks' is usually used in England, or whether it is used in what appears to me to be the primary sense of the word."\(^{132}\)

The word 'stock' in England had a meaning associated with Government Stocks and in this case, Justice Owen believed that Bradley had used the term 'stocks' to mean 'share' and for the purposes of the case that the two words were synonymous terms. This was similar advice that Knox had received from Manning. This was a crucial blow to Robinsons' case and meant that Owen would therefore find that the Trustees had not breached any trust in relation to the purchase of shares in the OBC. He also expanded on the point that Robinson had made in relation to the devaluing of the share price in the OBC. He explained that as Smith and McDonald purchased their own shares at the same time and retained these shares in the OBC until it collapsed, and given the fluctuating share price in the OBC, the Trustees had in fact done the right thing by waiting and holding on to the shares. He suggested too that they 'had implicit faith in the soundness of their investment'\(^{133}\) in the OBC, and that there was 'no ground for anticipating that the Bank would fail, and that a liability would fall on the Trust Estate.'\(^{134}\) The suit was dismissed with costs in favour of the defendants. McNamara Smith and Co, Solicitors acting for the defendants assessed the bill to be £291.3.2 and sent a copy to Robinson's solicitors who advised that the plaintiff did not have the funds to cover the costs.\(^{135}\)

After the successful outcome of the case, Simpson, the solicitor for Robinson sent Knox a letter, congratulating him on the result and to inform him that whilst 'professional duty compelled me to do my best for my client ... I am heartily glad that the Judge was able to take the view he did.'\(^{136}\) Sir William Manning too, sent Knox his congratulations, as did Justice Owen. He wrote that he 'was unhampered from previous decisions and precedents'\(^{137}\) in his decision making, although the case caused him 'great anxiety and grave misgivings as to my capacity to deal with the many novel and serious matters that came up for consideration. The grand result attained has been a great comfort to me.'\(^{138}\) Even William Salting, the eldest son of Severin Kanute Salting, wrote to Knox, congratulating him on his success in the Equity Court against the 'Bradley Faction' describing it as an 'ungracious action considering the amount of

\(^{132}\) Supreme Court Case #6978 reprinted in MLM MSS 98/60 op.cit, p.349.
\(^{133}\) MSS 1154/2/6, Newspaper clipping from The Weekly Trade Report, 20.1.1896.
\(^{134}\) Supreme Court Case #6978 reprinted in MLM MSS 98/60 op.cit, p.357.
\(^{135}\) MLM MSS 98/59, op.cit, pp464-465, 8.4.1896, McNamara Smith and Co to E Knox.
\(^{138}\) Ibid.
time and tumult bestowed on this Estate from pure friendship.\textsuperscript{139} Later, Salting suggested that it would have been an ‘inquilinous thing to have held you personally liable after all you have done for this Estate.’\textsuperscript{140} Writing to George Salting (William’s brother) in March 1896, Knox expressed his satisfaction that an appeal to the Privy Council that Robinson subsequently threatened had been abandoned.\textsuperscript{141} It seemed that for Knox some of the tribulations of the Bradley Estate were ending and he suggested to Edwards that the time had come to start to wind up Bibbenlake. The death of Smith in 1897, however, meant that Knox could not quit the Trust without ‘finding a substitute approved of by the court.’\textsuperscript{142} Given the ‘bad name that the proceedings against Capt Smith and myself have given to the beneficiaries,’\textsuperscript{143} Knox felt he had to remain, despite his unwillingness to do so, as a Trustee and Executor of his dear friend’s estate.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid, p.363, 9.8.1897, E Knox to G Salting.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
DEFENDANTS IN THE SUPREME COURT OF NEW SOUTH WALES, EQUITY DIVISION, CASE # 6978.

- Charles Smith
- Edward Knox
- Elizabeth McDonald, (Wife Of Alexander McDonald, Deceased)
- Henry Tollemache Edwards
- Charles Fyshe Roberts And Alice Caroline Roberts (His Wife)
- Frederick Charles Bryan Robinson
- Emily Jane Pearse
- Samuel Thomas Heard And Catherine Heard (His Wife)
- Alice Theodora Roberts
- Winifred Myrtle Caroline Roberts
- Beatrice Isabel Roberts (Infant Under The Age Of Twenty-One Years)
- Esther Maude Emily Roberts (Infant)
- Charles William Fyshe Palmer Roberts (Infant)
- Dorothy Vivienne Roberts (Infant)
MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES, NEWSPAPERS AND DOCUMENTS

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Australia

National Library of Australia

- MS 313 Lindesay Gardner, Eden-Monaro to 1850: a regional history.
- MS 866 TF Palmer to Rev W Dyer, 1793.
- MS 936 Vol. 1, 1823–1845, John Perkins Papers, Monaro District.
- MS 936 Vol. 2, 1846–1858, John Perkins Papers, Monaro District.
- MS 1041 Brodribb Family Papers 1884–1934.
- MS 1051 Papers of the Brodribb family.
- MS 1083 Historical articles and journal of Archibald Shaw 1850–1963.
- MS 1113, John Jauncey—Transcript of Notes by Jauncey written about 1889 or 1890 discussing his travels in Monaro, 1833–1842.
- MS 1146 Faithfull Family Papers.
- MS 1154 Letters of Henry Edwards.
- MS 1502, Sir Thomas Brisbane to N. Barnard, County Cork, Ireland, 2.2.1823 (From Belfast PRO, Record # D207167/58).
- MS 1586 Brodribb Family Papers 1934–1953.
- MS 1693 Notes on Bennett family, 1966 [manuscript].
- MS 2117 Rev. William Hamilton Papers, 1835–1853 from Goulburn.
- MS 2227 Edward Pratt Papers.
- MS 2631 Charles Pryce Papers.
- MS 2957 Henry Edwards re Bibbenluke Station.
- MS 2981, Ryrie Family Papers.
- MS 3093 TV Blomfield Papers.
- MS 3603, Thomas Barker Papers.
- MS 5704 Henry Edwards—Monaro.
- MS 6207 Miriam Chisholm Papers c.1817–1870 in Goulburn.
- MS 7420, Letter 1835 from Goulburn to the UK.
- MS 8368, Rachel Roxburgh Papers.
- NLA MfM G 27758, Diaries of Lady Jane Franklin, 1839–1840.
Mitchell Library

- MSS 98/59, Sir Edward Knox Papers.
- MSS 98/61, Sir Edward Knox Papers.
- ML MSS 206, Reports and Correspondence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1862–1863.
- MSS 633 Papers of Thomas Haweis.
- MSS 2136 Deed of Co-Partnership William Bradley and William Shelley.
- MSS A338 Goulburn District Flour Mills.
- MSS A827 Waugh Family Papers.
- MSS A902 Sir Henry Parkes Papers.
- ML A3045, John Verge Ledger, 1830–1842.
- MSS A5323 Norton Smith and Co Papers, the Papers of Sir Charles Nicholson.
- MSS A5337 Oswald Brierly Papers.
- MSS A3386 Diary of Thomas Park Millikin.
- MSS A5398-2 and 3 Norton Smith and Co Papers, Thomas Barker Papers.

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Australia

Noel Butlin Archives

- P 96, The Records of Professor Sir Keith Hancock.
- Goldsbrough Mort and Co, 2/467, Documents related to Boco Station.
- Deposit 108, Bukalong Station Records.
- Dalgety and Co Papers, 100/4/1/246, Boloco Creek Station Papers.
- Dalgety and Co Papers, 100/4/1/143, Late Frederick Faithfull Gibson ‘Tirranna’ Goulburn, ‘Caragabal’ Grenfell, Andrew Campbell Gibson (nephew) (Joint Managing Executor, late FF Gibson) 1913.
- Goldsbrough Mort and Co, 2/492, Papers relating to Doodle Cooma Station.
• Deposit 78/1/1–78/1/17 Despatches received by the Court of Directors of the Australian Agricultural Company, London, from the General Superintendent in NSW.

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• Fiche 3096, 4/1838 A #528, 19.4.1824.
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• Fiche 3267, 9/2731, 1.5.1797.
• Fiche 3268, 9/2731, 11.8.1804.
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• Fiche 3269, 9/2740, 15.7.1824.

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• Reel 6012, 4/3510, 21.4.1821.
• Reel 6060, 4/1775, 22.11.1824.
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