

DRAWN AND ENGRAVED BY J. CARMICHAEL, SYDNEY.

GEORGE STREET.

from the wharf

John Black Carmichael (1803–1857), artist and engraver

1.

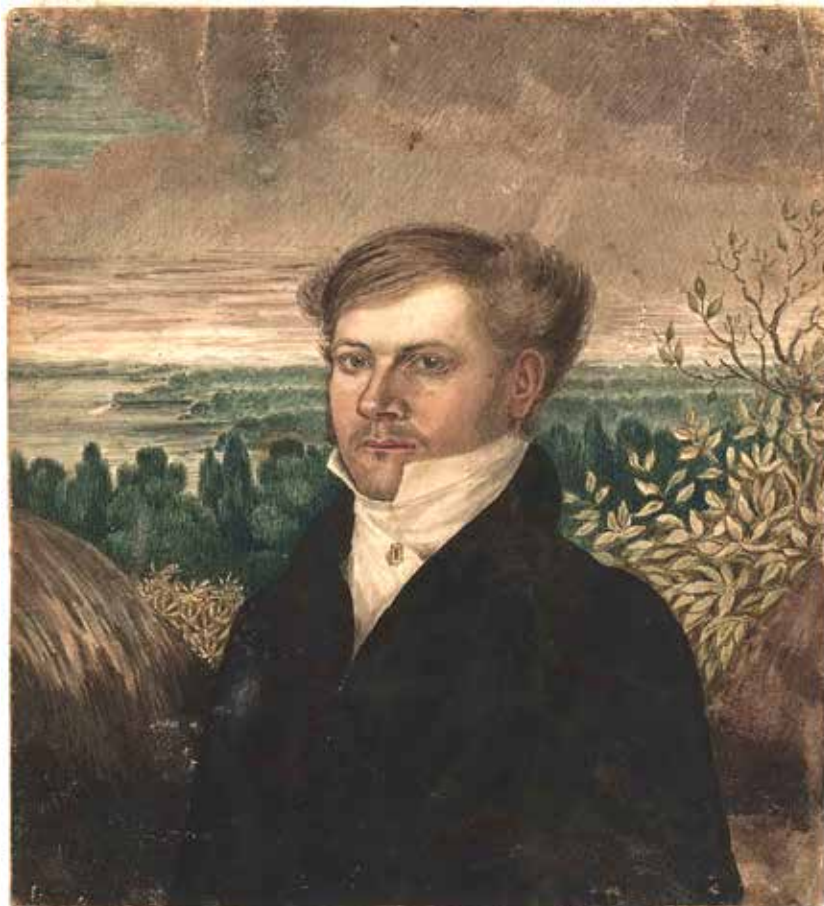
John Carmichael (1803–1857), Arthur Hill, printer (active Australia 1826–1834), *George Street from the wharf* 1829 from John Carmichael, *Select views of Sydney, New South Wales*. Drawn and engraved by John Carmichael, Sydney: the artist, 1829 engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate. Printed image 16.6 x 23 cm, sheet 21 x 27.4 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 2006, 2006.328.3

Edinburgh-born John Carmichael arrived in Sydney in 1825, living and working there for over 30 years producing landscapes, portraits, maps, billheads, musical scores, illustrations and some of Australia's first postage stamps. His works provide a revealing and valuable record of life and times in colonial Sydney.

Until now, the published details of Carmichael's life have been fragmentary.

Confusion surrounds his name, his age and education, whether he came free or as a convict, if he was deaf, how many times he married, the number of his children and the distressing circumstances of the last months of his life.

This new account of Carmichael's life illustrates a few of his many works, which can be found in the National Gallery of Australia, National Library of Australia, State Library of NSW, State Library of Victoria, the National Library of New Zealand and private collections. In 2011, the British Library reproduced *Select views of Sydney, New South Wales*. Drawn and engraved by John Carmichael.¹



KAREN EATON

Scotland 1803–1824

John Black Carmichael was born on 27 December 1803 to parents Janet (née Black) and James Carmichael (1775–1820), a poulterer of Edinburgh, Scotland.² He was named James³ at birth but known as John thereafter.

Carmichael was deaf. With no prior schooling, he was admitted⁴ to the Edinburgh Deaf and Dumb Institution⁵ in 1812, where all the pupils were boarders. A small number were “parlour boarders” who occupied “sleeping rooms at the cost of their parents”, the remainder “mainly supported by charity, had a mess table of their own and slept in a separate part of the house.” The children, who came from all parts of Scotland (a few were from Ireland and England), were placed in classes of boys and girls of mixed ages and taught to communicate using gestures, finger-spelling and writing.⁶

A classmate, Alexander Atkinson, remembered Carmichael as good looking

and a “capital fine chap with an excellent turn for drawing”. Atkinson recalled Carmichael’s expressive and “animated” gestures, which conveyed his thoughts and intentions with “fidelity” and humour.⁷ The same could be said about his drawings, which generally include elements that are expressive, animated, faithful and humorous.

The institution fostered the natural abilities of its pupils and, in due course, provided recommendations to potential employers.⁸ Carmichael was apprenticed to John Horsburgh (1791–1869), an Edinburgh engraver and printer.

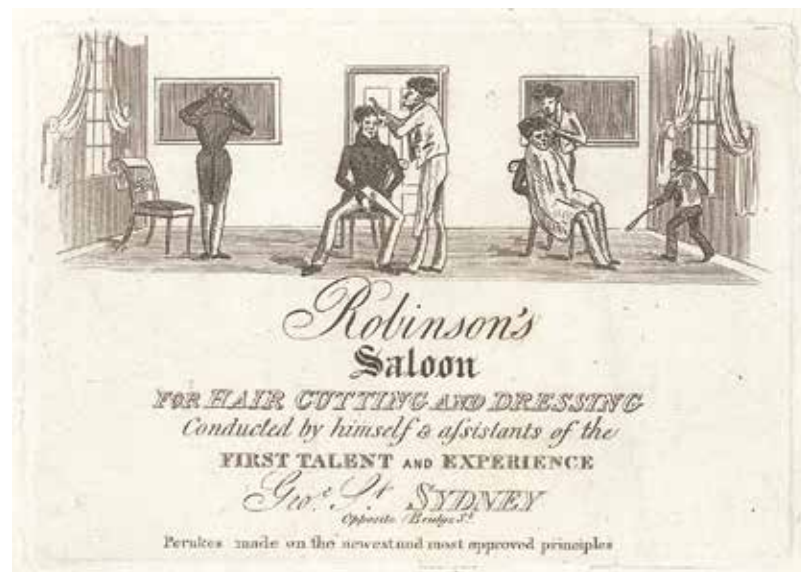
Carmichael had “an enthusiastic fancy” for cockfights, a popular entertainment made all the more exciting when his father James supplied the pits with fighting birds. John also had a great passion for horse racing. He would cheerfully stride out the five miles from Edinburgh to the Musselburgh Races, observing the horses and their jockeys with a keen eye, often making quick pen and ink sketches, which he would later give away to friends.⁹

2.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), *King of black Native*, 1826 watercolour and ink drawing on card, 20.9 x 12.8 cm. At bottom right of image in brushpoint: Drawn by / John Carmichael / 19th December 1826 / Sydney New South Wales; beneath image in ink: King of black Native; on reverse of image in pencil: I-beg-u; an erased pencil inscription is also visible on the reverse. Collection: Mitchell Library, purchased 1999, P2/455. This portrait possibly depicts Bungaree, a well-known Sydney Aborigine who was often referred to as the “King” of Sydney Aborigines. Contemporary European anecdotes often noted his begging, breastplate and old military uniforms which government officials had given to him

3.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), *Thomas Meehan*, watercolour, 15.5 x 14 cm, signed and dated 22 July 1828 verso. Private collection, courtesy of Josef Lebovic Gallery, Kensington NSW. Thomas Meehan (1809–1835) was the son of the late James Meehan (1774–1826), Deputy Surveyor General



4.

John Carmichael (1803–1857),
Advertisement: J. Macnaughton Chemist and Druggist, c 1838, engraving.
 Collection: Josef Lebovic Gallery, Kensington NSW

5.

John Carmichael (1803–1857),
Advertisement: Robinson's Saloon 1835, from *The New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory for 1835*, Sydney, 1835. Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, image 7.8 x 11.4 cm, sheet 12.5 x 20 cm.
 Collection: National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 2004, 2005.675

Sydney 1825–1835

An adventurous and confident young man, Carmichael sailed, in the spartan comfort of steerage, by *Triton* from Leith Roads on 21 May 1825. Departing with a “full cargo, 51 passengers and 32 Saxony sheep” *Triton* arrived in Sydney Cove on 28 October 1825.¹⁰ Finally at the end of a five-month voyage Carmichael and his fellow travellers stepped onto the rough timbers of the King’s Wharf. The new immigrants made their way from the wharf to George Street by a wide gravel lane that passed between the prominent Commissariat

Stores on the north side and a stone-built warehouse to the south.

Some four years later Carmichael engraved an image of this location (the warehouse by this time was the sailmaking and chandlery store of Kemp & Dobson).¹¹ In *George Street from the Wharf* Carmichael included a small personal detail: a pennant with the name *Triton* is flying from the larger of the two partly obscured vessels lying alongside the King’s Wharf (**plate 1**).

Carmichael arrived, aged 21 and without family, with little more than his engraving tools, a modest bundle of personal belongings and most likely one or two letters of introduction. Six weeks after arriving, he advertised in the *Sydney Gazette* of 12 December 1825:

JOHN CARMICHAEL Lately arrived per Triton (who served his Time with Mr Horsburgh of Edinburgh), begs to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Colony, that he engraves Coats of Arms and Initials in gold, silver, and ivory; also, Plates for Bills of Exchange, Bills of Lading, Ornamental Cards, Tickets, and Bills of Parcels, &c. on the shortest Notice, in a Style superior to any hitherto attempted to be executed in the Colony. Orders to be left at the House of Mr J. M. Wilson Upper Pitt-street; or, at Mr Parker 99 George-street.¹²

John Mudie Wilson was employed in the Commissariat Department.¹³ William Parker operated an emporium (of sorts) offering law books and household goods.¹⁴ Carmichael continued to advertise regularly and it is likely newspaper staff helped him compose advertisements.^{15,16}

An example of Carmichael’s awkward style of writing¹⁷ and determination to produce the best he could is demonstrated by his communication (years later) to the Colonial Secretary.

I got one proof size original well. Very difficult. I was myself to try 10 times damp, put in table, border nails, when dry, size original. I know all printers in England never print size original.¹⁸

One of Carmichael’s earliest portraits, a watercolour thought to be of Bungaree (who had circumnavigated Australia with Matthew Flinders, among other achievements)¹⁹ was completed in 1826 (**plate 2**); two years later, he painted a likeness of Thomas Meehan, son of the recently deceased Deputy Surveyor General James Meehan (**plate 3**).²⁰

In January 1827, Carmichael moved to 21 Castlereagh Street, near the Court House, where he accepted assignments “on the shortest notice and the most reasonable terms”.²¹

By October 1828, Carmichael was lodging at the premises of chemists James Macnaughton and John Rowell, where medicinal concoctions were dispensed and aromatic coffee freshly roasted each morning.²² Here at 6 King Street, Carmichael offered:

Miniatures from two to five guineas; transparent window blinds painted to order, landscapes copied and all kinds of fancy work done in the neatest manner.²³

After Macnaughton and Rowell dissolved their partnership in August 1831,²⁴ Macnaughton remained in King Street and continued to act as Carmichael's agent from time to time (plate 4).²⁵

Some time in 1828 Carmichael commenced work on a set of six engravings, sold by subscription the following year as *Select Views of Sydney*. In December 1828 the *Sydney Gazette* observed:

We have seen one of the prints (a perspective of George-street, commencing at the King's Wharf), (plate 1) which is delineated with very great truth, and is no mean specimen of the artist's talents in his profession.²⁶

Carmichael had expected to complete the set by April 1829. However another month had passed when the *Sydney Gazette* advised:

Carmichael's Views of Sydney price 4-dollars to be paid on delivery. Subscription lists lay open at the Bank of New South Wales, the Sydney Gazette Office, the Australian

Newspaper Office, the Monitor Office, Levy's Royal Hotel, Cumming's Hotel, Girard's Hotel, the Australian Hotel, Hill's Rose and Crown Tavern, and at McNaughton and Rowell's, King-street, the Lodgings of John Carmichael, the Engraver ... separate views for framing may be had for 4-Shillings each.²⁷

In December 1830, Carmichael moved further along King Street to number 19, taking lodgings opposite the Rose & Crown, continuing his business and also offering instruction in drawing and engraving.²⁸ It is not known if Carmichael took on any students but it is likely, in the 1850s, that he taught his eldest son John the exacting craft.^{29,30}

Walking through Sydney streets after nightfall could be perilous. In May 1832 Carmichael and John Moss, a silk dyer, were set upon sometime after nine in the evening as the pair passed along York Street.

Carmichael and Moss were met by three villains who knocked Mr M down and robbed him of his watch and some money. The alarm raised by Mr C, who, though unable to speak, clapped his hands most lustily, brought some constables to their assistance: they succeeded in apprehending one of the fellows who turns out to be a native named Atkins, of most infamous character.³¹



6.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), artist and lithographer, J. G. Austin, printer, "The Old Commodore." *Billy Blue*. Drawn from Life and on Stone by John Carmichael, c 1834, lithograph, printed area, including title, 27.2 x 21.8 cm. Collection: Dixson Collection, State Library of NSW, bequeathed by Sir William Dixson 1952, DL Pd 29 DL Pe 10

7.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), engraver, *Plan of the Pass of Victoria Mount York &c*, from *New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory for 1834*, Sydney 1834, engraving. Collection: Josef Lebovic Gallery, Kensington NSW



Irrawang Vineyard & Pottery.



East Australia.

8.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), engraver, James Macle hose, author and publisher (active Australia c.1833–1844), *Irrawang vineyard and pottery, East Australia* 1838 from James Macle hose, *Picture of Sydney; and strangers' guide in New South Wales, for 1839*, Sydney, J. Macle hose, 1839. Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, printed image 9 x 17.3 cm, plate-mark 10 x 17.3 cm, sheet 11.2 x 18.4 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased from Gallery admission charges 1989, 89.64



Normal Institution.
Hyde Park, Sydney.

9.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), engraver, James Macle hose, author and publisher (active Australia c.1833–1844), *Normal institution, Hyde Park, Sydney* 1838, from James Macle hose, *Picture of Sydney; and strangers' guide in New South Wales, for 1839*, Sydney, J. Macle hose, 1839. Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, printed image 8.8 x 15.9 cm, plate-mark 10 x 15.9 cm, sheet 11 x 18.4 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased from Gallery admission charges 1989, 89.65. Henry Carmichael established the Normal Institution in Elizabeth Street opposite Hyde Park, in 1835. The boys' school for both day pupils and boarders operated at this site until 1849, when it moved to King Street

Moss, who usually dressed in a modish fashion (blue dress coat, plain gilt buttons, blue trousers),³² was robbed of 11 shillings, his watch, hat and handkerchief.³³ At his trial, Justice Dowling found William Atkins guilty of highway robbery and sentenced him to death.³⁴

Three years later, on Saturday evening 30 May 1835 Carmichael was again the victim of a thuggish robbery. Attacked in Clarence Street by four sailors, he was severely injured. They stole a pocket book and £7 in bank notes.³⁵

Carmichael was quick to foil an attempt at forgery in July 1835 when a convict assigned to the *Herald*, George Rodham, presented him with a request

to prepare a reproduction of a Bank of New South Wales £1 note. Immediately suspicious of the fellow's intent, Carmichael went to the Chief Constable and the conniving Rodham was arrested soon after.³⁶

He engraved an engaging advertisement for Robinson's Saloon about 1835 (**plate 5**). Thomas Robinson, a hairdresser and perfumer, invited men and women who valued "their greatest personal ornament – a good head of hair" to have a coiffure arranged in a "style quite à la Macalpine."³⁷

Carmichael took an interest in two colourful Sydney identities. A well-known eccentric, Billy Blue (1767?–1834), a Jamaican black and former convict, was the subject of Carmichael's 1833 lithograph titled *The Old Commodore*, said at the time to be a "spirited likeness" of the garrulous old ferryman (**plate 6**). Prints, available from McNaughton the chemist, were popular and many were sold.³⁸

In September 1835 Carmichael's drawing of the notorious boxer Ned Chalker³⁹ was displayed at the Ropemaker's Arms.⁴⁰

Major Mitchell's maps

Carmichael began his long association with the Surveyor General in 1829 with his appointment as an “engraver in the Surveying Department”⁴¹ and during the early 1830s he was almost exclusively committed to working with the Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell. For a period, Carmichael lived in Mitchell's home, *Craigend* at Darlinghurst.⁴² In December 1832, the *Sydney Herald* noted:

Mr Carmichael the engraver is at present engaged on a series of plates of the Southern Constellations for Surveyor General Mitchell.⁴³

Described as “a large burnished aquatint, produced under the supervision of Mitchell and his friend the astronomer James Dunlop, superintendent of the Parramatta Observatory”, this engraving, *Chart of the Zodiac* is now held by the National Gallery of Australia.⁴⁴

In March 1833, Mitchell wrote to Under Secretary Robert Hay regarding his personal and ambitious undertaking of producing a map of the colony.

I am happy to say that the drawing and compilation is now about complete and about one half of the work is on copper.

In October that year, Mitchell again wrote to Hay stating:

My map is nearly all on copper having been myself obliged to etch the hills and ranges as few engravers, even in London, can do this satisfactorily ... the rest of the engraving was done by John Carmichael. Who I have paid £200⁴⁵ a year for several years out of my own pocket while he was living in my own house.

On 20 July 1834 the rigorous, exacting Major Mitchell wrote:

I have employed an engraver for several years until I have taught him, tho' deaf and dumb, to engrave hills ... the trouble I have had with this engraver to produce a map which I could own.⁴⁶



Mitchell's *Map of the Nineteen Counties* was considered to be a most “meticulous and valuable etching of the colony's first divisions into Parishes and Counties, the topography rendered in beautiful and minute detail.”⁴⁷ Carmichael's engraving of Victoria Pass in the Blue Mountains is shown here (**plate 7**).

In 1836 Thomas Symonds and Frederick Shortland in HMS *Rattlesnake* completed a survey of Port Phillip Bay, Victoria. Carmichael was commissioned to engrave two charts, one of shoals at the entrance and another of the bay itself where Station Peak [now Flinders Peak] surrounded by clouds, is accurately delineated.⁴⁸

Offered for sale in December 1836, Mitchell's grand neo-classical mansion *Craigend* was described as “that

10.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), engraver, *Barrack* from *New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory for 1834*, Sydney 1834. Engraving, printed in black ink. Collection: Josef Lebovic Gallery, Kensington NSW

11.

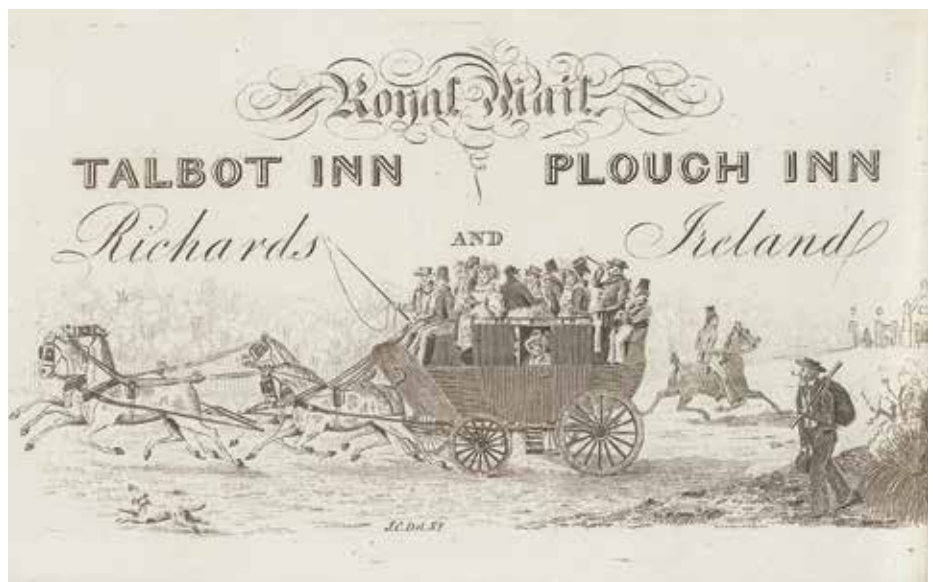
James Adamson, print after, John Carmichael, engraver, Raphael Clint, printer & publisher, *Melbourne from the south side of the Yarra Yarra* 1838. Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, printed image 17.6 x 35.8 cm, sheet 20 x 40 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 2009, 2009.1031

12.

Thomas Balcombe (1810–1861), print after, John Carmichael, engraver, *The Master of the Fitz Roy Hunt* 1850, from *The Australasian Sporting Magazine*, Sydney, 1850–51. Engraving and etching, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, printed image 10 x 15.9 cm plate-mark 12 x 16 cm sheet 13.6 x 23.2 cm, signed with initials TB and JC. Collection: National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 1994, 94.423.2

13.

John Carmichael (1803-1857), *Advertisement: Royal Mail, Talbot Inn, Plough Inn, Richards and Ireland* 1834 from *New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory for 1834*, Sydney, 1834. Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, printed image 10 x 18.8 cm, plate-mark 10.6 x 19 cm, sheet (1) 12.2 x 19.6 cm sheet (both) 12.4 x 19.6 cm. National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 2004, 2005.681



splendid Roman Villa and spacious pleasure grounds on Woolloomooloo Hill, Darlinghurst.” The sale notice encouraged potential buyers to consider:

In some years hence when all this part of the town will be covered with houses, shops, and warehouses ... this property offers a certain speculation and incalculable profit.⁴⁹

1835–1851

The Irish immigrant ship *Duchess of Northumberland* arrived in Sydney on 27 February 1835.⁵⁰ Although almost all the 240 passengers were young single women, some were family groups such as Bartholomew Clune, his wife Isabella⁵¹

and four of their five children, John, Margaret, Thomas and Belinda⁵² from County Clare.⁵³ Their eldest daughter Maria, a “needlewoman” aged 18, had arrived in Sydney independently some three months earlier.⁵⁴

From about 1812, Clune and his wife Isabella had worked a small four-acre farm at Mount Ivers. All of their children were literate having most likely attended one of the two schools in nearby Sixmilebridge. By 1827 Clune was in debt and as a result lost the property. Before he left Ireland, Clune had secured a position as a station manager with a promised salary of £30 per annum.⁵⁵

Meeting the Clune family would end Carmichael’s bachelor life and provide

him with firm friends and allies. In particular the three lively and engaging Clune sisters would play significant roles in Carmichael’s future. Margaret became his wife; Maria and Belinda gave lifelong loyal and practical support.

On Thursday 28 July 1836, Carmichael aged 34, married 17 year-old Margaret Clune in St Mary’s Church, Sydney. Maria and two others were witnesses to the ceremony.⁵⁶

The wedding day walk to the Catholic Chapel, at that time considered to be “almost in the bush”,⁵⁷ would have been a muddy footslog. In the preceding months Sydneysiders had been in despair over the lack of rain. At the end of June there came the extraordinary sight of a

“drifting fall of snow”. Torrential rain followed throughout July; the drought was broken, the streets a quagmire.⁵⁸

Weddings were usually simple affairs. Margaret would have made or bought a new dress, thereafter intended to be her ‘best’ costume. Perhaps there was a ring for the bride and a traditional cake. Robert Broad the jeweller in George Street had “wedding rings always on sale” and a cake “plain or ornamented” could be had from Dunsdon’s Rich Bride Cake Establishment.⁵⁹

Carmichael’s children were Jannet Maria 1837 (died April 1844⁶⁰), John David 1839, Eloner [Eleanor] Margaret 1842, Janet Maria 1844 (named after her deceased sister), Frederick William Downey 1846 and Edward Feeney 1848.⁶¹ Margaret died, together with a stillborn child, in 1851.

On 3 February 1838, Margaret’s sister Maria married a clerk at the *Gazette* office, William Turkington Crozier,⁶² who died 12 months later “at Waverly [sic] Crescent, where he moved for change of air”. After Crozier’s death, with her red hair tucked under a widow’s cap, Maria and her newborn son went to live with the Carmichaels.⁶³ Baby William died in April that year.⁶⁴ About this time, Carmichael’s household grew with the addition of Isabella and Belinda.⁶⁵ Maria did not remain a widow

for long; in November she married 42 year-old Troop Sergeant-Major Martin Feeney⁶⁶ of the Sydney Mounted Police. By all accounts Feeney was a genial, fair-minded fellow⁶⁷ and over the following ten years while he remained stationed in Sydney, Feeney and Carmichael became firm friends.

In 1842, Margaret’s younger sister, Belinda, married carpenter Patrick Joseph Downey in St Mary’s Church.⁶⁸ The couple lived for many years at the corner of William and Palmer Streets, Woolloomooloo. After an early financial setback⁶⁹ the hard working and dependable Downey went on to establish the firm Downey & Clark, Architects, Surveyors and Civil Engineers.⁷⁰ He was deputy chairman of David Jones’ in 1855.⁷¹ The following year Downey received fulsome praise for his design of “the Wilshire buildings in George Street South ... [which were] fitted up with every convenience for family residence”.⁷² Just as Carmichael came to trust and value Feeney’s friendship, he considered Downey to be an advocate and confidant.

Shortly after Margaret’s death in 1851, Carmichael appointed Feeney and Downey Trustees⁷³ in relation to his properties in Kent and Jenkins Streets. The Deed of Settlement secured the properties for the future benefit of his children.⁷⁴

14.

John Carmichael (1803-1857), *Essay for 2d “Sydney View” stamp 1849*. The first NSW stamps were issued on 1 January 1850, showing the Seal of New South Wales and an allegorical figure of Industry greeting an immigrant family with a ship and town beyond. Private collection, courtesy Gary Watson, Prestige Philately



15.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), engraver, James Macle hose, author and publisher (active Australia c 1833–1844), *Scots Church / St. Andrews Church 1838*, from James Macle hose, *Picture of Sydney; and strangers’ guide in New South Wales, for 1839*, Sydney, J. Macle hose, 1839. Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, printed image (1) 6.6 x 7.8 cm, printed image (2) 6.6 x 8.2 cm, printed image (overall) 8.5 x 16.4 cm, sheet 10.8 x 18.3 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, gift of Josef Lebovic Gallery, Sydney 1989, 89.160





cap to a soldier (**plate 10**) à la Bungaree by Augustus Earle.

In July 1839, Carmichael took employment with Raphael (Ralph) Clint,⁷⁷ by reputation an irritable but particularly talented seal engraver.⁷⁸ Engaging Carmichael must have been a boon for Clint's establishment as he advertised the appointment widely.

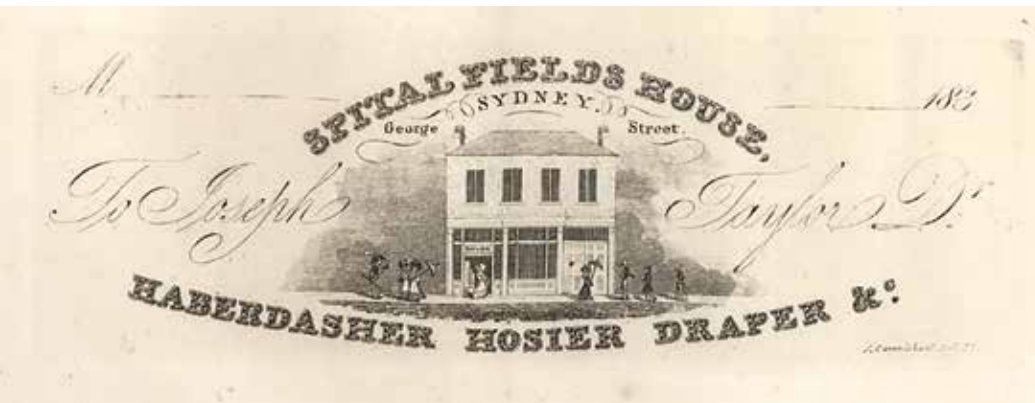
R. CLINT, Engraver and Printers in General, GEORGE-STREET, BEGS to notify to the Public, that he has engaged, at his establishment, the services of Mr JOHN CARMICHAEL. So long known as a first-rate Copper-plate Engraver, by whose extra assistance he hopes to be able to bring up the arrears of work, for which gentlemen have waited so patiently. Seals engraved on Stone, Steel, Brass, &c. &c. Arms extracted from the best Heraldic Works, marshalled and emblazoned according to correct principles. Lithographic, Forms, Circulars, Maps, Plans &c., executed with taste and despatch.⁷⁹

Carmichael worked with Clint for possibly two years or so. During that time he engraved *Melbourne from the South Side of the Yarra Yarra* drawn in 1839 by Scots immigrant John Adamson (d 1841), usually referred to as "Deaf Adamson" (**plate 11**).⁸⁰ Adamson was briefly in Sydney in 1836 but it is not known if he and Carmichael met.

During his career Carmichael engraved many maps, charts and town plans including Port Phillip, the north entrance to Moreton Bay, the towns of Sydney, Launceston and Raymond Terrace.⁸¹

When publican George Jilks, a customer of either Clint or Carmichael, lost his keys and engraved gold and stone seals in April 1841, he offered a reward of £2 for their return to either himself at the Old Bay Horse on the Parramatta Road or to Carmichael in Phillip Street.⁸²

Some 18 years after his arrival in Sydney, Carmichael became a property owner when he bought in Kent Street,⁸³ at the corner of Gas Lane, on 21



16.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), *Advertisement: R. Bourne & Co. Woollen & Linen Drapers Hosiery & Haberdashery* c 1836, Sydney, NSW. Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, image (irregular) 6.8 x 10.8 cm plate-mark 8.2 x 11.3 cm, sheet 12 x 21.4 cm, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra purchased 2004, 2005.683

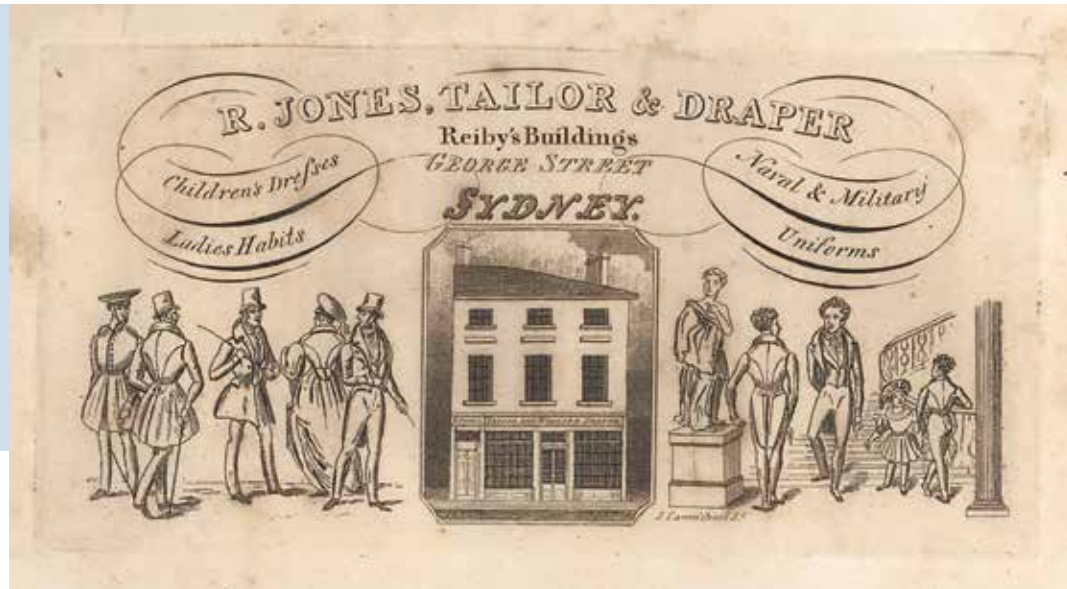
17.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), *Billhead: Spital Fields House, Haberdasher hosiery draper & c.* 1834, from *The New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory for 1834*, Sydney, 1834. Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, printed image 4.2 x 12.8 cm. Collection: Josef Lebovic Gallery. Kensington NSW

James Maclehoze's 1838 publication, *Picture of Sydney; and Strangers' Guide in New South Wales*, was illustrated with 15 of Carmichael's engravings⁷⁵, the work requiring his focus and labour for many months (**plate 8**).⁷⁶ Some of the plates had already appeared in earlier publications. At first glance one image, the Normal Institution, Hyde Park, Sydney, seems box-like and regimented until closer examination reveals, at the forefront of the scene, children gambolling about the lawn engaged in sword-play, chasing one another, and one boy performing a hand-stand (**plate 9**). The view of the flat, static Barrack is brightened with troops, gentlefolk, an indigenous family and an animated indigenous man ostentatiously doffing his

18.

John Carmichael (1803–1857),
Advertisement: R. Jones. Tailor & Draper from New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory for 1834, Sydney 1834 Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, signed J. Carmichael. The foppishly dressed figures include a statue trying on clothes. Collection: Josef Lebovic Gallery. Kensington NSW



September 1843, described by Thomas Stubbs the Auctioneer as

House and retail shop ... having a very convenient parlour at the back, commanding extensive views of the harbour, the picturesque scenery of Pymont, Balmain ... a capital store [cellar] is under the shop, with the convenience of a trap door. On the first floor ... a neat bedroom and the like accommodation above stairs.⁸⁴

About the same time Carmichael purchased a three-roomed cottage with a kitchen, and two smaller cottages, all brick and shingle construction, in nearby Jenkins Street, which were let.⁸⁵

Carmichael continued to live in Phillip Street until some time prior to August 1845, when he leased Samuel Ashmore's house in Kent Street; from 1848 he was living at his own residence, 26 Kent Street.⁸⁶

Carmichael's change of address is indicated by the following notice.

IF JOHN CARMICHAEL, Engraver, formerly residing at No 89 [sic] Phillip-street, will call at the Treasury,⁸⁷ he will receive a communication from his friends in Scotland.⁸⁸

Carmichael also turned his hand to engraving images for sheet music covers

and musical compositions such as Frederick Ellard's 1842 work *Suisse Air*.⁸⁹

Carmichael's sporting interests may be reflected in his engraving of a silver boxing belt made by silversmiths J.J. Cohen & Son. The elaborately worked three-piece silver buckle was mounted on a belt of dark-blue silk velvet and presented to the pugilist Isaac Reid in 1847 (to be discussed in our next issue).

Thomas Balcombe,⁹⁰ a fellow artist and engraver, and Carmichael were praised for their work on the cover of *Sporting Sketches No 1* featuring the "celebrated racehorse" Jorrocks when it was published in November 1848. The *SMH* commented

We must give praise to Mr Balcombe and Mr Carmichael for the engraving on the wrapper, both in design and execution it is exceedingly neat.⁹¹

A lively engraving after Thomas Balcombe of a man and his horse appeared in another sporting newspaper two years later (**plate 12**), while four straining horses manage to pull a coach overloaded with rollicking patrons in an advertisement for the Talbot Inn and Plough Inn (**plate 13**).

The cutting of the turf for the "first railway in Australia"⁹² was held, in pouring rain, at Sydney on 3 July 1850. A very fine spade made of Australian

steel with a carved tulipwood handle and a barrow fashioned from highly polished native timbers were made for the official ceremony.⁹³ Carmichael engraved the blade with an inscription and the seal of the company, a railway locomotive

... the engraving of the connecting chains, the smoke from the furnace, the caps and whistles of the boiler, are minute work, as they are perfect in the extreme.⁹⁴

Margaret Carmichael died in Kent Street on 4 June 1851⁹⁵ leaving five children between the ages of three and 12. The four older children John, Eleanor, Janet and Frederick remained in Sydney with their father. Maria and Martin Feeney took the youngest, Edward, to live in Brisbane where he was widely known as "their little adopted son, who was deaf and dumb." Belinda Downey and Eleanor often visited the Feeneys' for extended periods where "happy times were spent in singing and chatting."^{96,97}

A two-pence postage stamp

Dedicated philatelists the world over would be aware that on 1 January 1850 New South Wales postage stamps, prepaid and "gummed ready for use", were issued for the first time. Carmichael and two other engravers⁹⁸



19.

John Carmichael (1803–1857), *Billhead: C & F Wilson, Wholesale & Retail General Warehouse Sydney*, from *The New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory for 1834*, Sydney, 1834 Engraving, printed in black ink, from one copper plate, signed John Carmichael. Collection: Josef Lebovic Gallery. Kensington NSW

were commissioned to engrave plates for the one, two and three-pence stamps.⁹⁹ Carmichael's twopenny stamp (**plate 14**) has been described as having “very fine workmanship, the details of the design artistic and highly finished.”¹⁰⁰

During this period the Colonial Secretary pressed Carmichael to commit to a definite date for completion of certain stamp engravings. Carmichael steadfastly refused to sign any document to that effect. However, he did deliver the work in good time.¹⁰¹

Towards the end of 1852 Carmichael engraved, on steel, a three-pence stamp. This plate received the Governor's approval, however, it was noted “it was executed in a manner inferior to that of previous plates by the same artist.”¹⁰² This lapse on Carmichael's part is perhaps understandable given there was much upheaval in his household between 1851 and 1852. In 1853 Carmichael was authorised to engrave a copper plate for the six-pence stamp. The plate was completed with Carmichael's usual care and attention and received the Inspector of Stamps approval on 8 May 1853.¹⁰³

1852–1857

Carmichael's second wife, Emma Sivewright, arrived in Sydney in July 1851 together with her father Frederick, formerly a London law stationer, and her younger brother, Frederick jnr. Soon after his arrival Sivewright snr was employed as

a clerk in the Surveyor General's Office.¹⁰⁴

On 1 January 1852, Carmichael, aged 48, and 20-year-old Emma married in St Andrew's Church (**plate 15**). Emma, perhaps naively, believed her new husband to be much younger; when he died five years later, four death notices record his age as 45 rather than his actual age of 54.¹⁰⁵

Carmichael, Emma and the four children continued to live in Kent Street until late in 1853. However, the following years appear restless and unsettled – the family moving four times in three years.¹⁰⁶ In 1854, Carmichael “removed to Jamison Street”, where in November he advertised a room to let “suitable for a single gentleman” and only a week later advertised “two spacious rooms”.¹⁰⁷

While Carmichael was living in Jamison Street, the FitzRoy Iron Coal Mining Company commissioned various items intended for showing at the forthcoming Paris Exhibition. Anchors, tools, screws, bolts, razors and other items were made to demonstrate the capability of the material being mined in a small-scale fledgling operation at Mittagong in the Southern Highlands of NSW.¹⁰⁸ The *SMH* reported that the collection was shown in Sydney at an event opened by the Chief Justice and noted that many of the articles were decoratively engraved by Carmichael “in an excellent style”.¹⁰⁹

From 1855 to early 1856 Carmichael

could be found at Mrs Cheer's apartments No 6 Horbury Terrace, Macquarie Street (facing the Domain Gate); here Emma gave birth to a stillborn son on 16 January 1856.¹¹⁰ Also living with the family at this time was Emma's younger brother Frederick, a timid and out-of-work 21-year-old clerk.¹¹¹

From March 1856 the address was Gloucester Street, where in January 1857, Carmichael “was ordered to enter into sureties to keep the peace, he having violently assaulted his wife.”¹¹²

By July 1857 Carmichael was living at 5 Prince Street North in desperate and miserable circumstances. He was gravely ill and insolvent. A notice on 22 July confirmed the extent of his debt:

*The undermentioned estates have been surrendered and accepted. John Carmichael of Prince Street Sydney engraver. Liabilities £127 4s, Assets, value of personal property £9 outstanding debts £18 total - £27, Deficit £100 4s. Mr [Adam] Wilson official assignee.*¹¹³

John Carmichael died on the evening of Monday 27 July 1857, aged 54.¹¹⁴ His funeral held on 30 July was conducted by furniture makers and undertakers, John Hill & Son.¹¹⁵ Carmichael was buried in the Presbyterian portion of the Sydney Burial Ground (Devonshire Street). Some years later his children

erected a monument there, in the Catholic section, to the memory of their mother and father.¹¹⁶

Details of Carmichael's illness were revealed in the *SMH* on 4 August 1857:

IN THE INSOLVENT ESTATE OF JOHN CARMICHAEL, Engraver, who died July 27th 1857. In justice to his memory I his wife, Emma Carmichael, beg to publish the following statement, as annexed to his schedule, which he signed, believing himself on his deathbed, in presence of [Augustus] Birch, Esq from the Court in Equity. During the five months of Mr Carmichael's painful illness, he suffered severely, and was almost in a state of starvation, which compelled me to apply and receive relief for him from the Benevolent Asylum, although at that time he was entitled to the receipt of £6 per week (rents) from his property, Kent-street North. EMMA CARMICHAEL 5 Prince-street North.

(Copy from Schedule List A.)

The above property, six years ago, I placed in the hands of two trustees, viz., Martin Feeney, of Moreton Bay, jailor (since deceased), and Patrick Downey, architect, of Sydney, to act for me, being myself deaf and dumb. Downey has since left the colony, without making any arrangement for my support, or leaving me any power to make the above estate available for the liquidation of the annexed liabilities in my schedule list D. I have been unable, in consequence of severe illness to attend to my business (an engraver) since October in last year, and have not been able to leave my bed since the 25th March 1857, and have been obliged to apply and receive relief from the Benevolent Asylum and a few friends. This is the reason of my now praying the protection of the Court. I have not the means of paying my just debts, and am destitute of the means of subsistence.

(Signed) JOHN CARMICHAEL.¹¹⁷

Carmichael's debts included medicines and medical attention £50 3s, cash lent £22 (by Hannah Sivewright, Emma's mother), clothing £19, rent £8, firewood and coal £10, bread and meat £8, stationary £3, wine £2, plus one easy-chair value £5 made by Joseph Sly. Four accounts for engraving, which included £9 for George Hamilton of Hamilton's Steam Biscuits, were outstanding.¹¹⁸

On 19 August 1857 the matter of Carmichael's insolvency was again before the court.

In the estate of John Carmichael (deceased) a single meeting was held. Two debts were proved ... The meeting was adjourned ... for the purpose of enabling Mr [Wood] Readett, solicitor, to take the opinion of counsel upon a voluntary settlement made by the insolvent in favour of his children. Insolvent's widow¹¹⁹ allowed to retain for her use, engraving tools and table valued at £1, articles of furniture and wearing apparel, the total being £9.10s.^{120,121}

Carmichael's legacy

The *Moreton Bay Courier* of 8 August 1857 carried his sister-in-law Maria Feeney's fitting summation of Carmichael's life and career in his death notice.

On the 27th July, at his residence, Princes-street, Sydney, Mr John Carmichael, artist and copperplate engraver, aged 50 years. His transcendent talent was long acknowledged in the colony, in which he was an old and respected resident, being one of the few free immigrants that came from home 30 years ago. His works will long survive him.¹²²

Carmichael was a fine engraver who produced accurate topographical scenes. He had the rare talent of enriching the advertisements which were his bread-and-butter with lively figures and humour, in a way which does not detract from the advertisers' message but enhances it. There are many examples of his work in this

genre (**plates 16–19**), and it is possible that he produced these advertisements not only for cash but also when he needed services or goods in exchange. That he was deaf and had difficulty communicating in writing makes his achievements all the more remarkable.

Postscript

Martin Feeney was appointed governor (and Maria matron) of Queen Street Gaol, Brisbane in January 1850.¹²³ In February 1855, Feeney, contemplating retirement, "commenced a two storied stone and brick building", which he named the Prince of Wales Hotel.¹²⁴ Feeney did not live to enjoy his new hotel. He resigned as gaoler in June 1856 due to sudden "frail health" and died, aged 59, the following month.^{125,126,127}

Patrick Downey was returning from England by *Dunbar* at the time of Carmichael's death. The ship was wrecked on its approach to Sydney Heads on 20 August 1857. With the exception of one crewman¹²⁸ all 121 passengers and crew were lost. In the days after the disaster their bodies, battered and broken by the violent sea, some mauled by sharks, were gathered and laid out at the King's Arms.¹²⁹ Downey's corpse was recovered from Manly Beach and later identified by his father Patrick and brother William.¹³⁰

Downey's wife Belinda and young Eleanor Carmichael were returning to Australia by *City of Sydney*. After some delay at Galle, Ceylon, they were obliged to transfer to the *Victoria* and did not arrive in Sydney until 27 February 1858.¹³¹

In due course Belinda¹³² was appointed one of the Trustees¹³³ of Carmichael's estate. Vesting of the proceeds of the Trust (to Carmichael's children) was effected by the early 1870s.¹³⁴

Some time in 1857, possibly in the months before their father's death, Carmichael's children John, Eleanor, Janet and Frederick joined their brother Edward in Brisbane, to live with Maria Feeney at the Prince of Wales Hotel.^{135,136}

Eleanor married, 26 December 1861, William Long, superintendent of Bungaban Station (a cattle run



20.

John Carmichael (1803-1857),
*Advertisement: W. Blyth ...
 Cook, Pastry Cook from Low's
 Directory of the City and district
 of Sydney ... 1847, Sydney, 1847.*
 Engraving, 8.9 x 21.2 cm, printed
 at lower left "Carmichael Sc."
 Dixson collection, State Library of
 NSW DL 84/458 opp. p. 19

on the Dawson River inland from Rockhampton). Janet married Michael Cecil Coffey, a well-educated and amiable Brisbane chemist, 26 December 1864. Both women lived the remainder of their lives in Queensland. Eleanor died 1890 and Janet 1902.¹³⁷

Carmichael's eldest and youngest sons, John and Edward, left Australia to live in Scotland. The 1861 Scotland census records John, employed as a lithographer, living in Edinburgh with Helen Carmichael, a poulterer (widow of his uncle Robert). John married Janet McQueen¹³⁸ in 1875. Subsequent census returns of 1881 and 1891 show his occupation as 'litho artist' and litho-draftsman.¹³⁹

The first record of Edward¹⁴⁰ in Scotland was not until the 1871 census, which recorded him as a bookbinder living in lodgings in Edinburgh. From 1875 Edward lived with his brother and his family until John's death in Edinburgh in 1897. The 1901 census shows Edward, head of house, living with his nephews.¹⁴¹ The following year, Edward married widow Agnes Lund.¹⁴² The couple arrived in Australia in 1908 and returned to England in 1922.¹⁴³

As a young man Frederick, tried his luck on the Victorian gold fields. Later he became a merchant trader and lived in New Caledonia for 32 years. In

December 1879 he married Elizabeth Redment (of Rockhampton, Qld) in the British Consulate, Noumea. Fluent in French, Frederick translated documents in a Brisbane Police Court matter in 1896. Frederick and his wife did not permanently leave Noumea until 1902. Frederick died in Brisbane in 1916.¹⁴⁴

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ABBREVIATIONS

BC Brisbane Courier; SG Sydney Gazette; SH Sydney Herald; SM Sydney Monitor; SMH Sydney Morning Herald; SLNSW State Library of NSW.



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has worked for a major merchant bank, import/export firms, a leading dairy co-operative and the NSW Department of Education. During the 1980s, together with her husband, she worked a beef cattle property. Since her retirement Karen has indulged her passion for colonial history, particularly in relation to Sydney. A keen photographer, mostly of Australian native flora, she lives on the NSW North Coast. Karen can be contacted at eaton.karen@icloud.com.

NOTES

- 1 British Library, Historical Print Editions.
- 2 Findmypast: Scotland Marriages 1561–1910: James Carmichael 18yr old shoemaker and Janet Black aged 15 daughter of David Black, tailor (deceased) and Janet Wallace married Edinburgh 26 Jan 1793. James died Grange Loan, Edinburgh 27 Dec 1820 *New Caledonian Mercury* 6 Jan 1821.
- 3 B. Carty, "John Carmichael Australian Deaf Pioneer", *Selected papers from the Australasian Deaf Studies Research Symposium*, Renwick College, August 22-23, 1998, 2000.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 University Strathclyde www.celcis.org accessed 9 Aug 2014. Edinburgh Deaf and

- Dumb Institution, Chessels Court, off the Royal Mile, Edinburgh, opened 1810.
- 6 Alexander Atkinson, *Memoirs of My Youth* p 13, originally published 1865, published Feltham, British Deaf History Society Publications, c2001
 - 7 *Ibid* p 122f.
 - 8 *Ibid* p 140.
 - 9 *Ibid* p 122f.
 - 10 *Caledonian Mercury* 23 May 1825 p 3; Thomas Crawford, a cabin passenger, wrote an account of *Triton's* voyage. Refer <http://www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk/thomascrawford/> (accessed 14 Apr 2015); *Australian* 3 Nov 1825 p 4.
 - 11 Karen Eaton, *The Sailmaker's Son A Biographical Sketch of Richard Hinde Fox Kemp 1823–1906*. Karen Eaton, Skennars Head NSW 2012.
 - 12 *SG* 12 Dec 1825 p 1.
 - 13 State Records NSW: John Mudie Wilson came free *Thalia* 1822.
 - 14 *SG* 3 Oct 1825 p 1s; *Australian* 13 Sep 1826 p 1.
 - 15 *SM* 27 Jan 1827 p 8; 10 Feb 1827 p 8.
 - 16 B. Carty, *op cit*.
 - 17 *Ibid*. Carmichael's style of writing is in keeping with his education as a deaf person.
 - 18 *Ibid*.
 - 19 F. D. McCarthy, "Bungaree (?–1830)", Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bungaree-1848/text2141>, published first in hardcopy 1966 (accessed 5 Apr 2015).
 - 20 The NSW Government Printer photographed the painting in 1921, and it has not been sighted again till now. We are grateful to Josef Lebovic of Josef Lebovic Gallery, Kensington NSW, for providing us with a photograph and to the owner for allowing us to reproduce it.
 - 21 *SM* 27 Jan 1827 p 8.
 - 22 Ancestry: 1828 Census; *SG* 20 Jun 1829 p 4.
 - 23 *SM* 18 Oct 1828 p 8.
 - 24 *SH* 22 Aug 1831 p 4.
 - 25 *SH* 8 Apr 1833 p 2.
 - 26 *SG* 10 Dec 1828 p 2.
 - 27 *SG* 2 May 1829 p 3.
 - 28 *SM* 18 Dec 1830 p 4.
 - 29 By 1861 Carmichael's son, John, was employed in Edinburgh as a lithographic artist.
 - 30 Cedric Flower, *The Antipodes Observed Prints and Print Makers of Australia 1788–1850*, Macmillan, 1975. Flower doubted Carmichael was deaf as "he taught drawing and engraving".
 - 31 *SG* 29 May 1832 p 3.
 - 32 *SH* 10 Apr 1834 p 1.
 - 33 *SH* 28 May 1832 p 3.
 - 34 *SG* 2 Aug 1832 p 3. No record has been found of Atkins' execution; Ancestry. Gaol Description & Entrance Books: William Atkins native-born c1812.
 - 35 *SH* 4 Jun 1835 p 2.
 - 36 *SG* 15 Jul 1835 p 2.
 - 37 *SG* 3 Aug 1833 p 2; *SH* 7 Oct 1833 p 2; *SH* 20 Aug 1835 p 4; *SG* 9 Aug 1836 p 1; *SH* 4 June 1838 p 1. Robinson operated from various addresses in George Street throughout the 1830s and 1840s. In addition to hairdressing he sold wigs (for men and women), perfume, combs and offered "fancy hair plating" for earrings, necklaces etc. In 1838 he imported a personal "weighing machine" for the benefit of his customers. In 1844 "T. Robinson's Hair Cutting and Bath Rooms" were next to the Royal Hotel, "with no connection with his old Establishment" *SMH* 15 Apr 1844 p 1; by 1849 he was in partnership with Mr Pearson *SMH* 5 Nov 1849 p 2.
 - 38 *SH* 8 Apr 1833 p 2, 15 Sep 1834 p 1.
 - 39 Edward (Ned) Chalker (1809 NSW–1890 NSW); Ancestry: Gaol Entrance and Description Book 1831.
 - 40 *SG* 22 Sep 1835 p 2 Michael Napthaly publican, cnr York & Market Streets. A limited number of proofs were to be struck.
 - 41 State Library of NSW card index QA923.5 (refers to typewritten copies of Surveyor General's Department 1829 letters); Findmypast: *Sydney Directory 1834*, records Carmichael as "attached" to the Surveyor General's Office.
 - 42 William Foster, *Sir Thomas Livingston Mitchell and his world 1792–1855* p 173. Carmichael may have lived in Mitchell's household before he moved to *Craigend*, which was not occupied until shortly before 22 Apr 1833 (Foster p 137). Mitchell writes in his 4 Oct 1833 letter to Hay "Carmichael was in my house for several years". In much later correspondence of 22 Jun 1852 Mitchell states Carmichael lived at *Craigend* for four years.
 - 43 *SH* 20 Dec 1832 p 3.
 - 44 Roger Butler, *Printed images in colonial Australia 1801–1900*, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra 2007. *Chart of the Zodiac* including the stars to the 4th magnitude between the Parallels of 24 ½ declination North & South the places of the stars calculated for the year 1830.
 - 45 By comparison, 1832 salaries of assistant surveyors ranged from £220 to £280. Foster, *op cit* p 205, 452.
 - 46 J H L Cumpston, *Thomas Mitchell Surveyor General and Explorer* (chapter VIII), originally published Oxford University Press, 1954, accessed at Project Gutenberg of Australia.
 - 47 John F Brock, *A Tale of Two Maps – NSW in the 1830s* Mitchell and Dixon.
 - 48 State Library of NSW, *A chart of Port Phillip as surveyed by Lieut Thos Symonds & Mr Frederick Shortland, of HMS.Rattlesnake*, W.m Hobson Esqr Captain / engraved by J Carmichael, Sydney.
 - 49 *The Colonist* 1 Dec 1836 p 4; J Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House*, pp 171–177. *Craigend* was built 1829, demolished 1922.
 - 50 *SG* 14 Mar 1835 p 2.
 - 51 Bartholomew Clune (c1795 Ireland–1839 NSW); Isabella Maloney Clune (c1801 Ireland–1873 Qld); John Clune (c1814 Ireland–1887 Qld); Margaret Clune (c1819 Ireland–1851 Sydney NSW), Thomas Clune (c1826 Ireland–1853 Qld); Belinda Theresa Clune (c1820 Ireland–1892 NSW).
 - 52 The Ship List www.theshiplist.com (accessed 3 Sep 2014) Note: Clune/ Clewn; Isabella recorded as Molony (her maiden name); Belinda Theresa recorded as Isabella.
 - 53 *Courier* 16 Apr 1853 p 3.
 - 54 Maria Clune (c1816 Ireland–1865 At Sea). SRNSW ref vol 9/6184 entry #29952 *David Scott* 30 Oct 1834 Clune/Clunes.
 - 55 Ejectment Books of County Clare, 1816–1835 National Archives of Ireland ID/40/16–ID/40/32. (Plaintiff George Perry 1827); Return of Emigrants from Ireland to NSW by *Duchess of Northumberland* arrived Port Jackson 27 Feb 1835. Clune employed by James Wright.
 - 56 Marriage NSW BDM 259/1836 witnesses Maria Clune, John Andrew Robertson, Peirce Taite (Pierre Tuite).
 - 57 *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Old Times 2 May 1899 p 2.
 - 58 *SH* 30 Jun 1836 p 2. A stranger [the first sighting of snow in Sydney since the time of settlement]; *SM* 30 Jul 1836 p 2. Gangs of chained convicts were employed in the worst effected thoroughfares "clearing away mud from the many deep potholes".
 - 59 *SG* 31 Mar 1835 p 3; *SM* 12 Sep 1838 p 2.
 - 60 *SMH* 22 Apr 1844 p 3.
 - 61 Jannet Maria (1837–1844 NSW), John David (1839 NSW–1897 UK), Eloner (Eleanor) Margaret (1842 NSW–1890 Qld), Janet Maria (1844 NSW–1902 Qld), Frederick William Downey (1846 NSW–1916 Qld), Edward Feeney (1848 NSW–?). The NSW BDM records two births in 1842, Ellen and Eleanor, usually taken to be twins, however this is a double entry and only one child, Eleanor Margaret, was born. Deed of Settlement 27 Aug 1851 confirms names and number of children. Conveyance 2 Mar 1871 confirms John David Carmichael's birth date (not recorded NSW BDM).
 - 62 *SH* 5 Feb 1838 p 3; *SG* 5 Feb 1839 p 3; 9 Apr 1839 p 3; Ancestry: Returns of the Colony; NSW Land Grants 1788–1963: owner half acre land Wollongong Apr 1837.
 - 63 *BC* 2 May 1879 p 3.
 - 64 *SG* 9 Apr 1839 p 3.
 - 65 *BC* 3 May 1879 p 5. From late 1835 Bartholomew Clune was a station overseer "upon the Namoi River". Clune's wife and children (other than Maria and Margaret who remained in Sydney) accompanied him. Clune died Maitland early 1839, after which his wife, Isabella, daughter Belinda, and son Thomas returned to Sydney. The whereabouts of son, John, at this time are not known. John was a tear-away and to the despair of his family frequently in serious trouble with the law. He married Jane Connolly 16 Oct 1849 Qld.
 - 66 Martin Feeney (c1797 Ireland–1856 Qld), father Patrick Feeney of County Galway, first enlisted army 1822 Ireland; arrived *VDL Arab* 1834, marriage *Australasian Chronicle* 26 Nov 1839 p 1.
 - 67 *BC* 4 Feb 1922 p 17; State Library Qld Colonial Secretary Letters relating to Moreton Bay.
 - 68 Patrick Joseph Downey (c1820 Ireland–1857 Sydney NSW); came free Gilbert Henderson 1841; marriage *Australasian Chronicle* 9 Jul 1842 p 3.
 - 69 *Morning Chronicle* 18 Oct 1843 p 2.
 - 70 *SMH* 9 Apr 1851 p 1; *Empire* 21 Jan 1856 p 4.
 - 71 *SMH* 5 Sep 1855 p 1.

- 72 *Empire* 21 Jan 1856 p 4.
- 73 Deed of Settlement 27 Aug 1851 (Properties to be held in trust for Carmichael's children.)
- 74 William Hardy (d 1878 Ireland) *Evening News* 8 Jan 1879 p 2. Solicitor of the Sydney firm Stenhouse & Hardy acted for Carmichael and his family from as early as 1843 through to 1871.
- 75 Roger Butler, *op cit*. The remainder of the prints were by William Wilson and Samuel Clayton.
- 76 *Colonist* 24 Jan 1838 p 4.
- 77 Raphael Clint (1797 Hereford UK–1849 Sydney NSW).
- 78 *Bega Gazette* 7 Nov 1883 p 4.
- 79 *SM* 12 Jul 1839 p 1.
- 80 'Garryowen' [Edmund Finn], *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 to 1852*, 1888 p 37.
- 81 *Launceston Advertiser* 22 Sep 1836 p 1 (Launceston); *Maitland Mercury* 25 Jan 1854 p 2S (Raymond Terrace); SLNSW (Port Phillip, Moreton Bay, town of Sydney).
- 82 *SM* 2 Apr 1841 p 1.
- 83 Ancestry: NSW Electoral Rolls 1845; City of Sydney Assessment Books 1845–1948.
- 84 *SMH* 19 Sep 1843 p 3.
- 85 NSW State Records Insolvent Estate of John Carmichael.
- 86 City of Sydney Assessment Books 1845–1948.
- 87 Commissariat Office.
- 88 *SMH* 13 Aug 1845 p 3 indicates No 89 Phillip St; *SM* 2 Apr 1841 indicates No 8 Phillip St.
- 89 *SH* 5 Apr 1842 p 2 The *SH* writer praised the execution of the engraving, however sternly noted an error "repeated twice" – that being 'et' for 'ed' in two Italian phrases "Legato il sopra et ben marcala il basso agitato et molt allegro". (Frederick's father was the proprietor of Ellard's Music Saloon.)
- 90 Thomas Tyrwhitt Balcombe (1820 St Helena 1810–1861 Sydney NSW).
- 91 *SMH* 14 Nov 1848 p 3.
- 92 Australia's first passenger railway opened in Melbourne in 1854. The Sydney to Parramatta railway was not completed until 1855 due to finance and construction problems.
- 93 *Bathurst Free Press* 13 Jul 1850 p 3.
- 94 *Geelong Advertiser* 10 Jul 1850 p 2.
- 95 *SMH* 6 Jun 1851 p 4; NSW BDM V1851209 118/1851; Biographical Database of Australia: K. Johnson & M. Sainty, *Sydney Burial Ground 1819-1901 and History of Sydney's Early Cemeteries from 1788*. Buried Sydney Burial Ground re-interred La Perouse RC section 4S, plot 32.
- 96 *Maitland Mercury* 9 Jul 1851 p 3; *Moreton Bay Courier* 3 Sep 1853 p 2; *Maitland Mercury* 7 Jan 1854 p 2; *Bell's Life in Sydney* 27 Feb 1858 p 3; State Library of Queensland Colonial Secretary Letters relating to Moreton Bay. Patrick Downey was an occasional visitor.
- 97 *BC* 4 Feb 1922 p 17.
- 98 *SMH* 23 Aug 1936 p 4 (Robert?) Clayton and Henry Cooper Jervis.
- 99 *The World's News* 17 Apr 1835 p 18.
- 100 *SMH* 12 Aug 1936 p 4.
- 101 B. Carty, *op cit*.
- 102 *The Postage Stamps, Envelopes, and Post Cards of Australia and the British Colonies of Oceania*, 1887 p 62–3. forgottenbooks.com
- 103 *Ibid*. With the exception that on one stamp the word "Wall" was inserted instead of "Wales".
- 104 Ancestry: 1851 England Census; *Bell's Life in Sydney* 2 Aug 1851 p 3.
- 105 See n 113 & n 114.
- 106 Ancestry: NSW Electoral Rolls.
- 107 *SMH* 3 Mar 1856 p1, 4 Mar p 1, 6 Mar p 1.
- 108 www.fitzroyironworks.com.au, accessed 14 Oct 2014.
- 109 *SMH* 20 Nov 1854 p 4.
- 110 *SMH* 19 Jan 1856 p 8, 13 Mar 1856 p 8.
- 111 *SMH* 3 Mar 1856 p 1, 4 Mar p 1, 6 Mar p 1. Sivewright jnr was likely reliant on Carmichael from about the time of Sivewright snr's death at Parramatta on 28 Jun 1854, *SMH* 3 Jul 1854 p 8; *Bell's Life* 8 Jul 1854 p 3.
- 112 *SMH* 17 Jan 1857 p 4.
- 113 *SMH* 22 Jul 1857 p 3.
- 114 *SMH* 29 Jul 1857 p 1, 10 Sep 1857 p 12; *Empire* 29 Jul 1857 p 4, 30 Jul 1857 p 1; NSW BDM V1857454 102. Informant on death certificate was Emma's brother Frederick. Cause of death "dropsy" Dr George Bennett.
- 115 *Empire* 30 Jul 1857 p 1.
- 116 Biographical Database of Australia: K. Johnson & M. Sainty *op cit*. Carmichael was buried at Sydney Burial Ground re-interred Bunnerong, Section: 4N Plot: 45. There was clearly confusion about Carmichael's age. At the time of his death Emma believed he was 44 yrs & 9mths, the memorial erected by his children claims 42 yrs (and their mother 29 yrs). Maria Feeney believed he was 50.
- 117 *SMH* 4 Aug 1857 p 3.
- 118 *Ibid*.
- 119 Emma Carmichael née Sivewright (c1832 UK–1907 Surry Hills NSW) married secondly William Holden *Empire* 18 Feb 1860 p 7.
- 120 *Empire* 20 August 1857 p 4; *SMH* 20 Aug 1857 p 2.
- 121 NSW State Records: Insolvent Estate of John Carmichael.
- 122 *Moreton Bay Courier* 8 Aug 1857 p 2.
- 123 Ancestry: Returns of the Colony; *Moreton Bay Courier* 12 Jan 1850; State Library of Queensland NSW Colonial Secretary Letters relating to Moreton Bay; Christopher Dawson, *That Gingerbread Structure*, Published 2010.
- 124 *Maitland Mercury* 28 Feb 1855 p 2S.
- 125 *Moreton Bay Courier* 28 Jun 1856 p 2; 19 Jul 1856 p 3.
- 126 Maria Feeney became licensee of the Prince of Wales Hotel, married secondly George Cameron 1859; both died at sea when the *Fiery Star* caught fire and sank off the coast of NZ 1865. *Queensland Times* 30 May 1865 p 3.
- 127 Isabella Clune lived Brisbane from 1851. Isabella held the Publicans Licence for the Prince of Wales Hotel, in 1860 and 1861. *Moreton Bay Courier* 15 Dec 1860 p 5. 18 Apr 1861 p 2.
- 128 Dunbar survivor James Johnson (c1837 UK–1915 NSW) *BC* 15 Apr 1915 p 6.
- 129 *Goulburn Herald* 29 Aug 1857 p 5.
- 130 *Empire* 11 Sep 1857 p 3; *Freeman's Journal* 29 Aug 1857 p 2; *SMH* 24 Aug 1857 p 8; *Empire* 11 Sep 1857 p 3; *Moreton Bay Courier* 29 Aug 1857 p 2.
- 131 *Shipping Gazette* 22 Feb 1858 p 33; *Bell's Life in Sydney* 27 Feb 1858 p 3; *SMH* 26 Feb 1858 p4.
- 132 Belinda Theresa Downey née Clune married secondly 1859 Thomas Octavius Mitchell (1833–1869) son of Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor General, thirdly Woodville McLaren 1890, died intestate 1892 effects to Frederick Carmichael. *Maitland Mercury* 20 May 1869 p 2; *SMH* 19 Dec 1890 p 1, 20 Jun 1893 p 1; *Freeman's Journal* 13 Aug 1892 p 16; *BC* 13 Jul 1895 p 2.
- 133 Conveyance 2 Mar 1871. Belinda Theresa Mitchell and William Hardy, Solicitor, as Trustees. As the properties were held in a Trust (Deed of Settlement) they were isolated from Carmichael's insolvency.
- 134 Kent Street property sold to Alexander Harper, shipwright £1,289. Conveyance 2 Mar 1871; subsequently Harper purchased the three Jenkins Street houses. City of Sydney Assessment Books 1845–1948.
- 135 Frederick Carmichael's death certificate confirms he left NSW 1857.
- 136 *BC* 11 Feb 1822 p 12.
- 137 Eleanor married with the consent of her guardian Maria Cameron (née Clune); *BC* 16 Jan 1862 p 4; 17 Jan 1865.
- 138 Janet McQueen née Dickinson (c1839 Scotland–?).
- 139 Ancestry: Scotland Census 1861, 1881, 1891; Scotland Select Marriages (issue three); England & Wales; National Probate Calendar.
- 140 Conveyance 2 Mar 1871 describes Edward as "Gentleman living Edinburgh".
- 141 Ancestry: Scotland Census: 1871, 1881, 1901.
- 142 Agnes Maria Lund née Kay (c1854 Scotland–?)
- 143 *Courier* 30 Nov 1861 p 2; Ancestry: Scotland Census 1861, 1871, 1881, 1890, 1901; England & Wales, Free BDM Marriage Index 1837-1915; Victoria, Australia, Assisted & Unassisted Passenger Lists, 1839–1923; UK Incoming Passengers Lists 1878–1960. No record of issue or Edward's death has been found.
- 144 *Empire* 7 Sep 1872 p 2; *Queenslander* 31 Aug 1872 p 2; *SMH* 31 Dec 1879 p 8; Frederick's comments on trade between Queensland and New Caledonia. *BC* 15 Feb 1895 p 5 & 6; 20 Oct 1909 p 16s; in 1895 Frederick was described as an ironmonger of Brisbane and in the same year licensee of the Osborne Hotel, Sandgate; Ancestry: Census & Voter Lists 1903, 1905, 1908, *Queenslander* 30 Sep 1916 p 9; *BC* 13 Nov 1896 p 8; 29 May 1896 p 5; 5 Mar 1896 p 2; Qld BDM Death Certificate B24136 (issue two, pre-deceased father).