

For want of a shoe...

Susannah Huffnell¹ from Worcester was one of 180 female convicts transported to Australia in the First Fleet in 1788. Her crime was to have stolen a pair of shoes worth less than a shilling. Initially a servant at the first Government House, she went to Norfolk Island in 1790 and lived there until 1808 when she returned as a free woman of some means to a very different Sydney. She died in 1814, having had a number of defacto marriages and four children. Using First Fleet records and a multitude of secondary sources, this is a reconstruction of Susannah's possible life.

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Susannah Huffnell was probably the daughter of William and Elizabeth Huffnell and baptized Susannah at St Peter's Church, Worcester,² on 13 January 1765. Her siblings included:

John Huffnell, born/christened 23 January 1757

Ann Huffnell, b/c 12 December 1758

Sarah Huffnell, b/c 24 March 1761

Mary Huffnell, b/c 4 April 1763

Thomas Huffnell, b/c 26 February 1772³

Thomas Huffnell, b/c 31 May 1776.⁴

According to her convict records she had been a servant but the absence of her court records means that it is not known who she worked for, or in what position.

Conviction

On 2 October 1786 she was tried at Worcester quarter sessions, Worcestershire for stealing (theft of apparel) resulting in a sentence of transportation for seven years. The *Berrows Worcester Journal* recorded on 5 October 1786:

At the quarter Sessions of this city on Monday last, Susannah Huffnell was convicted of stealing shoes, and ordered for transportation; also Mary Cooper, for stealing a gown, received a similar sentence... The sentence of Huffnell and

Cooper gives general satisfaction, by ridding the country of two very dangerous and abandoned characters.⁵

This article suggests that both Susannah and Mary had been in trouble in the past as it was common for second offenders to receive transportation sentences. Mary Cooper certainly had been convicted before – on 19 July 1785 for ‘stealing apparel’. As the records now do not exist, it could be assumed that Mary went to gaol for the first crime, only to re-offend in 1786 after her release. It is possibly then that Susannah had a similar past.

Worcester City Quarter Sessions records:

Whereas, Susanah Huffnell was at this Sessions convicted of petit Larceny for which she was sentenced to be transported for and dureing the Term of 7 years. It is therefore ordered by the Court that the said Susannah Huffnell be transported as soon as convenient may be beyond the Seas for the Term of 7 years avoiding by pursuent to the several Acts of parliament in this behalf made and provided.⁶

Unfortunately other Worcester City Quarter Session records detailing Susannah’s trial have not survived as well as those of the county and so there is no other information available from local records.⁷ However, the Home Office 10/2 file records that Susannah was sentenced at Worcester in March 1787, not October 1786 – an error no doubt.⁸

‘Petit theft’ was defined as theft of goods worth under one shilling and there was no milder theft charge than this. Copley’s *Crimes of the First Fleet Convicts* lists Susannah’s crime as “pettit larceny” and also points out that quite a number of convicts of the First Fleet were transported for offences that modern society would regard as hardly worthwhile bringing before a Court.⁹ Morris records that Susannah was only one of two convicts sent out to Australia in the First Fleet for this type of crime. Surgeon Arthur Bowes on board *Lady Penrhyn* later wrote that Susannah’s crime had been ‘Buyg. stolen Goods’¹⁰ which contradicts the *Berrows* article. Rather than copying from trial records, Bowes actually gathered his facts from the convicts themselves. The edited version of the ‘General Muster of New South Wales 1811’ notes that trial details in the Convict Indents themselves are only a secondary source and cannot be totally relied upon as accurate.¹¹

Following her sentence, Susannah disappeared into the British prison system to emerge five months later in the *Dunkirk* prison hulk at Plymouth, 160 miles away. The hulk was moored in a part of Hamoaze called Millbrook Lake, close to the Cornwall border. Established as an emergency prison, from June 1784 to October 1786 the *Dunkirk* was a holding place for convicts until it could be decided where to send them. Susannah was aged 21 when received at the hulk on 26 October 1786. Her occupation was listed as 'service'. Mary Cooper's age was variously reported as being between about 36 and 45.¹² Her occupation was listed as 'chairwoman' [charwoman] by Bowes.¹³ Kept separate from the men, both Susannah and Mary Cooper were now part of a group of convicts awaiting transportation, including thirty-one women. Alliances were now be made between the convicts that would reveal themselves in future places. Britain had been sending convicts to America for a century or more but now convicts were to be sent to a remote new land in the South Pacific, discovered by Captain Cook only seventeen years before.¹⁴

First Fleet

Charlotte and *Friendship* were two First Fleet ships that had been sent to Plymouth in January 1787 to pick up their load of convicts before joining the fleet at Portsmouth for the journey to Botany Bay. For two months both vessels took on stores, made certain alterations 'for the greater security of the marines and convicts', painted and cleaned the ships, took on crew to make up the complement, and repaired and stowed sails. On 7 March 1787 Surgeon White, newly appointed as Surgeon General to the First Fleet, took up his duties when he reported aboard his ship, the *Charlotte*, at Plymouth. White wrote in his journal that the marines for both vessels embarked on the 9th, followed by the convicts on the 11th. The convicts came from the prison hulk *Dunkirk* and Bradley, the superintendent, had been ordered to send 80 male and 22 female convicts to *Friendship* and 99 males and 22 females to the *Charlotte* making a total of 223. Any beyond that number were to be put on board *Charlotte* to be allocated to other transports at Portsmouth.¹⁵ Susannah and Mary were with the prisoners loaded on *Friendship* on 11 March 1787 (where nevertheless Lieutenant Ralph Clark does not record their presence).¹⁶ Clark simply wrote in his *Journal*: 12 March – Received on board Yesterday Male and female Convicts with Children'.¹⁷

The *Charlotte* and *Friendship* moved to Portsmouth to join the rest of the fleet as soon as they were loaded. *Friendship* arrived at Portsmouth on 15 March.¹⁸ Another of the transports, *Lady Penrhyn*, had already arrived at Portsmouth on 10 February. Perhaps the two shiploads of convicts from Plymouth might have looked presentable when they embarked, but the prisoners on *Friendship* caused a problem. Approximately two thirds of them had been involved in an abortive mutiny on the prison ship *Mercury* a few months before and they were regarded as thoroughly dangerous. Major Ross, the disciplinarian commanding the First Fleet's marines, lost no time examining these mutineers, apparently with a view to segregating them from the better prisoners. He went aboard *Friendship* only a few days after she joined the fleet and interviewed every prisoner to observe their behaviour and living conditions.¹⁹ Major Ross mustered all the convicts onboard, the record of which was sent to Under Secretary Nepean on 21 March 1787.²⁰ This record included Susannah on this ship but she was probably one of two women sent from *Friendship* to *Lady Penrhyn* on 5 April,²¹ together with Mary Cooper. Their departure was noted when William Richards, contractor for the fleet, conducted his first muster on board *Friendship* on 1 April and could only account for 19 women instead of 21.²² Why were they transferred? There were few women on board *Friendship* at the time as perhaps the accommodation for women convicts was too crowded and it was felt that there was more room for them on *Lady Penrhyn*.

Susannah and Mary's move to the all-female transport *Lady Penrhyn* was not recorded; there is no mention of additional convicts coming on board after 10 February by Master William Cropton Sever, the captain of *Lady Penrhyn*.²³ The *Lady Penrhyn* was a convict transport of 333 tons. Recently built at the Thames in 1786, she was designed to carry 70 female convicts, although she carried more than 100 on this initial voyage. The other ships were equally woefully overcrowded. The women on board *Lady Penrhyn* were described as a motley lot – mostly thieves, prostitutes, domestic servants, and factory and cottage workers²⁴ and they were left very much to their own devices. Thick bulkheads studded with nails separated the convicts' quarter from the rest of the ship but this did not prevent liaisons occurring over the long wait to depart.²⁵ King recorded that 'seamen found it difficult during this waiting period to keep their hands off the female convicts'.²⁶ In April Lieutenant George Johnston, the senior lieutenant on board, issued orders to keep the women from the sailors.²⁷

Arrival

In the first chaotic days after the Fleet arrived in Sydney Cove on 26 January 1788, all efforts were directed to disembarking marines, male convicts and stores and organising temporary shelter. The convicts were divided into two camps – a large one with the marines on the western side of Tank Stream and a smaller group with the new settlement's officials in the Governor's Camp on the eastern side. On the eastern side of Tank Stream, Governor Phillip established Government House – initially a 'pre-fabricated canvas marquee worth £115' together with accommodation for his staff, marine guard and a few convicts.²⁸ Lieutenant Ralph Clark wrote in his *Journal* 'Thurs 31 Jan 1788 – – the[y] are getting up the Govenours House as fast as the[y] can'.²⁹

William Baker

Susannah's life was now to be influenced by her relationship with William Baker. According to Morris, a key person in the running of the Government Camp was the Governor's orderly sergeant, marine corporal William Baker of the 53rd (Portsmouth) Company.³⁰ Baker had arrived on the transport *Charlotte*, was promoted to Sergeant shortly after arrival of the First Fleet in Sydney Cove and posted to the position of Governor's 'orderly sergeant'.³¹ As orderly sergeant, Baker lived in the Governor's camp to carry out his duties rather than over at the military barracks. He was the senior non-commissioned officer stationed at Government House and responsible for rostering and supervising the daily guard in its duties. These were widespread and included performing a ceremonial role for flag raisings, guarding the camp and farm against theft and intrusion, and probably lending physical assistance to ensure that the Governor and his staff were comfortable, particularly in the early years of the settlement. For example, the marines would have put up the Governor's temporary residence as well as building the outbuildings and their own shelters. In addition, in this unusual situation when all hands were required to gather food, the orderly sergeant went fishing, probably with some of his marines, in order to make fresh contributions to the communal table.³² In addition there are records that he sometimes travelled with the Governor as he surveyed local bays and rivers. Presumably Sergeant Baker's role was as supervisor of the marines who rowed the boats that they used.

Even though the settlement was not widely spread, the Government House guard was a key link between the two camps. The convicts who lived at Governor's Camp needed to be supervised if they left the camp to collect firewood or stores and it was probably

members of the guard who undertook this, even if unwillingly. If it was to the benefit of the marines, then they more happily organised the convicts.³³ The marine officers strongly objected to Governor Phillip's request that they supervise the convicts after their arrival in the colony, insisting that their role was to perform only garrison duty. This forced the Governor to find other solutions such as using his own personal servant Dodds as the convict supervisor at the government camp farm, and appointing trustworthy convicts as overseers. However, it was possible that newly promoted William Baker was keen to ensure that all marines and convicts in the Governor's camp behaved appropriately and worked together to ensure the safety and comfort of the Governor. The marines were responsible for delivering and collecting messages and information between the two camps and this put the members of the guard in a strong position. The Governor did have his own supplies and animals too so there were also physical benefits to living in the camp.

The 'ladies' of Government House

There is no recorded meeting of William Baker and convict Susannah Huffnell. Baker may have been in the marine contingent who loaded convicts from the *Dunkirk* hulk aboard *Friendship*, the *Charlotte*'s sister ship at Plymouth. These ships spent some two months moored together so there was opportunity for him to meet or see her. More probably they were not acquainted until after their arrival in Australia. The most likely occasion after arrival was when the first small batch of female convicts was being disembarked from the *Lady Penrhyn*. Surgeon Bowes Smyth recorded in his journal on 5 February 1778:

...5 [five] of the women, who supported the best characters on board were this day landed on the Governor's side of the Encampment, & had Tents pitch'd for them not far from the Governor's house.³⁴

Paul Fidlon states that the women chosen to go the Governor's camp were possibly conveyed by Mr Miller, the Commissary, with Mr Shortland the Navy Agent and Mr Freeman, the Commissary's Clerk, who came aboard the *Lady Penrhyn* on the previous day and 'issued out slops [clothing] of every kind to all the women & Childn. on board previous to their landing tomorrow'.³⁵ Fidlon's inference that these men were there to select 'personal servants' might not have been the case as Andrew Miller already had a servant, Christopher Palmer, who had come out on the *Sirius* and Mr Shortland was to leave the colony when the ships departed. However, it is probable that they were to

select women to be servants on behalf of the Governor. And as officials and residents in the Governor's camp, it is possible that they were rowed out to the ship and accompanied by Sergeant Baker and his marine guard.

Selection of the five

With the establishment of Governor Phillip's residence, no doubt a number of servants were needed to assist with the workload. As befitting his station, Governor Phillip brought his own personal servants with him – including Henry Dodds and Bernard de Maliez, his personal servants, and Henry Brewer, his steward.³⁶ There was also a French cook. On arrival Phillip appointed Brewer to another position, that of Provost Marshal, and by March 1788 he was also forced to use Dodds as a convict superintendent on his farm to ensure that food was being produced for the colony. With only convicts to choose from, who replaced these free men in the household?

This was the day and age of multiple servants. No doubt Phillip was keen to establish a suitable standard of living and observe the proprieties of an English gentleman's life. Women were used in a variety of traditional roles with scullery maid, housemaid, dairymaid and laundry maid being the most common positions. As the male convicts had already disembarked, some of these had already been selected to help in the Governor's camp in cutting and collecting firewood, keeping the chef's fires going and drawing water. Some had already been tasked with digging the house garden and planting seeds. A number of female servants (who had had previous experience) would complement the rest of the staff.

There were more than 100 women on the *Lady Penrhyn*, and 35 or so had been servants of various types prior to their arrest. This number included Susannah although Surgeon Bowes did not record her as such. He had kept a record of those with bad conduct on board so given his journal entry stating those of good character were selected those women of poor repute would not have been chosen. It would be prudent to select from convicts with a good conduct record if a suitable standard was to be achieved and maintained by the Governor's staff.

Was Susannah Huffnell was one of the servants at Government House? There are a number of facts to support this assumption. 'Service' had been Susannah's previous occupation. It is possible that in Worcester she had had a reasonable position, unlike

some other female convicts who said that they were in service to avoid saying that they were street prostitutes. Major Ross had met her in his muster on board *Friendship*; maybe, as Morris suggests, she was transferred to *Lady Penrhyn* for some positive reason such as good behaviour, or good looks, and for these reasons again she was selected. Susannah had been on board the *Lady Penrhyn* with Lieutenant George Johnston, who had replaced Lieutenant King as aide de camp to the Governor on arrival in Sydney. He would have had the opportunity to observe or hear of her behaviour, and thus be able to support a recommendation (as would have Bowes who is supposed to have written a report on each convict). There is no record of bad behaviour by Susannah aboard *Lady Penrhyn* in the diary of Bowes so she could have been among the 'best behaved' women mentioned previously.³⁷ The Home Office records show in a column entitled 'How disposed of' that her placement was that of 'Housekeeper'.³⁸ Finally it would also have been more difficult for Baker to have a relationship with a female convict located on the other side of Tank Stream, given his duties at Government House. It is more likely that her accommodation was close to his, on the eastern side. From these facts and given her future associations and records Susannah was one of these five female convicts who were specially selected and not part of the large group that disembarked the following day for the other side of the stream. So it was at this moment of being selected for service at Government House that she probably met William Baker.

First day...

Dressed in their best available clothes and carrying their bundles, the women departed the *Lady Penrhyn* for terra firma. No doubt Sergeant Baker and the marines would have been involved in erecting tents for the women near the Governor's house. To the delight of the men, both convict and marine, the rest of the women were disembarked. Lieutenant Tench, who resided on the western side of Tank Stream, wrote of the situation:

While they were on board ship the two sexes had been kept most rigorously apart, but when landed their separation became impracticable, and would have been, perhaps, wrong. Licentiousness was the unavoidable consequence... What was to be attempted? To prevent their intercourse was impossible, and to palliate its evils only remained.³⁹

There is no reason why his words did not equally reflect the situation within Government Camp, with the arrival of women in the midst of many more men.

On 7 February 1788 Governor Phillip mustered the entire population and held a parade of the full Company of Marines.⁴⁰ Life in the new colony began and Lieutenant Tench observed:

Business now sat on every brow and the scene... In one place a party cutting down the woods; a second setting up a blacksmith's forge, a third dragging along a load of stones or provisions; here an officer pitching his marquee, with a detachment of troops parading on one side of him, and a cook's fire blazing up on the other.⁴¹

Early days...

March 1788 was a very wet month and many temporary clay huts were erected.⁴² By April many marines were still living in tents which had to be covered with thatch to keep the rain out. Tench recorded that few substantial buildings had been erected:

Only two houses of stone are yet begun, which are intended for the governor and lieutenant-governor. One of the greatest impediments we meet with is a want of limestone, of which no signs appear. Clay for making bricks is in plenty, and a considerable quantity of them burned and ready for use.⁴³

Government House

Government House was the first permanent structure erected in the Colony⁴⁴ with the foundation stone laid in May 1788. Governor Phillip wrote in July 1788:

I am building a small cottage on the east side of the cove, where I shall remain for the present with part of the convicts and an officer's guard. The convicts on both sides are distributed in huts, which are only built for immediate shelter...⁴⁵

The building was finished and occupied by Easter 1789⁴⁶ and included a housekeeper's room. Captain Tench's journal records some of the life at the new Government House:

Beneelon [a local Aborigine] expressing pleasure to see his old acquaintance [Governor Phillip], and inquiring by name for every person whom he could recollect at Sydney; and among others for a French cook,⁴⁷ one of the governor's servants ... He asked also particularly for a lady from whom he had once ventured to snatch a kiss and, on being told that she was well, by way of proving that the token was fresh in his remembrance, he kissed Lieutenant Waterhouse, and laughed aloud.⁴⁸

The ceremony of introduction being finished, Baneelon seemed to consider himself quite at home, running from room to room with his companions and introducing them to his old friends, the domestics, in the most familiar manner. Among these last, he particularly distinguished the governor's orderly sergeant, whom he kissed with great affection, and a women who attended in the kitchen.⁴⁹

Harry Morris has identified the orderly sergeant as William Baker—perhaps the housemaid was Susannah. It appeared that William Baker and Susannah were a couple but it is not clear whether they actually lived together. Given the different circumstances that existed in the Government Camp, it is possible that they did cohabit. Whether this was in the actual confines of Government House, the marine guard's hut (given the orderly sergeant's position) or in the general area of the Government Camp has not be established.

Life in Sydney and Government Camp

For the five women of Government Camp, life was probably very similar. Behind the Governor's House there was a communal 'kitchen' where all the staff were fed and meals prepared for the Governor and his officials. While the Commissary baked bread, no doubt Government House female servants made bread. The women would collect foodstuffs from the gardens and public store. The dairymaid would spend her day milking, making butter and cheese and finding ways to keep it cool, working with a cow man who spent his day trying to find suitable pasture for the beasts. The scullery maid would scour pots, pans and plates.

While the convicts were now free of ship life and sailors, their diet did not change much. It remained mainly salt rations although some fresh fish was caught in the harbour.

Susannah may have particularly benefited as William Baker caught fish in the harbour, a species later believed to be named after him.⁵⁰ Expeditions were sent out by Governor Phillip to ascertain what other food supplies were available.

Elizabeth Baker

Susannah delivered a daughter, Elizabeth, recorded as being fathered by William Baker, born in late 1788 at Sydney Cove. It is likely then that Elizabeth Baker was the first baby born at Government House. Presumably some knowledgeable women or a midwife attended Susannah in her accommodation; her fellow servant Mary Parker was recorded as being the midwife for a later birth in the Government Camp.⁵¹ There appears to be no record of the date of the birth. Searching through surgeon's diaries for an entry of a birth was unsuccessful but it was unusual for women to be attended by a surgeon, unless they were upper class. John Moore records that Elizabeth took her father's surname which was unusual for children of unmarried convict women at the time.⁵² Many other native-born children took their mother's surname.⁵³

Elizabeth's baptism occurred on 1 January 1789.⁵⁴ Susannah's surname is recorded as Hoffnal, one of the many variations of her surname recorded.⁵⁵ Herbert Rumsey notes that Elizabeth was born to William Baker and Susan Hoffnell (yet another variation) in Sydney Cove.⁵⁶ From the time of arrival at Port Jackson until 16 October 1789 the baptisms were registered as 'Sydney Cove'. The Mutch Index states that Elizabeth was the daughter of William Baker, Sergeant Marines and Susannah Hoffnal, convict, confirming that she was the daughter of Sergeant Baker.⁵⁷ It is unfortunate that no witnesses or sponsors are named in the records for this baptism or others of the time as it may have provided further clues as to the relationships within Government Camp, and what may have transpired on this occasion.

Marriage?

There is no record of a marriage between William and Susannah so it can only be presumed that they had a de facto arrangement. One wonders why they did not marry. Had either of them been previously married which may have prevented this? It seems that William may not have been for he later married another convict in 1795. And there is no record of a marriage for Susannah before she left Worcester even though this would have been usual for her family – her older brother and sister had been married in

churches in Worcester prior to her imprisonment. Common-law marriages were common at the time for the lower classes so maybe there appeared to be no need to tie the knot but Reverend Johnson had married convict couples since the Fleet's arrival in Sydney. And Ann Scobie, convict, married marine Sergeant William Perry, on 1 February 1789 (when pregnant), probably the first convict/marine marriage.⁵⁸

Another difficulty was that Baker was a career marine, and it was known that the companies of marines would be in the Colony for only three years. Although he had indicated that he would be happy to stay on after that time, Susannah would not have served her time, and would have to stay in Australia unless she received an early pardon. Having even an ex-convict for a wife may not have been seen as a career-enhancing move.

1789

The failure of initial crops and the loss of the government cattle contributed to a crisis and together with uncertainty about future supplies from England led to a reduction in rations:

For in October our weekly allowance of provisions, which had hitherto been eight pounds of flour, five pounds of salt pork, three pints of peas, six ounces of butter, was reduced to five pounds five ounces of flour, three pounds five ounces of pork, and two pints of peas.⁵⁹

Susannah with a young baby must have found it a difficult existence.

1790 and Norfolk Island

While food was a problem, steady improvements had been made in Sydney and other nearby areas had been settled. By February 1790 Governor Philip was pleased with progress:

At Sydney Cove, all the Officers are in good huts, and the men in barracks... The buildings now carrying on, are of brick and stone. The house intended for myself, was to consist of only three rooms; but having a good foundation, has been enlarged, contains six rooms, and is so well built, that I presume it will

stand for a great number of years. The stores have been lately over-run with rats, and they are equally numerous in the gardens, where they do considerable damage...⁶⁰

In 1790 the Colony nearly starved, having been two years without a single supply ship arriving from England. Captain Tench described the impact on the settlement:

Famine was approaching with giant strides, and gloom and dejection overspread every countenance. Men abandoned themselves to the most desponding reflections ... the misery and horror of such a situation cannot be described ... Vigorous measures were indispensable ... the *Sirius* was ordered to prepare for a voyage to China for supplies, and a further retrenchment of rations was to take place...

Previous to her departure on that voyage, she was ordered in concert with *Supply* to convey Major Ross with a large detachment of marines and more than two hundred convicts to Norfolk Island: it being hoped that such a division of our numbers would increase the means of subsistence by diversified exertions.⁶¹

In March 1790, Governor Phillip ordered that more than two hundred people be sent to Norfolk Island where it was hoped the better farming conditions would provide them with some relief. With baby Elizabeth, Susannah was sent on 4 March 1790 on *Sirius* to Norfolk Island.⁶² William Baker also accompanied them.⁶³

Why did William Baker go to Norfolk Island? No doubt Governor Phillip wanted to really know the state of affairs on Norfolk Island and by sending Baker he could gain a first hand report from one of his personal staff. Perhaps William Baker also went to Norfolk Island to assist Lieutenant King in his removal back to Sydney, at the request of Governor Phillip. In October 1789 the military guard at Government House had been considerably reduced so perhaps Governor Phillip had considered that he did not need an orderly sergeant when the food situation was so desperate.⁶⁴ However, the most likely reason may have been the need for another sergeant to supervise the marines and convicts.

Obviously if half the occupants of Government House and its camp were being sent to Norfolk Island there was a reduced need for house staff. This is the most likely reason

for sending Susannah and consequently Elizabeth. There are further possibilities. Maybe Governor Phillip had Susannah sent out to Norfolk Island because he disapproved of the illicit relationship between his orderly sergeant and his servant and wanted it out of his camp. He may have realised that he needed to set an example about non-marriage if he was to encourage others to marry. There was criticism of the convict women's perceived lack of morality and, in Governor Phillip's words, the 'general profligacy of manners' associated with it.⁶⁵ Officials of the colony, even the highest, lived openly with convict women or the daughters of convicts. 'There is scarce a man without his mistress', wrote the convict artist, Thomas Watling. He went on to say it would have been better if, instead of issuing proclamations about morality, the officials had not set an example which 'the low [class], to do them justice, faithfully copy'. Some of the officials acknowledged and supported their dependants, others married the women they lived with but many others deserted the women when they returned to England.⁶⁶

HMS *Sirius*, with a cargo of marines, convicts, and stores, with Master Captain Hunter at the helm, left Sydney on 6 March and arrived on 13 March 1790. When *Sirius* and *Supply* reached Norfolk, they were unable to put ashore at the usual landing place in Sydney Bay due to adverse winds. They unloaded their passengers on the other side of the island and returned to Sydney Bay to await better conditions before unloading cargo. Meanwhile, the passengers walked across the island to meet the ships and assist the crews in the unloading. The smaller *Supply* successfully unloaded first but when *Sirius* followed into the bay, the people on shore were treated to the spectacle of the Colony's first shipwreck on 19 March.⁶⁷

Suddenly there were hundreds of extra mouths to feed on Norfolk Island, including the unplanned addition of the shipwrecked crew of *Sirius*. Major Ross, who was authorised to take over as Commandant, immediately declared martial law and put everyone on stringent rations.⁶⁸ Although a fair amount of cargo was eventually salvaged, much of it was spoilt by seawater. In addition to the food crisis, shelter was short and blankets and clothing scarce.⁶⁹

Lieutenant King left Norfolk Island on 24 March 1790 in the *Supply* with the melancholy duty of telling Governor Phillip the news of the *Sirius*. He had left a total of 498 people on Norfolk, 80 of them *Sirius* officers and crew with no chance of being taken off.⁷⁰ It is assumed that William Baker returned to Sydney on the *Supply* as his

name appears only on the first Norfolk Island victualling list made up after the wreck Baker was probably one of the two marines known to have been taken back to Sydney from the *Sirius* crew at that time.⁷¹ Back in Sydney, William Baker continued his duties as orderly sergeant to the Governor.⁷²

By a stroke of good fortune, the settlers on Norfolk were saved within a month of the shipwreck by the annual migration of the Brown Headed Petrel (mutton-bird). Thousands of nesting pairs flew in to occupy burrows on the hilly slopes of the island and convicts, marines and sailors made nightly excursion to rob the nests of birds and eggs. Clark's diary recorded that by 15 May, 386 of these had been caught and eaten.⁷³ It was just as well as the salt provisions were now of poor quality. Watkin Tench noted: 'The pork has been salted between three and four years, and every grain of rice was a moving body from the inhabitants lodged within it'.⁷⁴

James/John Clark

It was not long after Susannah's arrival on Norfolk Island that John (or James) Clark (alias Hosier) was recorded as being part of her life.⁷⁵ James Clark, born about 1753, had been sentenced to transportation for seven years at the Old Bailey for theft. Previously an apprentice butcher, Clark arrived on the *Scarborough*, and at Sydney Cove he worked at the governor's farm in 1789.⁷⁶ Due the proximity of the house to the farm it is likely that Susannah and James knew each other in Sydney, perhaps even well.

Given that Clark had previously used an alias in his life, he certainly sent about creating confusion for historians, deliberate or not. Initially, records of his life are reasonably straightforward. Clark is recorded as arriving on Norfolk Island on 17 March 1790, living as married, and departing after October 1796.⁷⁷ However, the Norfolk Island Victualling Book 1790-1795 records two different people with the name James Clark, the first arrived on Norfolk Island off *Sirius* 13 March 1790, rationed to 31 December 1795 [hereby called the First Fleeter]⁷⁸ and the other arrived Norfolk Island off *Atlantic* on 4 November 1791, and died 26 August 1792.⁷⁹ James Donohoe records John Hosier and Susannah Huffnell as having three children, Francis born 11 January 1792; Francis born 29 July 1793; and Sarah born 18 July 1795.⁸⁰ Gillen records that the James Clark that Susannah had taken up with was not the First Fleeter but does not state why this is the case. Certainly the later arrival could not have been the person who fathered the

children. There can be no confusion with the possibility of them being fathered by Private William Baker (often confused with Sergeant William Baker), as he did not arrive on Norfolk Island until November 1795.⁸¹ And Sergeant William Baker had gone back to England in 1792 and had not returned until 1794 and then went to Windsor. Later it seems that James may have gone under the name Charles Clark; it is uncertain when his connection with Susannah ended. Given the absence of other alternatives, it is realistic to assume that James was the arrival on the First Fleet.

As the food situation showed little sign of improvement, in the latter part of 1790 Major Ross, a methodical man, evolved a plan whereby some of the convicts could be taken 'off Stores' within a reasonable space of time and also obtain more freedom for themselves.⁸² Each convict who applied was to receive one acre of land, a sow in farrow, or a hog and a sow, and two days each week free of Government work. In this free time they were to cultivate the land and sow crops, tend the pig, and turn themselves into small land-holders. They were to be in parties of three including women and children, and could work the one acre together. At the end of three months, the men—who until then would be fed from Stores—would have their regular ration reduced by one quarter; at six months by half, and at the end of one year they were to be self-supporting. In addition, all surplus pork turned into the Stores, would be credited and extra rations or supplies given in lieu. If the men worked at this task they would reap benefits. If not, they might well starve. The women in each group were to keep house, and help on the 'farms', and would not be called upon to do Government work except in great emergencies.⁸³

Mollie Gillen records that James, Susannah and Elizabeth were part of this plan, sharing a nine-month old sow on 5 February 1791.⁸⁴ Things looked promising when the pig, looked after by Susannah, conveniently produced a litter of three, making them independent for meat. However, in general the plan actually created discontent and further hunger and caused an upsurge in robberies from settlers' gardens.⁸⁵

Where others were failing as landholders, at 1 July 1791 Clark was still recorded as supported himself and three other persons on a Sydney Town lot, with 30 rods of timber felled and sharing a sow supplied by the lieutenant governor.⁸⁶

Susannah's other children

Prior to 1810 it was convention to list the children of a convict woman in the victualling books with the mother's surname.⁸⁷ The *Norfolk Island Victualling Book 1790-1795* therefore lists Susannah and James' children as:

Huffnell, Fran^s. born Norfolk Island 11 January 1792.⁸⁸

Huffnell, Fran^s. born Norfolk Island 29 July 1793 received rations until 31 December 1795.⁸⁹

Huffnell, Sarah, born Norfolk Island 18 July 1795, rationed 167 days in 1795.⁹⁰

It is obvious from the spelling above why historians have recorded both Francis's with different spellings of their names. For example, Morris records the children were Francis b 11/1/92 (died), Frances b 29/7/93 and Sarah, b 18/7/95.⁹¹ We can only surmise that the second Francis was a boy from the 1805 Muster information; we have no further information about the first who may have been a girl. It is not surprising that the first baby died given that conditions were so bad for most of Susannah's pregnancy and for the baby's early life. The List of Residents of Norfolk Island 1788-1814 shows:⁹²

| Children | Family Name | Born | Arrived | Departed |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Huffnell, Elizabeth | Baker | Port Jackson | 17/03/90 | after 02/05 M, ad |
| Huffnell, Frances | Baker | Norfolk Island | 11/01/92 | Dead, ?? M |
| Huffnell, Frances | Baker | Norfolk Island | 29/07/93 | after 02/05 M |
| Huffnell, Sarah | Baker | Norfolk Island | 18/07/95 | – M |

(M = a Marine, or ex-marine settler on Norfolk Island, or the spouse of an ex-marine)
(ad = considered an adult in later victualling books)

At least up until 1795 the children were officially known by the surname Huffnell but the absence of a Victualling Book for the period 1795-1800 does not allow a study of what happened to the children in this time. The last definite trace of the children is the Norfolk Island General Muster of 1805. Apart from Elizabeth, this lists Francis Huffnell under the heading 'Children of all descriptions living off the stores'. He would have been aged about 13, and in many circles would have been considered an adult. It is realistic to presume that Sarah was deceased by this stage since she is not mentioned and there are no further listings of her under other names. The only other information that can be deduced about Francis and Sarah comes from a statement in a letter written

by Elizabeth in 1823, in which she claimed she was her mother's 'only child still living'. This suggests that both Francis and Sarah died before 1823, although it might mean that Elizabeth merely had lost touch with Francis and Sarah and assumed they were dead.⁹³

The '1800-1802 Muster' lists Susannah under the surname Huffnail as being a free woman with her sentence expired.⁹⁴ She is also listed in the General Muster of February 1805 under the heading of 'Women from Sentences expired off the Stores'.⁹⁵ There is no record of a Conditional Pardon or an Absolute Pardon for her in the Register of 1791-1825, so it is likely that she just served out her seven years which would have ended on 5 October 1793 – hence the 'Sentence Expired' notation. However, the Index to Convict Pardons/Tickets of Leave 1810-1875 NSW gives a listing for Susannah.⁹⁶ No longer being a convict meant that Susannah could now have greater autonomy than before; for example she could also choose the hours she kept on her land and her place of destination when she left the island.

Life as a Norfolk Island settler

By 1793 the settlement in Sydney Town had a surprisingly varied list of tradesmen and workers and by the turn of the century there were more than 1000 inhabitants of Norfolk Island. At this time, convicts lived in huts outside the settlement for the most part – the gaol was for those who committed misdemeanours or serious crimes, but there were not many of these. The 293 female convicts had 90 children among them; and some of these belonged to women who were living with the free or convict settlers. Although Susannah was illiterate on arrival in Australia,⁹⁷ Elizabeth and Francis would have gone to school on the island. Elizabeth's literacy is demonstrated by three examples of well-written letters/memorials in her own handwriting dated in the 1820s.⁹⁸

Susannah was victualled at Norfolk Island on and off stores to 1805,⁹⁹ along with Francis and Elizabeth who was eventually recorded as being a free woman in her own right rather than a child in the island Victualling List of January 1805.¹⁰⁰

Elizabeth was fifteen in 1804, and made Susannah a grandmother for the first time by having a baby fathered by Aaron Davis, a land-owning ex-convict with an expensive house at Sydney Town who was working at the time as the Collector of Duty. The Mutch Index records Davis or Hosier, Francis, Norfolk Island, son of Aaron Davis and Elizabeth Hosier, born 5 September 1804, baptised 10 October 1804, St Phillips Sydney

137/264.¹⁰¹ Obviously Davis was a bit of a cad and had collected more than just the duties. He had several other partners on Norfolk Island, Elizabeth being the last.¹⁰²

John Wheeler

It seems that Susannah's partner Clark left Norfolk Island about 1800 when his sentence expired as there is no record of a James or John Clark in the General Muster of 1805.¹⁰³ He left Susannah behind with her living children. Before long (and perhaps even before Clark left Norfolk Island) she had found another protector – John Wheeler.¹⁰⁴ It is doubtful that she could have retained her land and remained as a settler without a male to work the land. Wheeler was another convict who was well enough behaved and of good enough qualifications to work under the ticket of leave system. He was tried at the Old Bailey in September 1791 and transported for seven years.¹⁰⁵ The Old Bailey Session Papers for 1791 records him as 'indicted for feloniously stealing on 28 July 28 yards of printed calico – age 21'. He arrived in Australia on the *Kitty* on 18 November 1792 from England as a specially selected prisoner:

...you will receive by the ship *Kitty* ... cloathing and stores, together with thirty female and ten male convicts, the latter being such artificers and handy-craftsmen as are stated in your letters to be the most wanted in the settlement.¹⁰⁶

Wheeler arrived on Norfolk Island on 22 December 1792 and by 1798 his sentence had expired.¹⁰⁷ C.J. Smee records that John Wheeler had already been married to Sarah in England; she came free to New South Wales on *Kitty* with John. They had twin daughters Sarah and Mary, born 18 January 1795 on Norfolk Island. Mrs Wheeler then apparently left John and 'married' Benjamin Butcher. She died on Norfolk Island on 21 April 1804.¹⁰⁸

When did Susannah and John get together? If John's wife had left him for another man, then it could have been immediately after that, sometime prior to her death in April 1804.

Son-in-law Michael Hayes

At age 16 Elizabeth was a woman and in late 1805 she married Irish Catholic Michael Hayes on the island.¹⁰⁹ Michael Hayes was transported from Ireland for life on a charge of treason for his part in the Irish Rebellion of 1798.¹¹⁰ Michael came out on the *Minerva* in July 1800. His crime was participating in the rebellion of 1798 but what part, if any, he took in that episode it is difficult to ascertain.¹¹¹ He supposedly was transported for administering the United Irishman's Oath. Born around 1767, Michael Hayes was a strict Catholic and possibly something of a prude.¹¹² He had a dislike for convict women, telling family members in Ireland that he thought them prostitutes of the foulest kind.¹¹³ In June 1803¹¹⁴ he received a conditional pardon and in August he advertised in the *Sydney Gazette* seeking employment as an 'accomptant' (accountant). The advertisement appears to have been successful as between March 1804 and September 1805 Hayes managed the business affairs of Charles Bishop and George Bass. Surgeon Thomas Jamison described Hayes as having 'conducted himself with the greatest propriety and rectitude' during this employment.¹¹⁵ By 1805, Norfolk Island was starting to be used as a convenient spot to send people who had incurred the wrath of authorities in Sydney, and Michael had done that by allegedly making 'poteen' at his house. He was found guilty of the 'illicit distilling of spirits'¹¹⁶ and arrived on Norfolk Island on 14 October 1805.¹¹⁷

How Elizabeth and Michael met is unknown but Father James Harold apparently married them in 1805.¹¹⁸ Contrary to popular family belief, it was not the first Roman Catholic marriage in Australia.¹¹⁹ However, according to Donohoe, this marriage is the only Catholic wedding contemporarily recorded. Hayes mentioned it specifically in a letter which has survived.¹²⁰ Elizabeth was 16 years old when they married; he was at least 38. Why did she marry him? She had already had one child, surely an impediment to a moralist like Hayes but maybe the baby had died and he didn't know about it. She was not a Catholic but in a colony where most women were convicts or already married, Elizabeth was single and a free woman which would have appealed to Hayes. Susannah no doubt saw Michael as a possible older steadying influence on her child, a man of business and experience who would probably do well in the colony.

Michael Hayes became a businessman on Norfolk Island in spite of being a convict. It must have suited Susannah to see her daughter so well provided for. Here was no farmhand or labourer but a gentleman. Hayes was allowed to act as a business agent

however, he was unpopular as a debt collector. By the time he returned to Sydney in September 1808 he had a packet of profits in addition to his young wife and first child Mary, born 5 July 1807. He continued in business after returning to Sydney, operated a shop and boot factory in Pitts Row in 1809, and was the licensee of a hotel in George Street in 1811-12.¹²¹ The Hayes family lived in their hotel at 12 George Street, Sydney prior to July 1811 when the property was sold to Mrs Reibey.¹²² On 29 February 1812 Michael gained an 'absolute pardon' and his future as a successful businessman seemed assured.¹²³ In future years he was to become a prominent member of the colony's Catholic community, and was described by Commissioner Bigge as 'a leading Catholic layman'.¹²⁴

Return to Sydney

Father Celsus Kelly, OFM notes in his article on Michael Hayes that in the Storekeeper's list Susannah was recorded as still living on Norfolk Island at the muster of 13 August 1806.¹²⁵ But the authorities were keen to close down the settlement on the island. Susannah seems to have returned to Sydney at about the same time as Michael and Elizabeth [1808] although no primary reference for the date of her return has been found.¹²⁶ She returned apparently as the de facto wife of John Wheeler who had left Norfolk Island on 5 April 1809.¹²⁷ He is listed as leaving Norfolk Island on the *Estramina* for Hobart Town. Presumably he visited his daughter Sarah who was living there, or intended taking up residence with her. However, he was later found in Sydney.¹²⁸ Elizabeth wrote in 1823 'a Man named Wheeler (with whom Susannah Baker cohabbitted)'¹²⁹ which supports the theory that they were not married. However, Donohoe states that Susannah married John, and quotes the St Phillips Records.¹³⁰ There does not appear to be any evidence to support this.

In a letter her daughter Elizabeth wrote in about 1823 to F. Goulburn, Esquire, she told how she and her mother kept close contact for all of Susannah's life (not difficult as they lived only streets away).¹³¹ Furthermore, she explained how Michael Hayes helped his mother-in-law finance the building of a house in Castlereagh Street, Sydney, where Susannah lived with John Wheeler until she died. Obviously Susannah had become a woman of some means: 'The House in Question, situate in Castlereagh Street Sydney, was built at the joint expence [sic?] of my late Mother Susan Hosier and my Husband Mich'l Hayes'.¹³²

A document provided by family historian Toni Barry from the Wheeler descendants states:

People involved in the land owned by Miss Hanks near Bathurst and Park Streets, included Elizabeth Kelly [nee Baker] who made a statement to try and support a claim, on 22 November 1831, from the Harps Inn. She said she was the mother of thirteen and the daughter of Susannah Hosier, who 22 years earlier [1809], had purchased land from Sarah Bell. She said she had contributed 10 pounds and her mother 20 pounds for the purchases and described the site as between Elizabeth and Castlereagh Streets, with Standing's land to the north and Joseph ... [unreadable] site to the south. The parcel had been promised to her mother by Governor Macquarie, she said and now had four tenements on it one of which was owned by Mr Rowe. Old John Wheeler lived in one she explained, but as a charitable act from her mother which she now continued herself. Gossip got the better of her then and she said that a designing woman took advantage of old simple John, who she cohabitated with, and persuaded him to sell the site on which he lived, to her."

The early Lands Department maps of Castlereagh St show the approximate position of Susannah's house.¹³³ The original property seems to have been Lots 3, 4 and 5, all of which were originally leased to Susannah Huffnell and then found their way into the name of John Wheeler. 122 Castlereagh Street would be very close to the spot where by about 1810 Susannah was living.¹³⁴

In 1811 Susannah was mustered in New South Wales with the surname Uffnell.¹³⁵ The Muster itself made reference to the use of phonetic spelling – 'due to the illiteracy of many of the early settlers a surname was merely a group of spoken sounds rather than a written word of consistent form' – which explained why Huffnell was continually spelt in a number of ways.¹³⁶ The General Muster of New South Wales, 1811 records both John Wheeler and Susannah Uffnell as still being convicts although their sentences had long expired.¹³⁷ The separate names and numbers in the muster would be consistent with them not being married. Susannah was to spend her remaining few years in her own home living with John Wheeler until her death in April 1814.¹³⁸ The Mutch Index records a Susannah Wheeler died 11 April 1814, aged 49 years, Free, St Phillips 365. She was buried in the cemetery that now lies under the site of the Sydney Town Hall.¹³⁹

* * * *

Apart from these few references we know little of Susannah's life back in Sydney. It surely must have been strange to have a Catholic son-in-law at a time when there was no acknowledgement of that religion in the colony. And no doubt she might have had reservations about him being an Irishman but, at the time she died, Michael Hayes was prosperous (the first accountant in Australia) and her daughter happily producing a family. On reflection she probably had had a more successful life than that she might have had back in Worcester. To cap it all off Michael had owned a shoe manufactory and no doubt had provided her with any footwear she wanted. It may have brought a wry smile to her face when she reflected on what had brought her to Australia.

¹ There are many phonetic spellings of Susannah's family's surname including Huffnell, Hufnell, Huffnall, Huffnail, Hoffnall, Hoffnal, Uffnell, Ufnell, Uffinall, and Hoofnail. From the last it appears that the name has its origins from a farrier.

² Also recorded as St Andrews Church, Worcester, Worcestershire.

³ Presumed died young.

⁴ Records listed at www.familysearch.org, Pedigree Resource Files – International Genealogical Index – British Isles, published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, c1999-2000. The list included a birth date for another child Mary in 1772 but is wrongly attributed to these parents.

⁵ Copy from Worcester Records Office, no page number.

⁶ Worcester City Quarter Sessions in the Michaelmas Sessions 1786.

⁷ Worcestershire County Council letter to author, 4 January 2001 from Joanna Shepherd, Assistant Archivist.

⁸ Her name does appear in Order in Council No. 1, 6 December 1786, p 6. The only explanation could be that she was re-sentenced and this was the reason for her later transfer from *Friendship* to *Lady Penrhyn*.

⁹ Henry G. Morris, *Sergeant William Baker - First Fleet Marine*, unpublished, Lindfield, 1998, p 6. Mr Morris is a descendant of Susannah Huffnell, and also wrote: H.G. Morris, 'Some facts about a Windsor Baker', *Journal of Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol 76, pt 1 (June 1990), pp 16-26.

¹⁰ Mollie Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p 182, citing *The Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth: Surgeon, Lady Penrhyn, 1787-1789*, p 5.

¹¹ General Muster of New South Wales 1811, p xxi.

¹² According to website <http://fmpro.uow.edu.au/FirstFleet/>, Mary was 37 at that time (May 1787), but Bowes records the later age.

¹³ Fidlon and Ryan, *The Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth: Surgeon, Lady Penrhyn, 1787-1789*, p 5.

¹⁴ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 6.

¹⁵ Cecil Herbert, *First Fleeter John Herbert*, ISBN 07316 23932, 1988, p 9. *Charlotte's* log records 107 males and 20 females.

¹⁶ Mollie Gillen, *Founders of Australia*, p 182.

¹⁷ Lieutenant Ralph Clark, *Journal*, p 12.

¹⁸ Jonathan King, *The First Fleet – The Convict Voyage That Founded Australia 1787-88*, Macmillan, South Melbourne, 1982, p 36; John H. Moore, *The First Fleet Marines, 1786-1792*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1987, p 34 quotes Bradley, *A Voyage*, p 9 who says the 13th and 14th; though Easty (Memorandum, p 4) gives the dates as 15 and 16 March.

¹⁹ A.J. Gray, 'John Bennett of the *Friendship*', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol 44 (1958-1959), p 399.

²⁰ Ross' Returns, p 248 (13-21 March 1787).

²¹ Gillen, *Founders of Australia*, p 82; HO 13/4/ p 220; Adm 1/4289.

²² Gray, 'John Bennett of the *Friendship*', p 400, quoting Richard's Returns, p 286.

²³ Fidlon and Ryan, *The Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, Appendix 1, p 173, Captain's Journal.

²⁴ Gabrielle Grammeno, *The Lady Penrhyn*, Springwood, NSW, 1997, p 2.

²⁵ Grammeno, *The Lady Penrhyn*, p 2.

- ²⁶ King, p 38.
- ²⁷ Fidlton and Ryan, *The Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, p 11.
- ²⁸ Moore, *The First Fleet Marines*, p 89, quoting Lt P.G. King, *Journal*, 97.
- ²⁹ Lieutenant Ralph Clark, *Journal*, p 94.
- ³⁰ H.G. Morris, 'Some facts about a Windsor Baker', *Journal of RAHS*, vol 76, pt 1 (June 1990) p 17.
- ³¹ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 4. The Order of Battle, New South Wales Marine Corps Detachment, July 1788 records that William Baker was a Sergeant in Captain/Lieutenant Tench's Company (Moore, *The First Fleet Marines*, Appendix C).
- ³² Don Chapman, *1788, the people of the First Fleet*, p 37 quoting 'The Modern Encyclopedia of Australia and New Zealand' which refers to 'Sergeant Baker' as a 'large fish similar to pike in appearance, growing to more than two feet, coloured red to violet blue, with red and yellow tail fin. Probably named after Sergeant William Baker, an early colonist. Flesh is edible but not greatly esteemed. Generally found rocky and weedy situations, temperate Australasian seas'.
- ³³ CO 201/3 f 9: Collins, p 19, in Mollie Gillen, *The Search for John Small – First Fleeter*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1985, p 106.
- ³⁴ Fidlton and Ryan, *The Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, p 66. These women are not to be confused with the five female convicts who were sent to Norfolk Island; they were boarded on HM *Supply* on 14 February, direct from the *Lady Penrhyn* – Appendix 1, p 175.
- ³⁵ Fidlton and Ryan, *The Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, p 66.
- ³⁶ Chapman, *1788, the people of the First Fleet*, p 86.
- ³⁷ Morris proposes that Susannah was an attractive convict who gained advantage because of her looks.
- ³⁸ SLV, AJCP 60, HO 10/2 Females 1788-1819, *A Nominal Alphabetical Return of Female Convicts for New South Wales from 1788 up to December 1819*, p 155.
- ³⁹ Tim Flannery (ed.), *Watkin Tench, 1788*, The Text Publishing Company, Melbourne, 1996, p 45.
- ⁴⁰ Henry G. Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 15.
- ⁴¹ Flannery (ed.), *Watkin Tench, 1788*, p 44.
- ⁴² Collins, *An Account*, vol 1, 113, in John H. Moore, *The First Fleet Marines, 1786-1792*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1987, p 134.
- ⁴³ Flannery (ed.), *Watkin Tench, 1788*, p 78.
- ⁴⁴ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 22. There is a painting of it by William Bradley dated 1791 - three years after landing - by which time Susannah was already on Norfolk Island.
- ⁴⁵ HRNSW, Vol 1, Part 2, Phillip 1783-1792, Governor Phillip to Lord Sydney, 9 July 1788, p 147.
- ⁴⁶ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 23.
- ⁴⁷ A mention of 'the Governor's French Chef' is also made by Marnie Bassett, *The Governor's Lady*, Oxford University Press, London, 1940.
- ⁴⁸ Flannery (ed.), *Watkin Tench, 1788*, p 137.
- ⁴⁹ Flannery (ed.), *Watkin Tench, 1788*, p 148.
- ⁵⁰ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*.
- ⁵¹ Gillen, *The Search for John Small*, p 89. Mary Parker was probably the midwife to the son that Esther Abrahams bore to George Johnston, baptised 4 March 1790.
- ⁵² Moore, *The First Fleet Marines*, Appendix A – Children of Marines 1787-1792.
- ⁵³ It was not until the 1828 Census that women were recorded using their married names.
- ⁵⁴ Certificate of Baptism, St Phillips Church of England - No 43 Volume 1 (Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages), St Phillips Sydney, AO Reel 5002, Volume 4, p 4.
- ⁵⁵ NSWPI Pioneers Series – Births, Set # 3 - 91 records, Combine: 1 and 2, Record #1 of 91. Surname Baker, Given Name(s) Elizabeth, Index Year 1789, Father William, Mother Susannah (Hoffnal), Denomination Church of England, Parish Sydney, St Phillip's, volume reference V178943 1A, Registration Year 1789, Registration Number 0. Record 6 of 91 also lists Elizabeth Baker, volume reference V178943 4.
- ⁵⁶ Herbert J. Rumsey, FSG (transcribed by), Index to Baptisms New South Wales 1787-1800, p 2, Entry number 28.
- ⁵⁷ State Library of Victoria, SLV GM 62, Mutch TD Card Indexes to Births, Deaths and Marriages, 1787-1814.
- ⁵⁸ Chapman, *1788, the people of the First Fleet*, p 177.
- ⁵⁹ Flannery (ed.), *Watkin Tench, 1788*, p 116.
- ⁶⁰ Letter from Governor Philip to the Right Hon Lord Sydney, dated Sydney Cove, February 12, 1790, on SLNSW website.
- ⁶¹ Flannery (ed.), *Watkin Tench, 1788*, pp 120-121.
- ⁶² St Phillips Records.
- ⁶³ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 24. Lieutenant Clark's journal does record that Mr Baker lost 8 shillings in the shipwreck of *Sirius*.
- ⁶⁴ Chapman, *1788, the people of the First Fleet*, p 87.
- ⁶⁵ Berzins, *The Coming of The Strangers*, p 100.
- ⁶⁶ Berzins, *The Coming of The Strangers*, pp 102-103.

- ⁶⁷ Nobbs (ed.), *Norfolk Island and its First Settlement, 1788-1814*, p 212.
- ⁶⁸ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 25.
- ⁶⁹ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 25.
- ⁷⁰ Hazzard, *Punishment Short of Death*, p 29.
- ⁷¹ Henry G. Morris, *The Girard Family of Lismore House*, notes to Richmond River Historical Society Inc, June 1989.
- ⁷² Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 27.
- ⁷³ Clark, *Journal*, p 130 in Moore, *The First Fleet Marines*, p 233.
- ⁷⁴ Flannery (ed.), *Watkin Tench, 1788*, pp 122-123.
- ⁷⁵ James Clark otherwise Hosier, (indicted as James but frequently recorded as John).
- ⁷⁶ Gillen, *Founders of Australia*, pp 70-71.
- ⁷⁷ Nobbs, *Norfolk Island and its First Settlement*, p 192 – recorded as CI, living as married.
- ⁷⁸ SLV GM 115, p 23A.
- ⁷⁹ SLV GM 115, p 35A.
- ⁸⁰ James Hugh Donohoe, *Norfolk Island 1788-1813, The People and their Families*, privately published, Sydney, 1986, p 45. Donohoe uses Miss Jess Hill's '1790-1796 Norfolk Island Victualling Book'. He quotes the Land Grant Memorials and *Sydney Gazette* as references but the *Sydney Gazette* did not start until 1803.
- ⁸¹ Norfolk Island Victualling Book, GM 115, SLV, p 190. This part of the list titled 'Military' does not mention Sergeant William Baker.
- ⁸² HRA series 1 vol 1 pp 241-5.
- ⁸³ Hazzard, *Punishment Short of Death*, p 32.
- ⁸⁴ Gillen, *Founders of Australia*, p 182.
- ⁸⁵ Hazzard, *Punishment Short of Death*, p 32.
- ⁸⁶ Gillen, *Founders of Australia*, pp 70-71.
- ⁸⁷ Nobbs, *Norfolk Island and its First Settlement*, p 188.
- ⁸⁸ *Norfolk Island Victualling Book 1790-1795*, SLV GM 115, p 76b. No further information is given.
- ⁸⁹ *Norfolk Island Victualling Book 1790-1795*, SLV GM 115, p 80b.
- ⁹⁰ *Norfolk Island Victualling Book 1790-1795*, SLV GM 115, p 55b.
- ⁹¹ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker - First Fleet Marine*, p 27.
- ⁹² Nobbs, *Norfolk Island and its First Settlement*, p 207.
- ⁹³ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, p 38. There is a possibility that Francis Huffnell stowed away to England on a passing vessel, and later was returned to Australia as a convict under the name Thomas Huffnell.
- ⁹⁴ Carol J. Baker (ed.), *Musters and Lists New South Wales and Norfolk Island 1800-1802*, ABGR with Society of Australian Genealogists, Sydney, 1988, index. Huffnail, Susanah, Type: Subject, Ref CA273, Free Woman – Sentence Expd, Date of Victualling - 01 Jan 1802.
- ⁹⁵ Reg Wright, *The Forgotten Generation of Norfolk Island and Van Diemens Land*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1986, Appendix A.
- ⁹⁶ The Index to Convict Pardons/Tickets of Leave 1810-1875 NSW AONSW 4/4419 etc, p 360 records Huffnell, Susannah, *Lady Penrhyn* 1788, Number 11/28, Reel 601, Shelf 4/4427, p 568.
- ⁹⁷ Her mark, not a signature, as witness to a wedding at St Phillips on 5 September 1789 is shown in Gillen, *Founders of Australia*, signature list no. 83. The wedding was William Richardson (servant to Capt James Meredith) and Isabella Rosson.
- ⁹⁸ Held in NSW State Archives and Mitchell Library.
- ⁹⁹ Gillen, *Founders of Australia*, p 182.
- ¹⁰⁰ Wright, *The forgotten generation*, Appendix A.
- ¹⁰¹ SLV GM 62, Mutch TD, Card Index to Births Deaths and Marriages 1787-1814, Reel CY377.
- ¹⁰² Nobbs, *Norfolk Island and its First Settlement*, p 193. Davis was recorded as a convict, and lived as married. He is recorded as departing Norfolk Island after February 1805.
- ¹⁰³ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker - First Fleet Marine*, p 37; Wright, *The forgotten generation*, Appendix A.
- ¹⁰⁴ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker - First Fleet Marine*, p 37.
- ¹⁰⁵ HO 10/1/2 – Criminal (Convicts, NSW and Tasmania) NSW Male L-Z, 1788-1819.
- ¹⁰⁶ Historical Records of New South Wales, Volume 1 Part 2 Phillip 1793-1792, Landsdown Slattery & Company, MonaVale, NSW, p 589 quoting letter, The Right Hon. Henry Dundas to Governor Phillip, Whitehall, 10 January 1792.
- ¹⁰⁷ Nobbs, *Norfolk Island and its First Settlement*, p 201 – in list of men; Home Office Convict lists.
- ¹⁰⁸ C.J. Smee (ed.), *Fourth Fleet Families of Australia*, self-published, Artamon NSW, 1992, entry for John Wheeler.
- ¹⁰⁹ This contradicts Gillen's entry recording that Elizabeth married Richard Hayes.
- ¹¹⁰ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker - First Fleet Marine*, p 4.
- ¹¹¹ Father Cathaldus Giblin, OFM in *Footprints*, October 1975, vol 2, No 8, p 18.
- ¹¹² Giblin, OFM in *Footprints*, p 18.

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- ¹¹³ H.W. Coffey and M.J. Morgan, *Irish Families in Australia and New Zealand, 1788-1925*, vol 2 (revised), H.W. Coffey, Melbourne, 1979, p 13.
- ¹¹⁴ Register of Condition Pardons 1791-1825, GMF 55 CS 4/4430, p 25.
- ¹¹⁵ Russell Craig, 'Michael Hayes: colonial "accomptant"', in *Australian CPA*, November 1998, pp 68-69, at www.cpaonline.com.au/html/aa/9811/pg_aa98111_belowtheli.html, accessed 19 May 2007.
- ¹¹⁶ Craig, 'Michael Hayes: colonial "accomptant"', pp 68-69.
- ¹¹⁷ Nobbs, *Norfolk Island and its First Settlement*, p 201, also p 195.
- ¹¹⁸ Hayes Letters, A3586, ML. This is the reference Donohoe gives but there is no mention of Father Harold in the letters.
- ¹¹⁹ Patrick Robertson, *The Guinness Book of Australian Firsts*, Collins Australia Pty Ltd and Guinness Books, Sydney, 1987, p 113. This records the first as being on 7 May 1802 when two convicts were married by Father Dixon
- ¹²⁰ James Hugh Donohoe, *Norfolk Island*, p 49.
- ¹²¹ Craig, 'Michael Hayes: colonial "accomptant"', p 69.
- ¹²² Mrs Reibey informs her Friends and the Public in general, that she had removed from her House in Macquarie Place to No 12 George Street, late the residence of Mr Michael Hayes... 251 (*Sydney Gazette*, Sat, 20 July 1811)
- ¹²³ *Letters of Michael Hayes and the Past*, by Rev F. Celsus Kelly, OFM. Also shown in AO Reel 800, p 41.
- ¹²⁴ Craig, 'Michael Hayes: colonial "accomptant"', p 69.
- ¹²⁵ Rev Father Celsus Kelly, "Michael Hayes", in *The Catholic Weekly*, 27 November 1952, pp 11, 19-20.
- ¹²⁶ Morris writes that Susannah remained on Norfolk Island for approximately the next seventeen years, raising a family and returning to Sydney about 1807 however there is no evidence for this date.
- ¹²⁷ Nobbs, *Norfolk Island and its First Settlement*, p 201.
- ¹²⁸ Donohoe, *The People of Norfolk Island*, p 77.
- ¹²⁹ Elizabeth Hayes, 3 October 1823, Memorial to Sir Thomas Brisbane, 130A.
- ¹³⁰ Donohoe, *The People of Norfolk Island*, p 18 – in the entry referring to Baker, William, but not mentioned in the Huffnell or Wheeler entries.
- ¹³¹ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, pp 38-39.
- ¹³² "Case of Elizabeth Hayes and Children", undated; presumably from the Memorial files, copy supplied by Toni Barry.
- ¹³³ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker*, pp 38-39.
- ¹³⁴ Map of Castlereagh St taken from an old city sub-division map, NSW Lands Department, city section 33.
- ¹³⁵ Gillen, *The Founders of Australia*, p 182.
- ¹³⁶ General Muster of New South Wales 1811, p xvii.
- ¹³⁷ General Muster of NSW 1811, Wheeler 6178, Uffnell 5932.
- ¹³⁸ Chapman, *1788, the people of the First Fleet*, p 120 records that in 1817 she was married to a settler and living in Sydney.
- ¹³⁹ Morris, *Sergeant William Baker - First Fleet Marine*, p 39.