FREDERICK WORDSWORTH WARD
ALSO KNOWN AS “CAPTAIN THUNDERBOLT”
NEVER CAME TO NORTH AMERICA

by STEPHEN KENT Ehat

With their comprehensive immigration laws, their property ownership protocols, and their comprehensive tallying both of citizen and non-citizen residents, the North American records generally of the United States of America and of Canada as well as the records specifically of the state of California in the United States and of the Province of Ontario in Canada, together with the records particularly and most notably of the City of San Francisco and of the City of Ottawa, are absolutely silent about the supposed presence of Frederick Wordsworth Ward, aka “Captain Thunderbolt,” at any time and at any place either within the United States of America or within Canada. The stories that place Mr. Ward in San Francisco in 1870 and in a grave in Ottawa in 1903 are just that, stories. They are falsehoods that should be roundly rejected.

FREDERICK WORDSWORTH WARD (born 1835, died 1870), also known as “Captain Thunderbolt,” the famous bushranger of Australia, never came to America. His purported travel to and presence in the city of San Francisco in the State of California in the United States of America in 1870 are a fabrication. His purported burial in a cemetery in Ottawa in the Province of Ontario in Canada never occurred.

The Stories

Various descriptions of the life and exploits of Mr. Ward include references to his having left Australia and gone to San Francisco in 1870, purchased real estate there, and left California to live out the remainder of his life in Canada.

For example, a profile of Mr. Ward posted on WikiTree.com and managed by Terry Wright sets forth her report that, following what she says is wrongly believed to be Mr. Ward’s death, “it is widely [sic] thought that after 8 weeks Fred with his mother Sarah Ann Shepherd as a companion went to Morpeth on the Hunter River near Newcastle than [sic] on a boat to San Francisco.”

Ms. Wright also asserts that in “August, 1870 Frederick Ward, Sarah Shepherd & Fred Jnr where [sic] taken by Alf Dorrington, a landowner near Uralla, to Morpeth to catch a boat to America,” that “A 1871 American Census [sic] shows a Frederick Ward and Sarah Shepherd both arrived in America late 1870 they than [sic] moved to Canada,” and that “in the Ottawa Cemetery a Australian [sic] named Frederick Ward lies buried.”

Similarly, author and researcher Barry Sinclair, who boasts what he refers to as his own personal collection of “at least twice as much accurate material in my own records at the present time, than is available at the Newling Heritage Centre, in Armidale, or at any other research centre on

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Page 1 of 12
Thunderbolt," reports as follows regarding the period after what he, too, says was an erroneous report of an 1870 death for Mr. Ward:

At the end of the approximately 8 weeks [after Fred Ward’s reported death] Fred, with his mother Sarah Ann Shepherd (her real married name as she does not appear to have married my Grandfather Edwards) as a companion, went to Morpeth on the Hunter River near Newcastle, then by boat to San Francisco.

Alf Dorrington from Dungowan near Uralla offered to take Fred Ward, his mother Sarah Ann Shepherd & Fred Jnr to Morpeth, near Newcastle in late August 1870, from where he could catch a boat to America. As a payment for his services Fred gave Alf a large amount of money which he used to buy a headstone on his recently deceased Aunties grave at Bendemere. If one checks the Bendemere Cemetery you will find that this tombstone is still the best tombstone in the entire cemetery.

An 1871 American state census shows that a Frederick Ward (file #SC 289) and a Sarah Shepherd (file #SC 319) both arrived in America in late 1870. This seems to be an amazing coincidence. Sarah Shepherd (My G-g-granmother's correct married name) was the mother of Fred Ward. According to our family records she disappeared at about the same time as Thunderbolt's death, yet her mother, Sophia Ward's death certificate in 1874 shows Sarah as still being alive. It is obvious that these two people are our Fred Ward & his mother, Sarah, who went to America in late 1870 and then moved on to Canada. When the gold petered out in California Fred moved to Alberta, Canada, where he stayed until the end of the gold rush there in the late 1800’s, then moved to live out his life in Ottawa, Canada - dying in the early 1900’s. 

The Evidence

The evidence contradicts and refutes the stories.

–Passenger Lists

Although there survive neither federal nor state or local lists of passengers of persons arriving in the port of San Francisco, numerous lists of the names both of those leaving San Francisco destined for Australia and of those arriving in San Francisco from Australia have been preserved in surviving issues of the San Francisco Chronicle and Daily Alta California newspapers. The above-cited stories concerning Mr. Ward assert he traveled by police on May 25, 1870.” Be that as it may (this present discussion is not concerned with that controversy), the newspaper, citing Mr. Sinclair and referring to him as “a Uralla historian,” reports that Mr. Sinclair states he “has sufficient evidence to show the odds are heavily in favour of his conviction that Thunderbolt fled Australia by boat to San Francisco in the United States and later moved to the gold fields of Alberta, Canada,” adding that Ward “later lived in Ottawa and died there in the early 1890s.”

Similarly, The New Zealand Herald of 24 Sep 2004 reports that Sinclair said that Fred Ward “escaped police and fled to the Californian gold fields before settling in Canada, where he died in Ottawa in the early 1900s” and that he believes that Ward had taken a “boat from Sydney to San Francisco.”

In 2009, Muriel Butler of Redland City near Brisbane, Queensland, contributed a memorial to the Find A Grave website in honor of Frederick Wordsworth “Captain Thunderbolt” Ward and, taking a conciliatory tone, stated simply,

Family history suggests that the body buried was not him, but that of his brother, and that the “tall woman” attending the funeral was actually him. It is also suggested that 6 weeks after the funeral, he and his mother, went to Sydney and then by boat to San Francisco. They then moved on to Alberta Canada and later to Ottawa where he died in the early 1900’s.

These and similar reports have captured the interest of the press. For example, the 28 Jan 2004 issue of The Northern Daily Leader (Tamworth, NSW) declares it “a myth that . . . Ward . . . was buried in the Uralla Cemetery after being shot by
ship (“boat” [sic]) to America in “late 1870” at some time after the “August 1870” trip to Morpeth. The asserted staged death of Mr. Ward is said to have occurred three months earlier, on 25 May 1870. To accommodate the possibility that Mr. Ward would have made the trip to America as early as 25 May 1870, all issues of the San Francisco newspapers between 1 May 1870 and 31 December 1870 were searched for all reports of passengers being transported by ship between Australia and San Francisco, either direction. Mr. Ward’s name does not appear.

–City Directories

Residents of the city of San Francisco, whether they owned real property or not, were canvassed on a yearly basis by the publishers of the city directory and the names of those persons residing or conducting business in the city during the period between April of 1870 and April of 1871 were listed in The San Francisco Directory for the Year commencing April, 1871 (San Francisco: Langley, 1871). Had Fred Ward been a resident of San Francisco at any time between April 1870 and April 1871, he would have been listed on page 658 of the directory; however, he is not.

Mr. Ward is also not listed in the 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, or 1888 city directories. Because Barry Sinclair asserts that “An 1871 American state census shows that a Frederick Ward (file #SC 289) and a Sarah Shepherd (file #SC 319) both arrived in America in late 1870.” This, of course, is entirely untenable for the following reasons:

1. There is no such thing as “an American state census.” Either the United States federal government took a federal census or the State of California took a state census. There was no “American state census.”

2. The only state census ever taken of the residents of the State of California was taken in 1852.

3. The 1870 United States Federal Census was enumerated beginning on June 1, 1870 and the census enumerators who enumerated residents of the city of San Francisco were finished with their canvassing work by August 30, 1870, prior to when Mr. Ward is said to have arrived in the city.

4. There was no census taken anywhere in the United States of America in 1871. Indeed, no census was taken anywhere in the United States in 1791, 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, or any other decennial year ending in “1.” That is the census enumeration scheme for the United Kingdom, not the United States. In the United States, the census enumeration years, starting in 1790, occurred every ten years thereafter (e.g., 1800, 1810, 1820, and so on).

5. Mr. Sinclair’s census citations are unintelligible and do not serve to direct his
audience to any meaningful census record. The references appear to be mere fabrications; perhaps the “SC” in each citation was intended by Mr. Sinclair to refer to “State Census.” Such a census neither occurred in 1871 or in 1870 for that matter, the only state census in California having occurred in 1852.

6. Although Mr. Sinclair states that the “1871 American state census” \[sic\] reports that Mr. Ward and his mother “both arrived in America in late 1870,” the 1870 United States Federal Census enumeration did not record any information whatsoever about the arrival years of persons enumerated. That information was not asked for and the Instructions to Enumerators, in fact, forbade enumerators from asking questions of residents other than the questions that Congress authorized them to ask (and immigration year was not one of those questions). It would not be until 1900 that the federal government would first ask persons the year of their immigration into the United States.

–Real Property

Barry Sinclair reports that Mr. Ward and his mother “bought a house in San Francisco in late 1870 & I think sold it 3 or 4 years later with Sarah Shepherd (my great great grandmother) returning to Australia.”\[59\] However, while 1,400 volumes of deeds (from volume number 227 through volume number 1626), setting forth the text of deeds recorded between the latter part of the year 1864 into the middle part of the year 1894 were all destroyed in the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire, the indexes for those volumes survive.

Mr. Sinclair and others report that Frederick Ward’s mother’s name was “Sarah Shepherd,” “Sarah Ann Shepherd,” “Sarah Ann (Ward) Shepherd” and “Sarah Ann (Ward) Edwards.” A search of all of the general indexes for the period from April 5, 1870 through December 31, 1870 for persons with surnames ending in “E” (for “Edwards”), “S” (for “Shepherd”), and “W” (for “Ward”) looking for either Sarah or Fred yields exactly zero entries for any document—whether it be a deed, a mortgage, a lease, a lis pendens, an attachment, a release, a satisfaction of mortgage, a homestead, a certificate of sale, an assignment of mortgage, or any other recorded document—pertaining to any real property in the city in which either Fred Ward or his mother would otherwise have been shown to have transacted business.\[40\]

–Gold Rush

Mr. Sinclair states that “When the gold petered out in California Fred moved to Alberta, Canada, where he stayed until the end of the gold rush there in the late 1800’s.” This is nonsensical. Gold “petered out” in California in the Mother Lode country (the counties of El Dorado and adjoining counties), where gold had been discovered in 1849. San Francisco lost no inhabitants when gold “petered out.” Moreover, the California gold rush peaked in 1852 (the easily accessible gold having already been collected by 1850) and the gold rush itself was thoroughly spent by the mid-1860s,\[41\] with gold thus “petering out” long prior to Mr. Ward’s supposed arrival in California.

Indeed, if there was any attraction that gold might have offered to Mr. Ward in the years surrounding 1870, it was gold being mined in Australia—indeed, in New South Wales—not California. See Daily Alta California, vol. 22, no. 7569, December 11, 1870, page 1, col. 4:

The news from the various gold-fields of the Colony continues to be of the most favorable character. At Trunkey, in the Bathurst district, Burns and party have crushed during the past month 250 tons of stone, yielding 853 ounces of gold. Wilson and Burns, 180 tons, yielding 385 ounces.

At Tambaroora the Victoria engine has just completed the crushing of 272 tons 7 cwt. for Attwood, Cox, and Dwyer, yielding 2,510 oz. of gold. This claim, situated at Hawkins Hill, is only three men's ground. Since striking the vein, the same party have raised during 1869: In July, 30½ tons, yielding 166 oz. 14 dwts.; in October, 45½ tons, yielding 166 ounces: in December, 28½ tons, yielding 96 oz. 13 dwts. During 1870: In March, 80½ tons, yielding 307 oz 12 dwts.; in May, 51½ tons, yielding
1,076 oz; in October, 272 tons 7 cwt, yielding 2,510 oz,—being a total of 511 tons 17 cwt. quartz, yielding 4,323 oz 19 dwts. of gold.

The reference to gold having “petered out” in California and prompting Mr. Ward to move to Alberta, Canada as a result could only make sense if Mr. Ward had arrived in California’s Mother Lode Country, not San Francisco, in the 1850s, not in 1870.

–Canadian Gold Rush

Mr. Sinclair argues that when Ward left the United States, he first went to Alberta (a province in western Canada) and then later migrated eastward into the Province of Ontario (located in eastern Canada), more than 3,600 km (2,000 miles) distant from Alberta. Sinclair asserts it was “the end of the gold rush” in Alberta “in the late 1800s” that prompted the move from Alberta to Ontario.

The gold rush in western Canada (known as “The Klondike Gold Rush”) did not occur until August of 1896 and ended in August of 1898. When Mr. Sinclair states that “Fred moved to Alberta, Canada, where he stayed until the end of the gold rush,” he gives the impression of a period of stay in western Canada that surely would have endured more than the short period of two years during which the Klondike Gold Rush took place.

–Border Crossings

The United States of America (founded in 1787) and the federal parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy of Canada (confederated in 1867) were then as they are now two separate and distinct nations. Travel between the two was then as it is now subject to controlled migration. No record of any crossing by Frederick Ward from the United States into Canada can be found.

–Ottawa Burial

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada (which Mr. Sinclair misspells as “Ottowa”) had four cemeteries, none of which is named either “Ottowa Cemetery” or “Ottawa Cemetery”; the four Ottawa cemeteries are: (1) the “Beechwood Cemetery,” operated by the Beechwood Cemetery Foundation (a non-profit) (280 Beechwood Ave, Ottawa, ON K1M 1K5, Canada); (2) the “Cimetière Notre Dame” (the “Cemetery of Notre Dame”) operated by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Ottawa (445 Montreal Rd, Ottawa, ON K1K 0V2); (3) the “Cimetière de l’Espoir” (the “Hope Cemetery”), operated by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Ottawa (4660 Bank Street, Ottawa, ON K1T 3W7); and (4) the Capital Funeral Home & Cemetery a private cemetery operated in nearby Nepean by Arbor Memorial (3700 Prince of Wales Drive, Ottawa (Nepean), ON K2C 3H1).

The two Roman Catholic Cemeteries, of course, were and are burial grounds for Roman Catholics. While today Roman Catholics commonly are welcome to bury a non-Roman Catholic relative in a Catholic cemetery, in 1903 it would be rare for a non-Roman Catholic to be permitted a burial in a Roman Catholic cemetery without the burial there also of a Roman Catholic relative (such as a spouse, parent, or child). While the Cimetière Notre Dame was opened as a Roman Catholic cemetery in 1872, because there is no evidence that Fred Ward was a Roman Catholic and no averment that he was buried there with any relative, there is little likelihood he would have been buried either in that cemetery or in the Hope Cemetery. Indeed, the Hope Cemetery did not even come into existence until 1988, so that constitutes a separate reason Mr. Ward would not have been buried there.

Fred Ward is not buried either in the Beechwood Cemetery or in the Capital Funeral Home & Cemetery.

Mention should be made of the Ottawa Commonwealth Air Force Memorial (Green Island, Sussex Drive, Ottawa ON) which, while not a cemetery, commemorates almost 800 men and women of the Air Forces of the Canadian Commonwealth who lost their lives while serving in units operating from bases in Canada, the Caribbean and the United States of America, or while training in Canada and the U.S.A., and who have no known graves. It was unveiled on July 1, 1959 and is owned by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Mr. Ward would of course have no connection to that memorial.
In short, Fred Ward was not buried in Ottawa, Canada and no record of him appears in Canadian records otherwise.

**Epilogue**

It is possible that the origin or origins of some of the details of the story about Fred Ward may have been, at one point in time, conflated in the mind of some family historian who may have come across the details of the life of a near-contemporaneous bushranger, Frank Gardiner (née Francis Christie). Gardiner, born in Scotland in 1830, migrated to Australia as a three- or four-year-old child accompanying his parents in 1834. As is apparently not contested, Ward hid his gold after robberies; so also with Gardiner.50

Similarly, shortly before the time of Ward’s reported capture and shooting in May of 1870, he was (purportedly in March of 1870) supposedly sighted by two NSW policemen with his purported “famous horse” named “Combo”51; likewise, at the time of his capture in 1864, one of Gardiner’s NSW police pursuers used Gardiner’s own horse “Darkie” during the capture. Bushranger Gardiner was captured in March of 1864,52 and “[s]everal horses were found in Christie’s possession one of which is said to have been recognised as the property of Mr. Peter Beveridge, J. P., of Swan Hill, on the Murray River,” it being “a celebrated racehorse, and was stolen about eighteen months ago” with “[a]ltogether eight horses” being “found in Christie’s possession, four of which have been brought to Rockhampton, and the remainder left in charge of Mr. M’Lennan.”53 This of course is reminiscent of the many horse thefts (and alleged occurrences of receipt of stolen horses) attributed to Ward.54

As with Gardiner, whose identity at the time of his capture was doubted,55 so also with Ward, whose identity at the time of his capture and death is said to have been doubted.56

Unlike Ward, the details of Gardiner’s presence and life in San Francisco are well documented.57 Indeed, surviving records of San Francisco attest to various details of his activities in the city. The *Buffalo Evening Courier*, published in the city of Buffalo, State of New York, reflects the well-circulated accounts of Gardiner’s having gone around the streets of San Francisco “in a starving condition and sleeping in dry goods boxes” until he met a “Capt. Baines, who kept a small saloon on the corner of Third street and Sherwood place.” That “Capt. Baines” happens to be a man named Thomas F. Baines who resided at 128 Fifth Street in San Francisco.58 His “small saloon” on the corner of Third street and Sherwood place was located on the east side of 3rd street between Minna street and Howard street.59 Baines’ residence was two blocks to the southwest of his saloon.60 According to the account in the *Courier*, “Baines took pity on him [Gardiner], allowed him to sleep in his place, and gave him money for food and drinks.” (*Id.*) San Francisco records, too, readily identify Frank Gardiner, who by 1870 was on his feet and operating his own liquor saloon at 318 Brannan street.61 Ward, however, was a ghost, insofar as concerns San Francisco specifically and North America generally. He never came to North America.

END
ENDNOTES


2. Id.


5. Id.

6. Id.


9. One example of such a list of passengers departing from San Francisco and destined for Australia is set forth in the *Daily Alta California*, vol. 22, no. 7509, Wednesday, October 12, 1870, page 1, col. 4 (available at http://snipurl.com/28s7e7c):

![Passengers for Australia.](image)

*See also* other such lists as follows: the *Daily Alta California*, vol. 22, no. 7573, Thursday, December 15, 1870, page 1, col. 2 (available at http://snipurl.com/28s7e3i); *Daily Alta California*, vol. 22, no. 7382, Tuesday, June 7, 1870, page 1, col. 5 (available at http://snipurl.com/28s7eo8); the *Daily Alta California*, vol. 22, no. 7442, Saturday, August 6, 1870, page 1, col. 3 (available at http://snipurl.com/28s7evp); the *Daily Alta California*, vol. 22, no. 7410, Tuesday, July 5, 1870, page 5, col. 3 (available at http://snipurl.com/28s7g6u); etc.
One example of such a list of passengers arriving in San Francisco from Australia is set forth in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Friday, May 6, 1870, page 2, col. 2:

The Australian Steam Line Established—Arrival of the Steamship “Wonga Wonga” at Honolulu from Sydney, with a Full Load of Passengers—Arrival of Steamer “Idaho” from Honolulu with Australian Passengers.

The steamship *Idaho*, which left Honolulu April 21st, arrived at this port yesterday morning, bringing the passengers from Australia brought by the British steamer *Wonga Wonga*, the first of the new steam line from Sydney to this port. The *Wonga Wonga* left Sydney March 26th at four P.M., and Auckland, New Zealand, April 2d, at half past five P.M.; arriving at Honolulu April 15th, at seven P.M., but did not reach her wharf until next morning. She brought 170 passengers, of which 50 were in the first cabin, 40 in the second, and 80 in the steerage. Following is her list of passengers from Sydney:

For England—Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Lewis, Mrs. Harvey, Miss Harvey, Miss Cleveland, H. H. Hall, United States Consul, Mrs. Hall, Mr. Gleeson, Mrs. Gleeson, Messrs. W. L. Lord, H. C. Close, A. Archer, Teage, Graves, Hodson, E. Deane, Childs, W. Conner, T. W. Dagg, E. Leathers, G. Taylor, A. B. Clark, W. Gunn, Donovan, H. Stranger, E. Doughty, H. Goodchild, J. E. Taylor, J. Dickson, J. Charles, J. Page, E. Page, Major Divian. For San Francisco—Mr. Hobier, wife and family (4); Mr. Knight, wife and family; Mr. Mooney, wife and child; Mr. Boynton and wife, Mrs. Dowling and wife, Misses Mary and Honora Hogan, Mr. Webster, wife and family (4); C. Donclan, N. McNamara. At Auckland 50 additional passengers were added to the above list.

The *Wonga Wonga* left her passengers at Honolulu to come on by the *Idaho*, and started on her return to Sydney on the 31st ultimo. She is a steamer of 1,000 tons, under command of Captain T. S. Beals. The steamer *City of Melbourne* was to leave Sydney April 27th, as the second vessel of the new line. Trips are to be made to Honolulu, to connect with the *Idaho* for this port. The time by this route will be: From Sydney to Auckland, five days; Auckland to Honolulu, ten days; and thence to San Francisco, ten days.

The time consumed this trip, however, was forty days; but this will be reduced six or seven days in the future. About twenty of the passengers by the *Wonga Wonga* lay over at Honolulu, on account of the crowded condition of the *Idaho*. 
See also other such lists, such as: the Daily Alta California, vol. 22, no. 7473, Tuesday, September 6, 1870, page 4, col. 2 (available at http://snipurl.com/28s7gx2).

10. See https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1871lang#page/n105/mode/2up. During the time while the 1871 issue of the directory was at the press, additional names received too late for regular insertion in the alphabetical listing of residents were printed and inserted just prior to issue as pages 55 through 62. See https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1871lang#page/n157/mode/2up.


15. See https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1875lang#page/736/mode/2up.

16. See https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1876lang#page/820/mode/2up.

17. See https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1877lang#page/872/mode/2up.

18. See https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1878langrich#page/858/mode/2up.

19. See https://archive.org/stream/annualdirectoryo1878dmbi#page/866/mode/2up.

20. See https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1879lang#page/884/mode/2up.

21. See https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1880sanf#page/918/mode/2up.

22. See https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1881sanfrich#page/954/mode/2up.

23. See https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1882sanf#page/956/mode/2up.

24. See https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1883sanf#page/1048/mode/2up.

25. See https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1884sanf#page/1118/mode/2up.

26. See https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1885sanf#page/1158/mode/2up.

27. See https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1886sanf#page/1182/mode/2up and https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1886sanf#page/1184/mode/2up. The Frederick Ward listed on page 1183 as a resident of 212 Gough street was a dairyman

28. See https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1887sanf#page/1194/mode/2up.

29. See https://archive.org/stream/langleysanfranc1888sanf#page/1194/mode/2up.

30. See http://users.tpg.com.au/users/barrymor/Family%20Facts%20on%20the%20Death%20of%20Thunderbolt.html (last viewed 6 Apr 2014). Mr. Sinclair also reports that Mr. Ward and his mother “bought a house in San Francisco in late 1870 & I think sold it 3 or 4 years later with Sarah Shepherd (my great great grandmother) returning to Australia.” That would place the departure of Mr. Ward as
early as 1874. Giving Mr. Sinclair’s reports the more lenient of the two departure years, a search for Mr. Ward in San Francisco is extended to the latter year (1888).


34. See 1870 United States Federal Census, San Francisco Ward 1, San Francisco, California, Roll M593-79; Page 81B, Image 166, Family History Library Film: 545578.

35. See 1870 United States Federal Census, San Francisco Ward 1, San Francisco, California, Roll M593-79; Page 81B, Image 166, Family History Library Film: 545578. Thos Ward and Chas Ward are listed next to one another in the enumeration (on lines 28 and 29) in a listing of 57 residents of a hotel named the “New Zealand House,” located at 219 Pacific street. See entry for Bernard O’Brien, one of the residents enumerated in the census, as listed in the 1871 San Francisco City Directory (page 498).


37. This is evident from a review of the enumeration pages of each of the twelve wards in the city enumerated in 1870, with most of the enumerators finishing their work in July and early August.

38. The newspaper reports of ships traveling from Australia to San Francisco uniformly report travel times of about three weeks from Australia to Hawaii and about two weeks from Hawaii to San Francisco. See, e.g., San Francisco Chronicle, Friday, May 6, 1870, page 2, col. 2.

39. Email from Barry Sinclair to Stephen Kent Ehat, April 2, 2014, 4:05 p.m.


48. info@beechwoodcemetery.com

49. http://capitalmemorial.ca/Contact-Us/

50. Many accounts of the hidden gold have been passed down. See, e.g., *The North Eastern Ensign* (Benalla, Vic.) Friday, May 3, 1918, page 2, col 7 (“the place where the gold had been planted by Gardiner”); *The Sydney Morning Herald*, December 27, 1947, page 5, cols. 1-4;


53. Id.


56. See http://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Ward-6158 (last viewed 6 Apr 2014); see also http://users.tpg.com.au/users/barrymor/Family%20Facts%20on%20the%20Death%20of%20Thunderbolt .html (last viewed 6 Apr 2014). Interestingly, even the burial place of another bushranger, like Ward’s burial place, now has been questioned, the question being raised not only by a relative but by a relative who claims that the former misidentification of the bushranger ancestor’s grave can be established by evidence. See http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/14/grave-mistake-bushranger-ben-hall.

57. See, for example, *Buffalo Evening Courier and Republic* (Buffalo, New York: March 4, 1880), page 2, col. 6 (repeating a lengthy account then recently published in the *New York Post* concerning the many
daring robberies of the Australian bushranger, Frank Gardiner; his final capture at a place called Apis Creek, in Queensland; the finding of the jury impaneled to try him having sentenced him to thirty-two years with hard labor; the pardon, owing to his good behavior and seeming reformation, "on condition that he leave the country after serving ten years and eleven days"; the impossibility during his pre-incarceration days of carrying around with him large sums in gold; his having made a point of always burying his treasure; the close watch of his post-incarceration guards, making sure he had no chance of returning for his money; and “his arrival in San Francisco [where] he has been keeping saloons, and his friends were of such a character that he could not trust them”).


60. https://goo.gl/maps/BIEFx (link created 6 Apr 2014). As is the situation today (see Google Map here linked to) so too in the 1800s: 128 5th street was located on the southeast side of the street between Natoma and Howard. See Langley’s 1871 San Francisco city directory at page 701.

61. See id. at page 349 (https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1879lang#page/348/mode/2up, last viewed 6 Apr 2014). See also classified listings at page 999 (available at https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1879lang#page/998/mode/2up, last viewed 6 Apr 2014). 318 Brannan street (the location of where Gardiner’s saloon was situated) was then (and still is) found at a place located about four blocks to the southeast of the area where Capt. Baines’ saloon and residence were located. See Google Map at https://goo.gl/maps/btmdo (link created 6 Apr 2014); see also Langley’s 1871 San Francisco city directory at page 698 (available at https://archive.org/stream/sanfranciscodire1871lang#page/698/mode/2up, last viewed 6 Apr 2014).
APPENDIX 1

LINKS TO PROPERTY RECORD INDEXES (RESEARCHED ON 4 APRIL 2014), in reverse chronological order of searches:

1. Apr 4, 2014
   familysearch.org

2. Apr 4, 2014
   familysearch.org

3. Apr 4, 2014
   California, San Francisco County Records, 1824-1997 Image California, San Francisco County Records, 1824-1997; pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1942-22073-33821-22 — FamilySearch.org
   familysearch.org

4. Apr 4, 2014
   familysearch.org

5. Apr 4, 2014
   familysearch.org

6. Apr 4, 2014
   familysearch.org

7. Apr 4, 2014
   California, San Francisco County Records, 1824-1997 Image California, San Francisco County Records, 1824-1997; pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1942-22073-34548-72 — FamilySearch.org
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