

1979

The Oldest Road

W. G. McDonald
Illawarra Historical Society

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/ihspubs>

Recommended Citation

McDonald, W. G., (1979), The Oldest Road, Illawarra Historical Society, Wollongong, 40p.
<https://ro.uow.edu.au/ihspubs/13>

Research Online is the open access institutional repository for the University of Wollongong. For further information contact the UOW Library: research-pubs@uow.edu.au

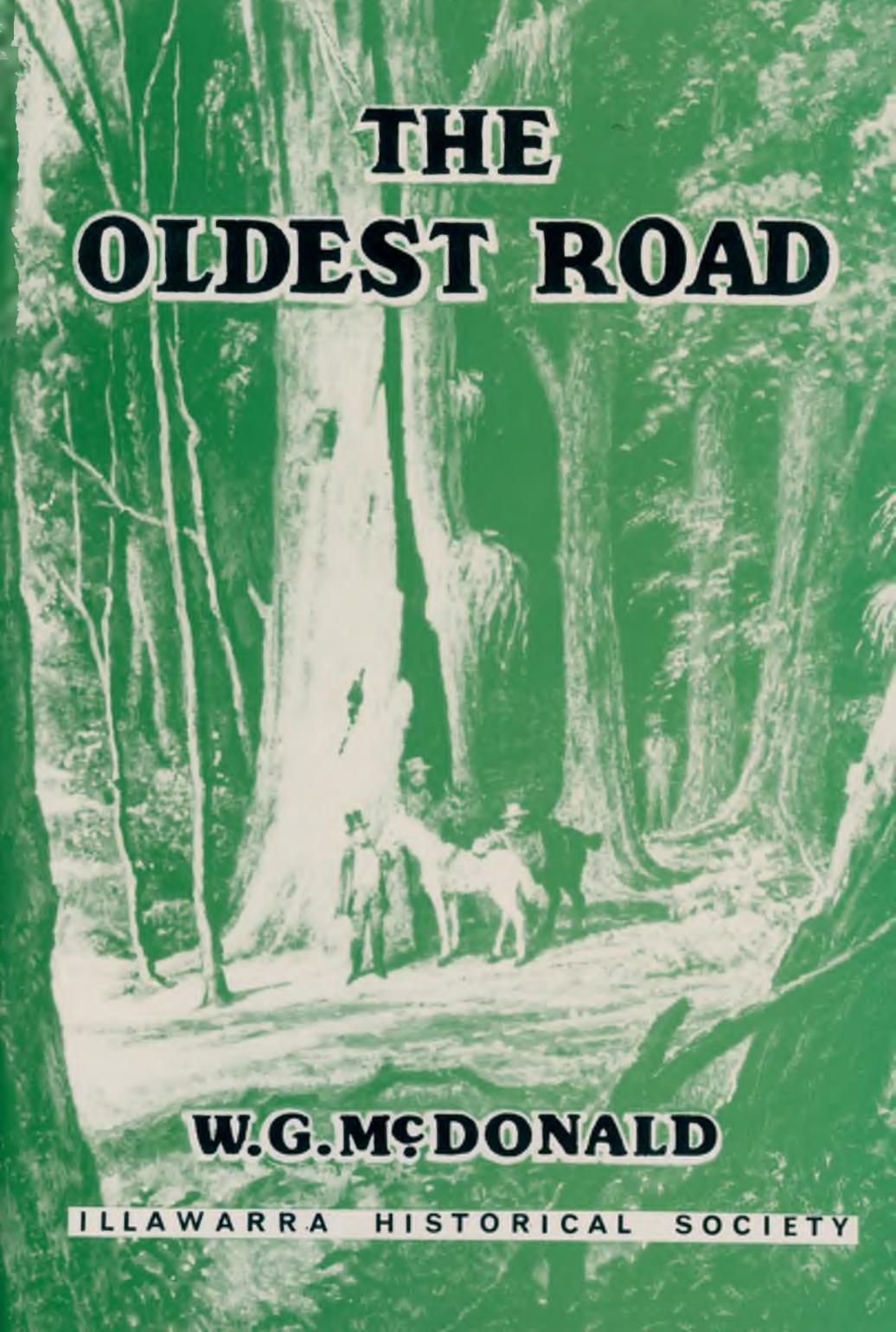
The Oldest Road

Description

W.G. McDonald (1979), *The Oldest Road*, Illawarra Historical Society, Wollongong, 40p. An account of the various routes into the Illawarra via the escarpment, specifically the old roads about Bulli.

Publisher

Illawarra Historical Society, Wollongong, 40p

A black and white photograph of a forest path. In the center, a group of people and pack animals are gathered. One person stands on the left, another sits on a pack animal in the middle, and a third person is partially visible on the right. The path is flanked by large, ancient-looking trees with thick trunks and hanging vines. The scene is dappled with sunlight and shadow.

THE OLDEST ROAD

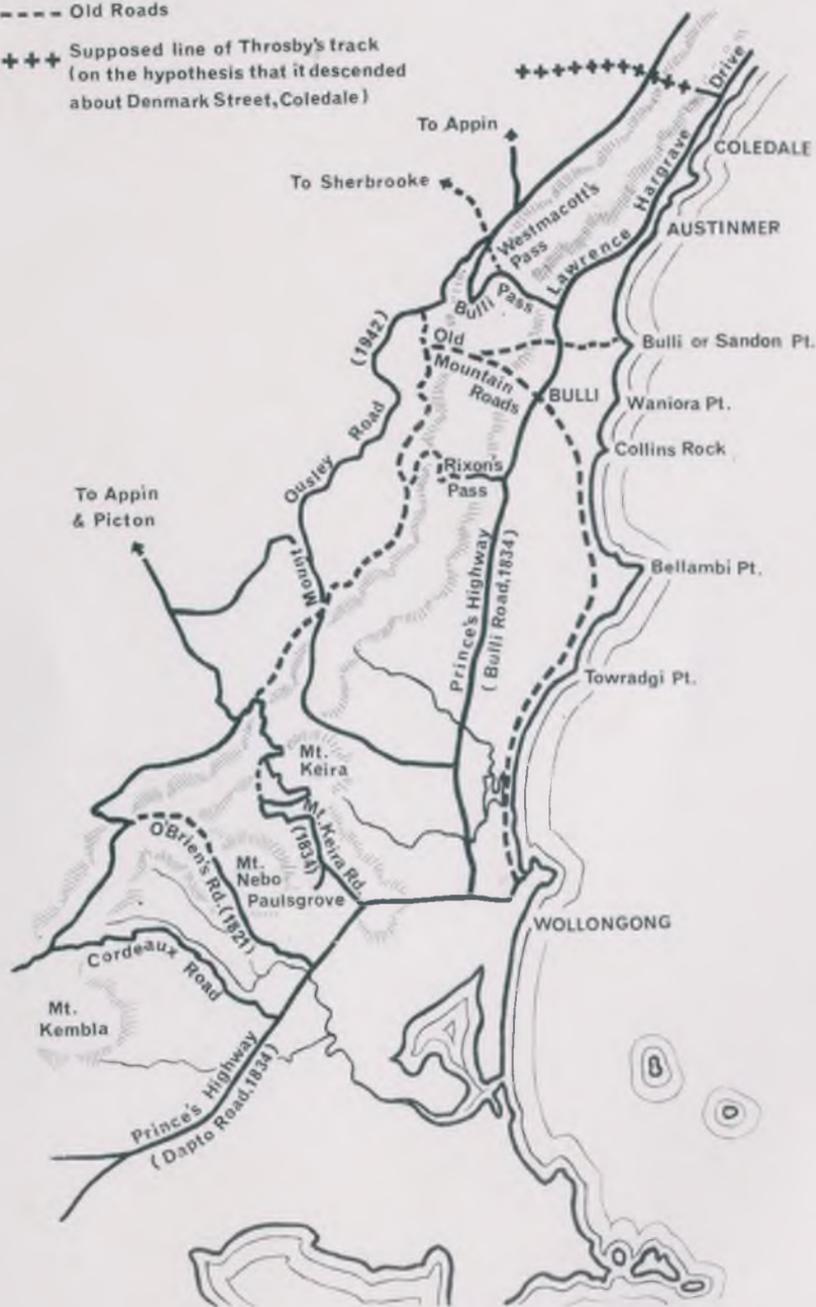
W.G.McDONALD

ILLAWARRA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

— Existing Roads

- - - Old Roads

++++ Supposed line of Throsby's track
(on the hypothesis that it descended
about Denmark Street, Coledale)



THE OLDEST ROAD

W. G. McDONALD



ILLAWARRA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1979

Lakes Printers, Wyong, N.S.W.

Published with financial assistance of a New South Wales Government
Cultural Grant through the Royal Australian Historical Society and the Isabel
Lee, Elizabeth Hay and Alexander Fleming Memorial Bequests.

National Library of Australia card number and ISBN 0 909164 08 8

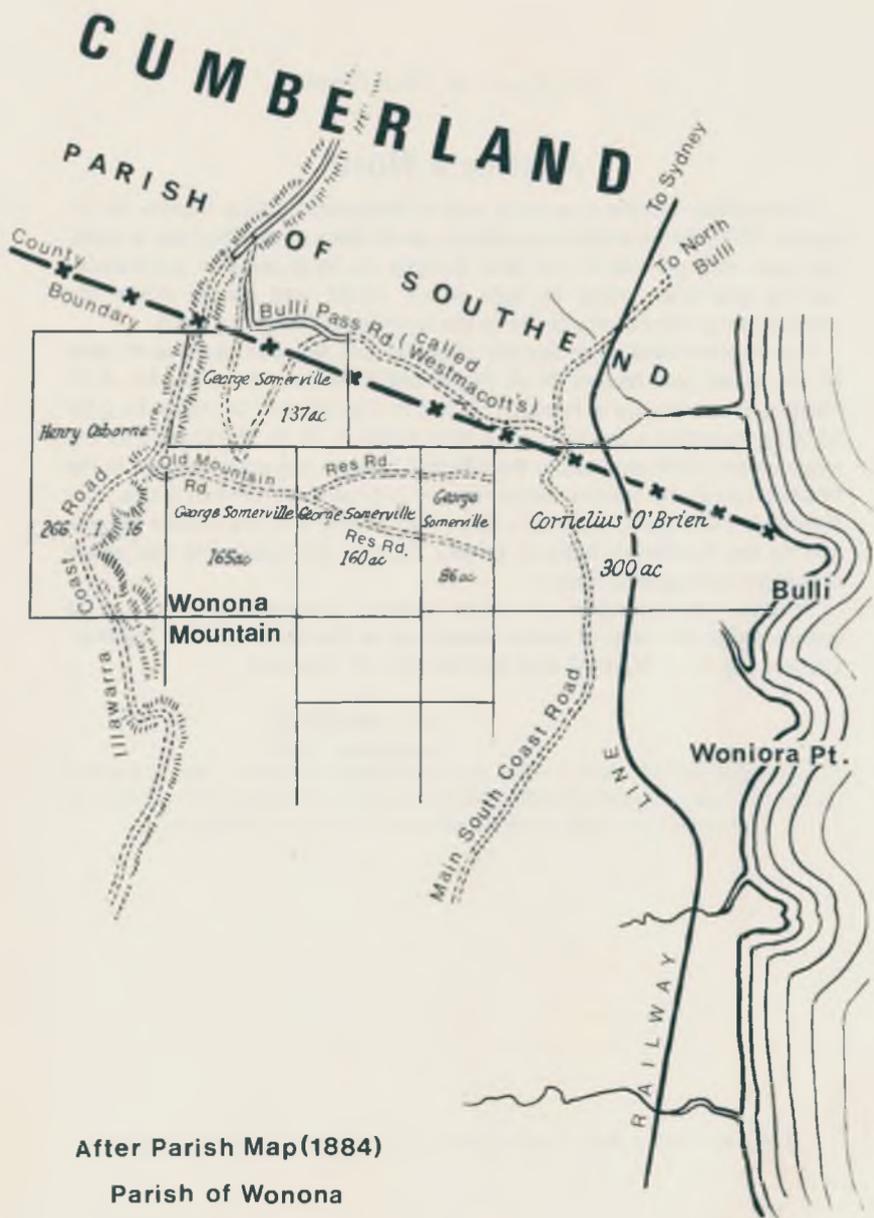
Author's Note

This booklet is based on a paper read to Illawarra Historical Society on 5th March, 1970. Some additional material, particularly Anne Thomson's letter, has been incorporated in the text. Despite the long delay in publication, nothing has since come to light which would lead me to doubt the correctness of the conclusion as to the location of Throsby's track.

The Illawarra Historical Society's thanks, and my own, are due to Miss M. McDonald, and Messrs W. A. Bayley and E. Beale and the late Mr. A. P. Fleming for assistance in research; to Mr. P. Orlovich and Dr. Hazel King for bringing important material to our notice; to Mr. A. W. B. MacDonald for the maps (drawn from originals in the Mitchell Library) and cover design; to the Mitchell Library for permission to use the original maps, and to quote from Meehan's Field Book, Mitchell's Report on Roads, and the Bourke Papers; and to the Australian National Library for their permission to reproduce drawings by Augustus Earle.

Though I cannot agree with their findings, it would be unfair not to acknowledge the value of earlier researches by the late Mr. C. W. Gardiner-Garden, Mr. K. J. Marshall and the late Mrs. M. Marshall.

W. G. McDonald,
November, 1979



After Parish Map (1884)

Parish of Wonona
County of Camden

THE OLDEST ROAD

“The Road to En-dor is the oldest road
And the craziest road of all”,

. . . wrote Kipling; and the description fits pretty well the first road into Illawarra. Its craziness led to its supersession by Mount Keira Road and Westmacott's Pass quite early in the history of the district; and it seemed to have vanished so completely that experts on local history have differed by several miles on the point at which it descended the range. Rival theories that it descended at or about Denmark Street (at the north end of Coledale), and that it descended somewhere between Westmacott's Pass (which partly coincides with the modern Bulli Pass) and Rixon's Pass, each appeared to have evidence and authority, fairly evenly balanced, to support them. A third theory – that it was in fact identical with Westmacott's Pass – seemed to have less in its favour; while the view that it “skirted the mountain side towards Mount Keira, the lower part of whose steep slope provided the final part of the descent”¹ seemed and still seems utterly untenable.

Fresh evidence and further investigation, however, now seem to have made a definite answer possible.

The starting point was a photostat of the parish map of 1884, sent by Mr. Orlovich of the Geographical Names Board to the Illawarra Historical Society in connection with the identification of Macquarie's “Regent Mountain”². This showed Westmacott's Pass, the then comparatively new Bulli Pass, and, a little further south, “Old Mountain Road” – actually a forked road, in the shape of a Y with its top to the east, running from Mitchell's road just behind the escarpment to the boundary of Cornelius O'Brien's grant at Bulli Point.

This forked road traversed four grants made in 1855 to George Somerville.³ A search of the grants showed that in every case the “Old Mountain Road” or the “Mountain Roads” or the “Two Old Mountain Roads” were expressly excepted from the grant. Moreover, one grant was bounded by the “New Mountain Road”, which comparison with the parish map showed to be the original line of Westmacott's Pass. So here was a road which was old in 1884, old in 1855, and old by comparison with Westmacott's Pass, which dated from 1844. There was only one road north of Mount Keira known to answer that description – Throsby's original line of 1815.

The hypothesis that the "Old Mountain Road" of the 1884 map was in fact Throsby's track was provisionally adopted and tested against the accounts of some of the early travellers.

In 1836, when the Mount Keira Road, marked out by Mitchell two years before, which largely superseded Throsby's track, was under construction, James Backhouse the Quaker Missionary went down the old road on his way to save the sinners of Wollongong from perishing from spontaneous combustion consequent on intoxication, as, according to him, one had perished shortly before. He "descended by a rough track called the Bulli Road . . . difficult for horses and impracticable for carts, except by the assistance of ropes, passed round convenient trees, by means of which in a few instances they have been got down . . . After reaching the beach our way, for eight miles, was along loose sand, to Wollongong, near which, our toils for the day, found an end, in the hospitable dwelling of Charles Throsby Smith, the chief proprietor of the place".⁴

There is only one definite clue here to the location of the road: the distance of eight miles along the coast to Throsby Smith's house (on the summit of Smith's Hill in Wollongong), answers well enough for Bulli, but is short by some three miles of the distance to Denmark Street.

John Dunmore Lang, in his "Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales"⁵; refers to the "indescribably magnificent" view from the escarpment: "All at once, the vast Pacific Ocean stretching far and wide to the eastward, bursts upon the view, while almost right under foot it is seen lashing the black basaltic rocks that form its iron boundary to the westward, like an angry lion lashing the bars of his cage with his bushy tail, or dashing its huge breakers on the intervening sandy beaches in immense masses of white foam, and with a loud and deafening noise". The description of the ocean as "almost right under foot" might seem to suggest Coledale rather than Bulli; but Lang's whole description is an exercise in the picturesque, and he is inaccurate both in his reference to "black basaltic rocks" and in giving the height of the mountain as 1500 feet. More to the point, as will afterwards appear, is another detail he gives in this account (published in 1834):

"There is a resting-place for travellers ascending the mountain about halfway up, called **the big tree**. It is a dead tree of immense size, the internal parts of which have been consumed by fire, although it is still about a hundred feet in height. My fellow traveller and myself entered into the hollow, into which there is an entrance on one side as wide as a church-door, with both our horses; and, although the latter were both of the largest size of riding horses in the colony, I perceived that there was room enough for a third rider and



Augustus Earle 1793-1838
"The hollow tree on the Illawarra Mountains".
New South Wales. Watercolour. NK 12/40.
In the Rex Nan Kivell Collection in the National Library of Australia.

his steed. My fellow traveller told me, indeed, that on a former journey he had actually been one of three horsemen, all of whom had, together with their horses, been **accommodated** within the **big tree** at the same time."⁶

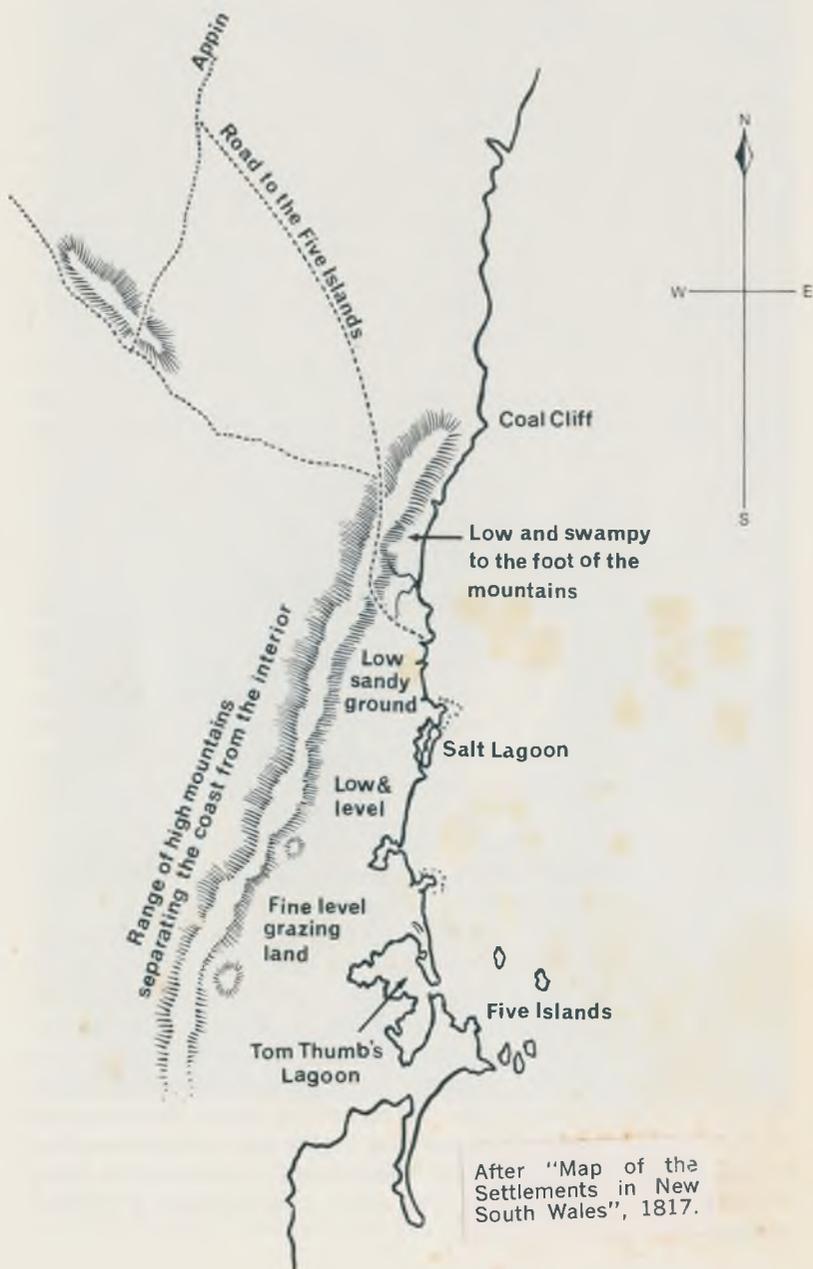
To the point also is another remark of Lang's: "The first respectable settler fallen in with in the district of Illawarra, in travelling from the northward, is Mr. Cornelius O'Brien of Bulli, whose neat cottage, situated at the foot of the mountain, stands almost on the sea beach. From thence to Wollongong, a boat-harbour where the military commandant of the district has his headquarters . . . the distance is nine miles. The path usually followed by travellers on horseback is along the beach, as near the water as possible, the wet sand being as hard and firm as a turnpike-road."⁷ O'Brien's land, as a reference to the parish map shows, covered the region now known as Old Bulli, and included Bulli (later also called Sandon) Point. But this, of course, does not exclude the possibility that there were other settlers who were not respectable.

Going back in time, the next witness is Dr. Montague Grover, who early in 1834, excusing his non-attendance at the Supreme Court in Sydney when subpoenaed in the Waldron murder trial, stated: "I left Illawarra on Wednesday and had proceeded about fifteen miles of my journey when my horse being weak fell in consequence of the slippery state of the mountain occasioned by the heavy rain. I was obliged to return to Illawarra . . ."⁸

This is hard to fit in anywhere. If Dr. Grover started from Wollongong, fifteen miles would take him practically to Stanwell Park. Though there was apparently at that time a bush track leading from the Appin Road to Matthew Gibbons's farm there, I know of no record of any connecting link from Wollongong along the coast till much later, and if it had existed, it would not have been the way anyone would choose to go to Sydney via Appin. One can only assume either that Dr. Grover's starting point was not Wollongong,⁹ or that he was not a particularly accurate judge of distance, and record his evidence, for what it is worth, in favour of Coledale rather than Bulli.

The next witness – the compiler of the "New South Wales Calendar" of 1832 – is quite specific: "The present road descends at one of the steepest parts of the range to the house of Mr. O'Brien."¹⁰

Alexander Harris's two accounts relate to the same period. Writing in his own person in "Religio Christi", he says: "A few hours journey brought me to the brow of the coast mountain – at this spot a precipice of several hundred feet perpendicular fall. At a sudden turn of the path, cut through the close woods, I stood on the edge of a table of rock, where the sea and the forests below appeared as if



After "Map of the Settlements in New South Wales", 1817.

they were in another world. It was no place for a person to travel who was addicted to absence of mind. Less than three steps past the proper turn would carry the thoughtless traveller over the precipice.

"A regular but still steep declivity, a little further on, conducted to the woods at the mountain's base. I had no sooner entered them than I could see, between the boles of the trees, the blue sea dancing in the sunlight beyond. Another walk of two hours brought me to the Police Station, where I was to undertake the duties of clerk. It consisted of only a few small buildings, around a larger one originally built for a barn, but now used as a barrack by the detachment of military. The site of the station was an elevated point of land, with the sea in front and on both sides. A more delightful spot for a summer residence it would be difficult to find."¹¹

By the Police Station he meant the military settlement at Brighton Beach, Wollongong. To walk there from Bulli in two hours would be good going – from Coledale it would be impossible for anyone but an athlete in training.

It might be noted that the road from Appin evidently skirted the escarpment for a short distance before going over the top – a point which will come up again later.

Harris, writing under the guise of "An Emigrant Mechanic" gave another account: "We now soon came to the edge of the mountain. At one spot we stood on the brink of a precipice of vast depth, and saw down below us the mighty sea diminished into insignificance, most like the waters of a lower world. The mountain, at the spot where we went down, is pretty closely timbered, and the trees are lofty; no grass grows beneath them, as is usually the case where the forest is sufficiently dense to keep the ground under continual shadow.

"In the midst of our descent, which was so steep as to compel us in some places to stop ourselves against the trees, I was surprised to recognise the tracks of dray wheels . . . for it was evidently impossible that any beast could back a dray-load down such a steep. My fellow traveller however informed me that it had been let down by ropes fixed to the dray and passed round the trees; the shaft bullock . . . merely holding up the shafts. I was glad at length to find myself at the foot of the mountain. I think I never felt anything more difficult to bear than the strain on the knee-joints occasioned by this descent; it was not exactly pain, but something worse. We were now on that flat bordered on the one side by the sea, and on the other limited by the mountains, which I have already mentioned as being the Illawarra district, and at this point it is scarcely a gunshot across."¹²



Augustus Earle 1793-1838

"A bivouack in New South Wales, Day breaking"

Watercolour. NK 12/39.

In the Rex Nan Kivell Collection in the National Library of Australia.

This has been cited in support of the Coledale theory; but to draw a firm conclusion from it one would need to know firstly, what Harris meant by "the foot of the mountain", i.e. the base of the escarpment or the end of the downgrade; secondly, whether "flat" is absolute or relative – there is not much really flat land at Bulli, and there is virtually none at Coledale; and thirdly what sort of gun he had in mind, for even in his day there were vast differences in the ranges of different types. But the Emigrant Mechanic further says that by the time he and his fellow-traveller reached the bottom of the descent "it was now become almost dark. Happily we had but a short way to travel before reaching our resting-place for the night"¹³ and they appear to have reached it just before the light failed completely. This resting-place was the hut of James and Patrick Geraghty, whom he mentions by name.¹⁴

The approximate position of the Geraghtys' hut might be inferred from Alexander Stewart's account of the memorable Battle of Woonona in 1828, when four bushrangers "came down the old Bulli mountain pass and went to Peggy McGawley's," Peggy McGawley's point being "the first point on the beach north of the Bellambi jetties". Thence they went to "the adjoining farm where the Gerraty [sic] brothers lived", and there they shot it out with the Geraghtys, with fatal results to one of the bushrangers.¹⁵

To place Geraghtys' more precisely, Mr. W.A. Bayley, F.R.A.H.S., says in "Black Diamonds" that "the incident occurred about where the Woonona bowling green was later built,"¹⁶ that is, at the eastern end of Stanhope Street. It appears, then, that the first houses encountered by both the Emigrant Mechanic and the bushrangers, after descending the mountain, were in the Woonona area.

But, more specifically, Alexander Stewart says, "The present Pass is Captain Westmacott's Pass, but the old Bulli Pass was more to the south."¹⁷ On that point he is quite clear, though he then confuses matters by saying in one place that they "used to begin to ascend the Bulli Pass" from "O'Brien's south-west corner pin . . . about a mile below the big tree, due east of it, and beside the little stream that runs at the bottom of the mountain",¹⁸ and in another that "the old Bulli Pass . . . was reached by a track which went up from about where the Bulli Company's tram line now is to the big tree."¹⁹ The latter location coincides pretty well with the southern arm of the Y shown on the parish map. This ends at O'Brien's western boundary about 15 chains north of his south-west corner, which is in fact very close to Slacky Creek.

It seems a fair assumption too that the tree twice mentioned by Stewart, which needed no other identification than "the big tree", was that described by John Dunmore Lang.



Augustus Earle 1793-1838

"Skirmish between bush-rangers and constables, Illawarra".

Watercolour. NK 12/49

In the Rex Nan Kivell Collection in the National Library of Australia.

Going further back, we come to Macquarie's account: "Mr. Cornelius O'Brien joined us at this station just as we were ready to set out. At 10 mins. past 6 a.m. we set forward on our journey; and after passing over some very bad road, and crossing the Cataract River²⁰ near its source, we arrived at the summit of the great mountain that contains the pass to the low country of Illawarra, the top of this mountain being three miles from our last station. On our arrival on the summit of the mountain, we were gratified with a very grand magnificent bird's eye view of the ocean, the 5 Islands, and of the greater part of the low country of Illawarra as far as Red Point. After feasting our eyes with this grand prospect, we commenced descending the mountain at 20 mins. after 8 o'clock. The descent was very rugged, rocky, and slippery, and so many obstacles opposed themselves to our progress, that it was with great difficulty that the pack-horses could get down this horrid steep descent. At length we effected it, but it took us an hour to descend altho' the descent is only one mile and a half long. The whole face of this



Augustus Earle 1793-1838
"Cabbage tree forest, Illawarra, New South Wales".
Watercolour. NK 12/37.
In the Rex Nan Kivell Collection in the National Library of Australia.

*Lachlan Macquarie,
Governor of N.S.W.
— Bronze statue at
ANZ Bank,
185 Macquarie Street
Sydney*



mountain is clothed with the largest and finest forest trees I have ever seen in the colony. They consist chiefly of the black-butted gum, stringy bark, turpentine, mountain ash, fig, peppermint, boxwood, sassafrass, and red cedar; but the latter is now very scarce, most of it having been already cut down and carried away to Sydney. There are also vast quantities of the cabbage, palm, and fern trees growing in the face of the mountain, the former being very beautiful and of great height. Finding that this mountain has never yet received any particular name, I have christened it the Regent Mountain, as it was first descended by Mr. Throsby in the year 1815, when our present King was Regent of the United Kingdom.

"We arrived at a creek containing a very pretty stream of fresh running water about 1 ½ miles from the foot of the mountain at a qr. past 9 o'clock, and here we halted to breakfast and to refresh our men and cattle. I have named this stream of fresh water Throsby's Creek, in honor of Mr. Throsby who first crossed it on his descending the Regent Mountain.

"Having breakfasted we pursued our journey at 11 a.m. along the sea shore towards Mr. Allan's farm at Red Point, riding chiefly on a soft beach for 12 miles, and through very barren unprofitable land."²¹

There are two points to note here – Macquarie clearly came down by the same route as Throsby, and Throsby's Creek was twelve miles from Allan's farm at Red Point (south-east of Port Kembla). Measuring back twelve miles along the shore from Red Point brings one almost exactly to Sandon Point. A short distance north are Woodlands Creek and Tramway Creek, a short distance south Slacky Creek. Allowing for minor variations in the distance, on the one hand for the difference between the position of Allan's farm and the point itself, on the other for deviations around obstacles, it is still clear that Throsby's Creek was in the Bulli area. The mouths of the three creeks mentioned are all between 1 ½ and 2 miles from the foot of the escarpment.

Next comes Allan Cunningham, and that unfortunate visit of 1818 which so bedevilled the historical geography of Illawarra, involving in almost inextricable confusion Mount Keira and Mount Kembla, Hat Hill and Cap Hill and Molle Hill – making, one might say, a molehill out of a mountain, though that question is fortunately not material at present. Cunningham has been cited as a witness for Coledale, on the assumption that "the little beaten steps of the government sawyers" mentioned by him were identical with the steps found in 1962 by Mr. K. Marshall, at the top of the escarpment above Denmark Street.²² But this assumption appears to ignore other points in Cunningham's account.

Cunningham said that, after travelling from Parramatta via Liverpool and King's Falls (near Appin), early in the afternoon of 21st October "we arrived at what is termed the Mountain Top, along the ridge of which the road runs before it strikes down to the sea coast . . . A sudden change again takes place, for in an instant, upon leaving the morass with stunted small Eucalypti, we entered as it were, within the dark shades of a tropical forest composed of very lofty timber of the cedar . . . Turpentine Tree; large Eucalypti of the species called Blue Gum . . . with large specimens of . . . a tree-fern of New South Wales; the whole being strongly bound together with immense scandent and volubilous plants [i.e. creepers]. After settling

myself beneath a hut of cabbage tree thatch, where we intended passing the night . . . I took a walk down the side of the mountain, by the little beaten steps of the Government sawyers". Next morning he sent his servant down the mountain with part of the baggage, which was left "in the charge of a new settler, who had erected a temporary hut on the sea-shore about 2 miles east of the mountain's foot". Then, when the man had returned with the packhorse, "leaving our encampment with the remaining part of the luggage, we followed the beaten horse road about a mile through the same continuance of thick matted forest of various descriptions, till we arrived at the pitch of the descent down the mountain, which is at present, in many places, very abrupt, steep and rugged". They spent the night at the settler's hut, and next day "proceeded forward to my ultimate destination at Mr. Allan's farm, Illawarra, 10 miles to the southward".²³

The first point to note here is that Cunningham did not make his actual descent into Illawarra by the sawyers' steps, which his account seems to me to suggest were in the immediate neighbourhood of the cabbage-tree hut, and therefore about a mile from the point where "the beaten horse road" went over the escarpment.

Secondly, the hut of the unnamed new settler was "two miles east of the mountain's foot". Whatever "the mountain's foot" is taken to mean, anyone who settled two miles east of it at Coledale would have needed gills and a fishy tail. But if it is taken to mean the foot of the escarpment, Bulli Point would be somewhat under two miles to the east. No settlers are known to have been in the Coledale or Bulli areas at that time. Cornelius O'Brien did not receive the promise of his grant till 1821, but possibly he, or some predecessor, had been occupying the land earlier, either on some form of occupation permit, like the "ticket of occupation" Cornelius afterwards held in Kangaroo Valley, or as a squatter pure and simple – if anyone was pure and simple in the colony whose population, according to its Governor, consisted of those who had been transported and those who should have been. James Jervis says, without quoting his authority, that in 1825 O'Brien's house was the only one in the Bulli district.²⁴

Thirdly, the distance from the settler's hut to Allan's farm is given as ten miles. This is a mile or two short for Bulli, but it is four or five miles short for Coledale.

Fourthly, Cunningham, who was first and foremost a botanist, noted minutely the flora and vegetation of the country he traversed. (If he had paid equally close attention to its topography, he would have saved local historians a vast amount of trouble). He records the change from the stunted scrub traversed since leaving Appin into

“the dark shades of a tropical forest” as having occurred before he reached the cabbage-tree hut on the escarpment, about a mile from the head of the descent.

To the best of my knowledge and belief one could go many miles north from Bulli Lookout along the escarpment without encountering anything but typical sandstone vegetation similar to that along the Appin Road. But to the south, before bushfires, petrol companies and the Department of Main Roads obliterated it, the vegetation changed. Those who can recall the bush as it was before the 1968 bushfires on the Sherbrooke side of the saddle, opposite the junction of Bulli Pass and the Mount Ousley Road, will have an idea of what the saddle must have been like in its natural state. From Bulli Lookout to the head of the Old Mountain Road is slightly over three-quarters of a mile as the crow flies – probably a good mile as the horse-track wound.

So, all things considered, Cunningham’s account seems consistent with a descent by the Old Mountain Road, and inconsistent with a descent either at Coledale or at the later Westmacott’s Pass.

The next witness, Meehan, was a surveyor by profession, and might have been expected to leave no doubt about the point where he entered Illawarra; but his account of his first visit is the most difficult of all to interpret. His field-book²⁵ shows that on 18th June 1816 he began his surveying and chaining from “a Rocky Point near the Coal Cliffs the termination of the range of mountains that inclose the District of Ella-wharra to the N”. He gives the bearings from this point to various landmarks. From these bearings Meehan’s starting point has been identified as the headland (between Wombarra and Coledale) where the Clifton General Cemetery is now situated;²⁶ and there seems no reason to doubt the correctness of this identification. The further inference has been drawn that Meehan descended the range just behind this point, and began his chaining as soon as he reached the coast.

If Meehan had recorded nothing more than his starting point, this would be persuasive, if not conclusive, evidence that he had descended the range nearby; but that inference seems hard to reconcile with other entries in the Field Book. On 16th June he records chaining about 5 miles from a starting point on “Tugra Creek” (George’s River) in a direction generally south of east. Then on 17th June he says, “the horses and baggage having gone on without orders left me under the necessity of breaking off here, and following them to the Sea Shore, where I found them encamped near the stockyard of Mr. Throsby, the descent from the mountain

extremely difficult, and the Path from thence continually descends to the Shore then a poor sandy soil covered with Black-buttred Gums, and in the immediate vicinity of the Mountain, Cedars and Sassafras Tree and Cabbage Palm”.

The natural construction of this seems to be that Meehan reached Throsby's stockyard (near the hut whose site is marked by the monument at the corner of Smith and Harbour Street, Wollongong), on 17th June. It has been suggested that the entry was made after he completed his chaining from Clifton Cemetery to Wollongong on 19th June, for which date his last entry concludes “to the corner of Mr. Throsby's hut”, which he is assumed to have then reached for the first time. This seems to me not only to do violence to the natural meaning of Meehan's words, but to postulate remarkably inconsistent behaviour – that after chaining five miles in one day in the high country, Meehan is “under the necessity of breaking off” because the horses and baggage have gone on; he then takes another day, doing no surveying at all, to cover the remaining six or seven miles to Coledale, admittedly descending the range en route; then, still without having overtaken his horses and baggage, he resumes his chaining and spends two full days covering about twelve miles (as his lines run) along the coast to Wollongong. Having once decided that he had to break off to pursue the horses and baggage, what would have caused him to change his mind? If he was separated from them from the morning of the 16th to the evening of the 19th, he and his chainman must have been gnawing the chain for iron rations by the time they reached Wollongong.

Admittedly the hypothesis that Meehan pursued his errant baggage to Throsby's stockyard on 17th June implies that he retraced his steps northward from Wollongong before beginning his chaining, and he makes no reference to this in the Field Book. But it seems the more credible of the two interpretations.

If it is accepted, there is very little evidence one way or the other as to where Meehan came down the mountain on 17th June. The only possible clue is “the path continually descends to the Shore then a poor sandy soil” – which does not sound like Coledale, or anywhere north of Thirroul.

For what it is worth, mention might also be made of the first entry in the Field Book relating to Meehan's second visit, on November 27th of the same year. “From a bluff on the Mountainous range over the Five Islands” he gives bearings to a number of landmarks, including “easternmost of Five Islands” and “Extreme of Five Islands Point”. Mr. Gordon Worland, a professional surveyor and a past president of the Illawarra Historical Society, by working out the back-bearings from the landmarks mentioned reached the conclusion that

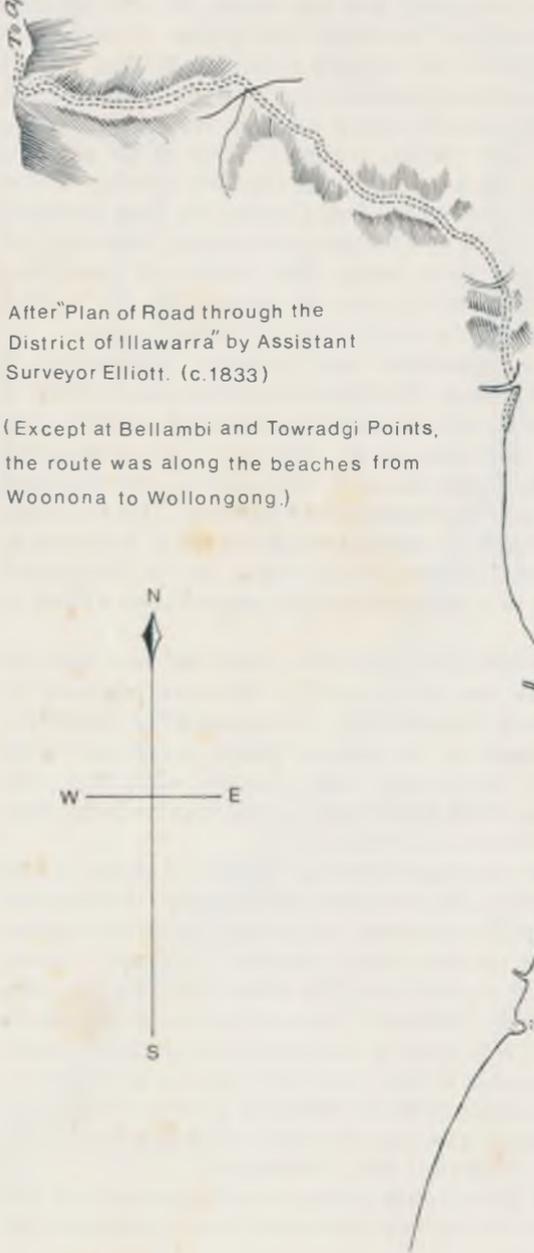
Meehan's "bluff on the Mountainous range" was situated a short distance north of the Panorama Hotel.²⁷ Once again, this does not prove that Meehan descended the range thereabouts; but it points that way, or at least suggests that he did not descend some miles further north.

Lastly, Throsby's nephew Charles Throsby Smith, in his "Reminiscences of Forty-two Years' Residence in Illawarra",²⁸ said that Throsby's party in 1815, after reaching the top of the mountain range, "halted for the night, and on the following morning commenced cutting a track down the mountain near the place where Mr. Somerville now resides, at Bulli"; and Throsby's cattle "spent their first night in the district near where Mr. Somerville's house now stands, on the point".

Throsby Smith's evidence is, of course, hearsay; but he was on the coast by 1820, and at that time was very much in his uncle's confidence. There is every reason to suppose he knew what he was talking about. As regards the location of Mr. Somerville's house, Throsby Smith was speaking in the 1860s, when "Bulli" covered a much larger area than at present. However, a search in the Deeds Register at the Registrar-General's Department narrowed the field considerably. In 1836 Cornelius O'Brien conveyed his Bulli grant to Robert Marsh Westmacott.²⁹ The latter fell into financial difficulties in the depression of the 1840s; he mortgaged the land, and it was later conveyed by his trustees to the mortgagees in consideration of the release of the mortgage debt. It would be excessively wearisome to detail, as it was wearisome to trace, all the intermediate steps; but in December 1855, 300 acres (specifically identified as the land granted to Cornelius O'Brien) were conveyed to George Somerville of Dapto, Farmer.³⁰ The latter in 1859 conveyed it to John Somerville and George Somerville the younger,³¹ and two years later, in 1861, the two younger Somervilles partitioned the land between them. The deed of partition³² refers to "the cottage in the occupation of the said George Somerville the elder" and reserves out of the eastern half of the land a parcel of seven acres, on which the cottage was erected, to the use of George Somerville and his wife Jane during their lives.

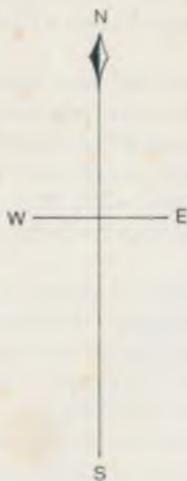
It appears, therefore, that in the early 1860s there were three Somervilles living on Cornelius O'Brien's original grant; but it seems fair to assume that when Throsby Smith referred to "Mr. Somerville" without Christian name or other qualification he was, in accordance with the established usage of his day, referring to the father. So, if the seven acres could be identified, Throsby Smith would have almost pin-pointed the foot of Throsby's track. Unfortunately the description of the seven acres by metes and bounds is a shocking one even for the 1860s, "commencing at a stake" [not otherwise

To Opalin



After "Plan of Road through the District of Illawarra" by Assistant Surveyor Elliott. (c.1833)

(Except at Bellambi and Towradgi Points, the route was along the beaches from Woonona to Wollongong.)



identified] and giving seven boundary lines all alleged to be running north, south, east or west; and I am assured by mathematicians [though I am open to correction] that one cannot, by any juggling, construct a heptagon with all its angles right angles. Moreover, at one point the surveyor, or the copying clerk, has written "west" when he may have meant north or south, but could not possibly have meant west, because this boundary running west immediately follows one running east, "which is absurd". One of the western boundaries is said to be a swamp; but the only swamp in the neighbourhood, to the north of the Bulli Colliery line, runs generally east and west, and so might be a northern or southern boundary, but not a western one. So there seems little chance of identifying Somerville's seven acres; but it may be enough for the present purpose that they were in the eastern half of O'Brien's grant.

The evidence of early settlers' and travellers' descriptions is confirmed by some old maps. Mitchell's map of Illawarra in 1834³³ is fairly detailed, and it is possible to relate one feature to another. This map shows what is described as an "old track" descending the range roughly parallel to and about a mile south of the boundary between the Counties of Cumberland and Camden. This boundary runs from west-north-west to east-south-east to reach the coast at Bulli [also called Sandon] Point, and the lower part of the present Bulli Pass keeps close to it from the big bend above Green's Pinch to the bottom.

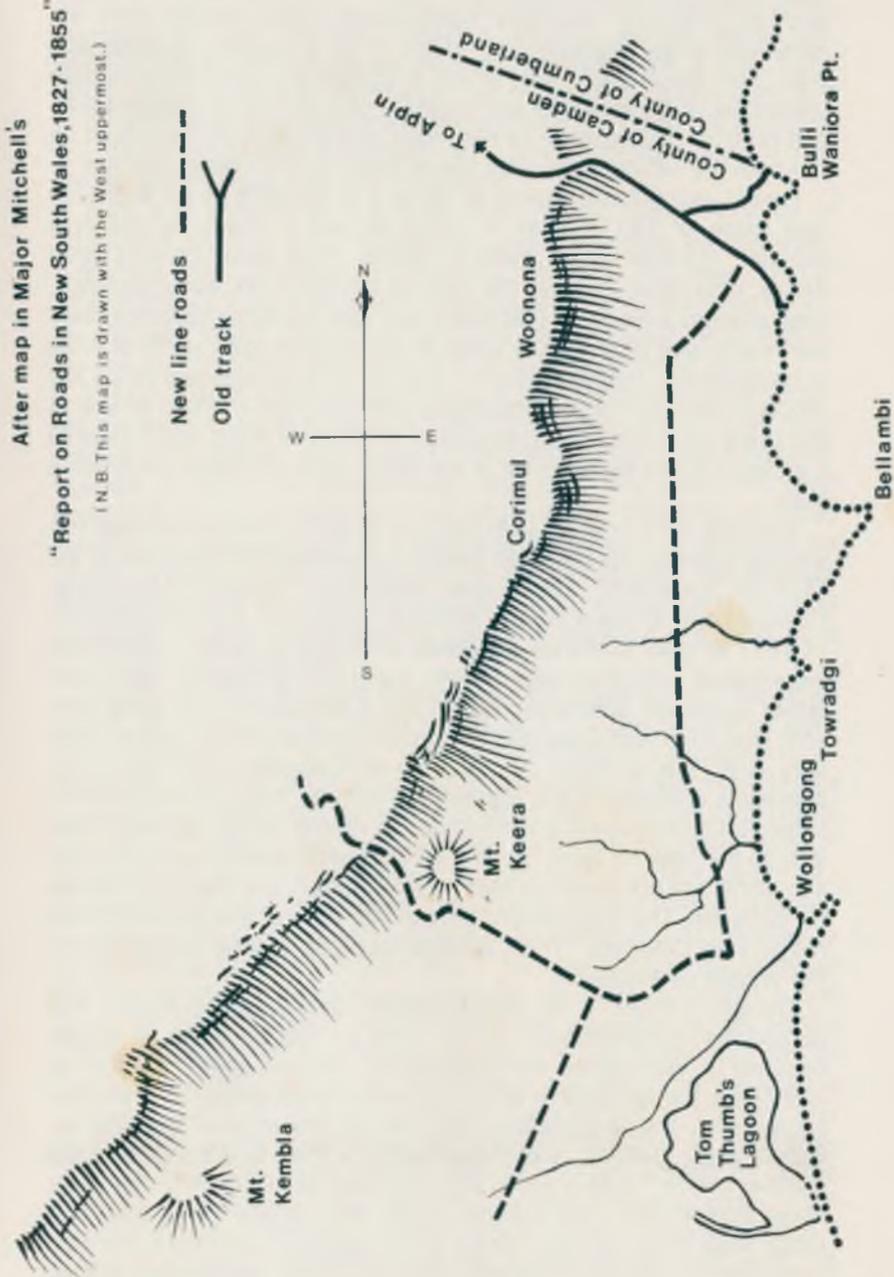
The "old track" on Mitchell's map forks about half way from the escarpment to the sea, one arm running to the coast just north of what Mitchell calls "Bulli Waniora Point" [the present Bulli Point], the other running south-east to the second beach southward [Bulli Beach]. It therefore corresponds fairly closely with the "Old Mountain Road" of the 1884 Parish Map, except that the latter stops short at Cornelius O'Brien's boundary.

A year or so earlier Assistant Surveyor Elliott had drawn a plan labelled "Plan of Road through the District of Illawarra"³⁴ It is detailed as far as the road itself is concerned, but shows practically nothing else. The road, whose northern end is marked "To Appin", comes over the escarpment at a point about 2½ miles north and 2¾ miles west of the point marked "Ballambi", descends a spur in a generally easterly direction for a little under a mile, then bears generally south-easterly to reach the coast at the mouth of a creek just north of a point rather under 1½ miles north of "Ballambi". Thence it ran along the beaches to Wollongong, except for short sections cutting across behind the points at "Ballambi" and "Touradgee".

The point at which Elliott's road comes over the escarpment, and the mile of road thence to the east, correspond very closely with the

After map in Major Mitchell's
 "Report on Roads in New South Wales, 1827-1855"

(N.B. This map is drawn with the West uppermost.)



"Old Mountain Road" of the 1884 Parish Map. The part of the road east of O'Brien's boundary corresponds fairly closely with the extension of the southern arm of the Y, as it appears on Mitchell's map, and the creek-mouth where it strikes the coast recognisably resembles, both in shape and location, the mouth of Collins Creek just north of Collins Rock or Flat Rock and Woonona. This could be the track by which Alexander Harris came to the Geraghtys' hut.

Finally, going back almost as far as it is possible to go, there are two maps of 1817³⁵ each of which shows a "Road to the Five Islands" identical in all material points. This road, coming from Appin, runs close to or on the crest of the range for some distance, then plunges over, runs practically due east for some distance, then east-south-east to strike the coast at the second point north of what is recognisably Bellambi Point – that is, at what appears to be the modern Waniora Point. Comparison with the scale marked on one of the maps confirms the identification of Waniora Point, and indicates a descent of the escarpment at the same point as shown on Elliott's map.

It is now time now to sum up, and to try to decide between the various theories. As between Bulli and Coledale, the compiler of the "N.S.W. Calendar" Backhouse, Alexander Stewart, Macquarie, Cunningham, Throsby Smith, Mitchell, Elliott, and the cartographers of 1817 all give evidence positively in favour of Bulli, or definitely inconsistent with Coledale, or both. Lang and Alexander Harris give rather equivocal testimony, but in my submission more consistent with Bulli than with Coledale. Dr. Grover's evidence fits neither place very well, but is more consistent with Coledale than with Bulli. Meehan's evidence is the hardest to interpret, and I do not want to strain it. On its natural construction his record of his first visit adds little to the case for Bulli, but it is only on what seems to me a forced and unnatural construction that it can be made any sort of evidence for Coledale. The one relevant note on his second visit points to Bulli rather than Coledale. The Coledale theory is against evidence and the weight of evidence.

Though I think it is misconceived, the Coledale theory has demanded consideration at full, and no doubt tedious, length because it represents the considered and reasoned opinion of authorities whose opinion on any question of local history is entitled to respect. The suggestion that the old road was identical, or substantially identical, with Westmacott's Pass is a horse of quite another colour: "Came down the mountain behind Bulli – that must mean Bulli Pass" – an opinion tossed off casually by people who never really directed their minds to the question whether there was any other way down. It has had, as far as I know, the backing of only

one historian of repute – admittedly a very weighty authority: the late Mr. B.T. Dowd, F.R.A.H.S., who in his map of Macquarie's journey, prepared for the Illawarra Historical Society several years ago, showed Macquarie's route as descending Westmacott's Pass. But a good deal of additional information has come to light since then, and in his 1967 correspondence with the Society regarding the revival of the name of Regent Mountain, Mr. Dowd definitely agreed that Westmacott's Pass was not Throsby's.

This, it is submitted, is proved firstly by the direct evidence of Alexander Stewart and of Mitchell's map; secondly by necessary inference from Cunningham's account; thirdly by the description of Westmacott's Pass in the 1855 grants as the "New Mountain Road" as opposed to the "Old Mountain Road" further south; and fourthly by the very fact that Westmacott's name was attached to it.

Westmacott's announcement that he had discovered a new track up the mountains was made in 1844. The Old Mountain Road must have been in regular use at least till Mitchell's Mount Keira Road was opened in 1836 or thereabouts, and probably was still used thereafter by the settlers north of Wollongong. Westmacott could hardly have passed it off as a new discovery, least of all where he chose to make the announcement, to the members of the Illawarra Agricultural and Horticultural Society,³⁶ who would have included practically all the old-established gentry of Illawarra and must have known the old road well.

The theory that the road descended "the lower part of the steep slope" of Mount Keira, stated by Cousins in "The Garden of New South Wales"³⁷ as a fact, without qualification, explanation or authority, is in flat contradiction to all the accounts and maps I have quoted. From Mitchell's report it is obvious that he marked the line of his Mount Keira Road for the most part through virgin brush.³⁸ Furthermore, from the evidence in the Hell Hole murder case of 1827 it appears that when the victim, Tom Austin, set out from Paulsgrove to walk to the hospital at Liverpool, a blackfellow was detailed to guide him to O'Brien's Road.³⁹ But if Throsby's track had followed the line of Mount Keira Road, it would have passed within a few yards of the Paulsgrove homestead [near the present site of the Mormon Church at West Wollongong]; if it had descended any of the spurs of Mount Keira it would have traversed the Paulsgrove property; and if so, why should Austin have set out on the long and hard way round by Hell Hole and O'Brien's Road? It is difficult to imagine how Cousins's theory was conceived, unless by some process of reckoning back from the erroneous first location of the Stockman's Hut memorial at Port Kembla, which he also mentions.⁴⁰

Even by early nineteenth-century standards the old road, as

Backhouse's and Harris's descriptions make clear, left much to be desired; in still less flattering terms a correspondent in 1832 informed readers of the "Australian" that "there is no road whatever, high or low".⁴¹ Even Macquarie called it "Rugged, rocky and slippery" and "a horrid steep descent"; and he was no stranger to rugged rocky roads or steep descents. He came from the wilder, if less stern, half of a country proverbially stern and wild, and he had served in an army that manhandled its guns up the Western Ghats in India, making its road as it went. When he gave Throsby's track a bad reference, he had some experience behind him.

When the supersession of Throsby's track by Mount Keira Road was already determined on, the authorities decided to do something about the original road, and in 1835 a gang of 80 convicts was reported to be working on it.⁴² But even after they had done their damndest, a Herald correspondent could still say, "You would creep down on foot leading your horse from rock to rock".⁴³ Alexander Stewart said, "Down the old Pass they used to bring horses and drays by tying ropes to the shafts, and then to the trees, letting the wheels go down first."⁴⁴

Towards the end of 1835 Sir Richard Bourke, with a party which included his daughter Anne and her husband Edward Deas Thomson, descended the old road. Anne described the journey in a letter⁴⁵ sent from Wollongong on 11 November to her brother Dick:

"We left Parramatta on the 6th and spent until 9th at Camden, three very pleasant days, old Mrs. Macarthur and Emmeline went up and made it very pleasant. George Macleay was there to dinner and of course gave me most dreadful accounts of all I should have to undergo, he made a drawing of me on Madona and said there was a pile of human bones of my unhappy predecessors where I could not fail to leave mine. That was very consoling was it not? However the sequel showed that he was mistaken. From Camden, after crossing Menangle Ford, we went through a bush road till within a few miles of Appin where we found the Saddle horses, and placing our persons on them and our baggage on two packhorses, we set out and made fourteen miles over what Major Mitchell calls 'a rocky, barren, and unprofitable range'. Mr. Gray [the Police Magistrate] met us at the top of the mountain and had a luncheon spread for us in the shade . . . with which we refreshed ourselves, after having admired the beautiful view from the edge of the cliff. I am a very hard hand at describing beauty or scenery - but you can understand this when I say we looked down upon a beautiful wide expanse of bright blue sea, rolling its sparkling waves on a wide beach of white sand, with loud noise. Immediately under us the deep valley covered with



Vegetation on the mountainside above Bulli in 1979.

wood, the cabbage palms raising their heads over their companions. It was very fine and made one feel **odd**, as if one did not like it. The descent does not commence for a mile after leaving the head of the mountain, and this mile is what I have had so often described to me – a bridle path of deep chocolate coloured soil, through a dense mass of tall trees, shrubs, climbers, conifers and ferns of all sizes and descriptions of the most beautiful glossy green and so thick as to shut out in some places the view of the Sea which you hear without seeing. [Those?] angular growths, the tall trees, and the shrubs, and then a thick growth of ferns and low spreading plants, all united by the creepers from the size of a large granadilla to the most minute leaf. But the most lovely of all is the graceful fern tree spreading out its branching heart in large bending leaves forming a complete shade, which they call the Umbrella. We got to the top of the path, and it certainly looked alarming, when I thought we had to go down it. Papa led the way a few yards down and then dismounted. I was for doing the same, but Edward [her husband] said "Oh no stay on". I begged to be allowed to get off, prayed, entreated, expostulated, and finally threatened, all in vain. Edward thought it would be less fatiguing to remain on than to walk, he dismounted and led my horse and it was indeed a dreadful thing – a crumbling narrow pathway with small stones rattling down on your horses' [sic] feet – and there were nine horses behind me all coming down helter skelter as best they could. The long steps Madsy was obliged to take, twice nearly pitched me over her head onto mine – but with the good guiding and her usual sagacity we gained the bottom without having parted Company and found Papa quietly seated at the bottom. I was most delighted to find myself there Mashallah, I was indeed. The same luxuriant foliage continued all down the pass, tho' I was hardly composed enough to admire it. At the bottom the soil changes, and become grown thro' with good grass, and leads to the sea beach. These five miles were the most wearisome to me riding with a deafening surf in our ears of which I suppose I was as much afraid as Madsy tho' we managed once to get into the midst of two or three waves from which I though we should never be extracted. I was rejoiced when Mr Gray's cottage was in sight, as 9 miles in the carriage and twentyfive on horseback was nearly enough for one day.

10th. I took this day to rest, Papa and "his tail" as Judge Burton used to say, went to see the new road, and the stockade and all that kind of thing. They went a long round, down the valley by Mr. Spearing's Cottage, and did not return till late in the evening. I only sauntered to Wollongong Point, and saw where the breakwater was to be – and had a clear view of the five islands".

On 11th they had intended to go to Illawarra Lake, but 'Papa' was



Dense mass of tall trees, shrubs, climbers and ferns where Throsby's track went down, as it appeared in 1979.

not well and they postponed the trip until next day. In the evening Edward, Mr. Gray and Anne took a short ride to the new line of road, which Anne thought would be beautiful when finished.

The "new line of road" would have been Mount Keira Road. Mitchell, in his report of 1834 had explained that "as Wollongong was considered by his Excellency [Sir Richard Bourke] the most eligible harbour", Mount Keira was "the situation most desirable for a passage to the Illawarra both with respect to that of most of the farms and Sydney, and also to Wollongong", and also provided a much easier grade.

The old road fell more and more into disuse, as first one, then another easier route was discovered – Mount Keira Road, Westmacott's Pass, Rixon's Pass and the present line of Bulli Pass. It still figures on the 1893 edition of the Parish Map, but evidently it was a paper road only, for in the following year Alexander Stewart found it necessary to give an elaborate, if not particularly lucid, explanation of where it had been.⁴⁶

Its epitaph was written on the Parish Map of 1904: "Unnecessary road. Sold to George Adams" (of Tattersall's Hotel and Marble Bar

fame, who was then the owner of the old Somerville grants through which the road passed).

So the old road's death was officially certified. It lasted a little longer as a foot track. Early this century it was known as Vidler's track, and was used by people going to and from Sherbrooke; one of them, Mr. Gabriel Rallings, was still living at Bulli in 1970.⁴⁷ But after the resumption of Sherbrooke for Cataract Dam it went completely out of use, abandoned to its ghosts and nature; and in Illawarra, nature does not take long to reclaim anything man abandons. In the winter of 1968 attempts, both from the top and bottom, to discover whether any traces of the old road still remained were blocked, both at top and bottom, by dense masses of brush, lantana and blackberries. This paper began with a quotation from Kipling; it could then have ended with another:

"They shut the road through the woods
Seventy years ago.

Weather and rain have undone it again,
And now you would never know

There was once a road through the woods . . ."

But, in the wake of disaster, the old road's ghost briefly appeared from the ashes. The great bushfire of October 1968 stripped off the dense growth that had covered it. On November 17 of that year I was one of a party who set out from the top of the range to try to trace its route. It was a strange landscape – covered with white ash, as if with snow, with the blackened trunks of the bigger trees rising out of it, and two or three pockets of green in gully bottoms where a little water had survived the drought. We went over the top at the point we had previously determined, and began to sidle down the slope. And before long we found it – on one side a cutting where the rock-face still showed pick-marks, on the other rocks piled into a rough retaining wall.

A little further on, our way was blocked by a small but deep gorge. Tacking back to the north, we found the road had tacked too – some more cutting, some more retaining wall. And so it went on down the mountain. Half a dozen times we lost the road, half a dozen times we found it again – many more twists and zigzags than the map showed, but always close to the line of the Old Mountain Road as it appeared on the parish map. One would not have known it from the travellers' descriptions – the dense vegetation they had all remarked on was gone, and nothing in the landscape was scandent or volubilous but ourselves – climbing down the mountain and creeping from rock to rock, still, like Alexander Harris, compelled in some places to stop ourselves against the trees – and as the trees were all blackened and charred, we were soon piebald. Finally we reached



Old Bulli Mountain Road after the 1968 bushfires showing the pack-horse track (above) and some washed out stones as tourists re-trace it (below). It is all again overgrown.



the foot of the escarpment, crossed a creek where stones appeared to have been formed into a rough causeway, and came out to a track near the Bulli Colliery dam where Mr. W.A. Bayley, F.R.A.H.S., then Headmaster of Bulli Public School, who had driven up from the bottom, was waiting for us. A few weeks later, guided by one of our party, he took his senior school-children over the same ground. And now it is reported to be overgrown again, and no one else except the wallabies is likely to follow in Throsby's footsteps for a long time to come.

It was never much of a road in its best days, and its best days were a long time ago. All descriptions of it are, in their various ways, uncomplimentary; but perhaps the best description of all, if a few liberties are taken with the text to adapt it to local topography and geology, is Banjo Paterson's description of "The Road to Hogan's Gap":

". . . Keep the crick upon your right,
And follow pretty straight
Along the spur, until you sight
A wire and sapling gate.

Well, that's where Hogan's old grey mare
Fell off and broke her back;
You'll see her carcass layin' there,
Jist down below the track.

And then you drop two mile, or three,
It's pretty steep and blind;
You want to go and fall a tree
And tie it on behind.

And then you pass a broken cart
Below a sandstone bluff;
And that is where you strike the part
They reckon pretty rough.

But by the time you've got that fur
It's either cure or kill,
So turn your horses round the spur
And face 'em down the hill.

For look, if you should miss the slope
And get below the track,
You haven't got the slightest hope
Of ever gettin' back.

An' half way down you'll see the hide
Of Hogan's brindled bull;
Well, mind and keep the right-hand side,
The left's too steep a pull....

The marks is old and pretty faint
O'ergrown with scrub and such;
Of course the track to Hogan's ain't
A road that's travelled much . . ."

The stranger turned his horses quick.
He didn't cross the bridge;
He didn't go along the crick
To strike the second ridge;

He reckoned, if he took the pull
And faced the rocky stair,
The next to come might find his hide
A landmark on the mountain side,
Along with Hogan's brindled bull
And Hogan's old grey mare!

Macquarie sesquicentenary monument at Bulli Public School. Regent Mountain is in centre top. The road dropped down from the gap to its left.



NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Cousins, "*The Garden of New South Wales*" (Sydney, 1948), p.34.
2. See Illawarra Historical Society Bulletin, August 1968.
3. Portions 20, 23, 24 and 77 Parish of Wonona, granted 13 February 1855 (Register of Land Purchases, Serial No. 99, Pages 58, 59, 60 and 61, Registrar – General's Department).
4. Backhouse, "*A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*" (London, 1843), p.422.
5. At pp. 160 – 161 (first edition, London, 1834).
6. *Ibid*, pp. 161 – 162.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 163 – 164. Anyone with a name like Cornelius O'Brien must have been a paragon of respectability to get a good reference from John Dunmore Lang.
8. Annexure to Despatch No.17 of 26 February 1834 from Governor Bourke to the Rt. Hon. E.G. Stanley (quoted by permission of the Public Record Office, London).
9. Dr. Grover's letter suggests that he started from his home, wherever that may have been. Some years later he was the lessee of a farm on the Berkeley Estate, its site being near the corner of Five Islands Road and Princes Highway, Unanderra. It is not clear whether he was living there in 1834. Even if he were, this would still not give an exactly correct distance for either Bulli or Coledale.
10. "*New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory, 1832*" (Sydney, 1832), p.60.
11. "*The Secrets of Alexander Harris*" (Angus and Robertson, 1961), p.146.
12. "*Settlers and Convicts*", Chapter III (p.21, Melbourne University Press edition, 1969).
13. *Ibid*, p. 21.
14. *Ibid*, p. 24.
15. Alexander Stewart, "*Reminiscences of Early Illawarra*", No. IV ("*Illawarra Mercury*", 1894, reprinted in the same paper 11 May 1934).
16. W.A. Bayley, "*Black Diamonds*", (2nd ed., 1969), pp. 3 – 4.
17. Stewart, *op. cit.* No. XIX ("*Illawarra Mercury*").
18. *Ibid*.
19. *Ibid*. And see Addendum.

20. Evidently the Loddon River, a tributary of the Cataract.
21. Macquarie, "*Journal of a Tour to the Cow Pastures and Illawarra in January 1822*", 15 January; printed in "*Journals of his Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1810 – 1822*", (Public Library of New South Wales, 1956) at pp. 239 – 240.
22. K. and M. Marshall, "*Early Roads to Wollongong*" – (Illawarra Historical Society, 1963), p.2.
23. Cunningham's Journal, 21, 22, 23 October 1818.
24. Jervis, "*Illawarra – A Century of History*", in R.A.H.S. Journal Vol XXVIII (1942), at p. 93.
25. James Meehan's Field Book No. 119 (in Mitchell Library).
26. C.W. Gardiner – Garden, "*Observations on Some of the Historical aspects of the Prominent Geographical Features of Illawarra*" (2nd e., 1965), p.11.
27. Address to Illawarra Historical Society, 5 March, 1970.
28. Extracts printed in "*Earliest Illawarra*" (Illawarra Historical Society, 1966), p. 27.
29. Lease and release, 4 and 5 May 1836, No. 904, Book J. in Deeds Register, Registrar – General's Department.
30. Conveyance, 18 December 1855, Oswald Bloxsome and Thomas Icton to George Somerville, No. 44 Book 43, *ibid*.
31. Conveyance, 2 April 1859, No. 267 Book 92, *ibid*.
32. Deed of Partition, 25 October 1861, No. 337 Book 105, *ibid*.
33. In "*Report on Roads in New South Wales, 1827–1855*" (Original in Mitchell Library).
34. "*Plan of Road through the District of Illawarra*"; in Mitchell Library, catalogued A4.LD. R818.
35. In Mitchell Library; both catalogued M2811.1–1817.
36. "*Sydney Morning Herald*", 30 April, 1844.
37. At p.34.
38. "I examined the ground and, although it is covered with thick brush, I succeeded in marking a line" – Mitchell to the Colonial Secretary, 21 October 1834. (In "*Report on Roads in New South Wales, 1827–1855*").
39. Letter from Lieut. Fitzgerald, Commandant at Wollongong, to Henry Moore, 2 July 1827, and enclosed deposition of Charly Hooker, in N.S.W. State Archives, quoted at more length in the present author's "*Hell Hole*" (Illawarra Historical Society, 1966).

40. Cousins, *"The Garden of New South Wales"*, p.35. For the site of the Stockman's Hut and the re-location of the memorial, see B.T.Dowd, *"The First Five Land Grantees and their Grants in the Illawarra"* (Illawarra Historical Society, 1960), p.2 and Map 2 (reproduced from Meehan's Field Book 119 and Plan 1.163).
41. Quoted by Jervis, R.A.H.S. Journal. Vol. XXVIII, p.300.
42. *"Sydney Gazette"*, 12 May 1835.
43. F.A. Bryant, letter in *"Sydney Morning Herald"*, 26 July 1844.
44. Stewart, op. cit. No. XIX.
45. Bourke Papers, Uncat. Set 403 Item 6, Mitchell Library. This very interesting document was brought to the Society's notice by Sir Richard Bourke's biographer, Dr. Hazel King, M.A., D.Phil., F.R.A.H.S.
46. Stewart, op. cit. No. XIX.
47. Information supplied by Mr. W.A. Bayley, F.R.A.H.S.

ADDENDUM

While this booklet was in the press the Illawarra Historical Society was given the manuscript recollections of Martin Lynch, which begin:

"April 20 1898

I Martin Lynch native of Appin left Appin on 4 of March 1827 landed the 1st night at the foot of the mountain just at the old Bulli track near Bulli mines and slept in the big old tree called goverment [sic] House."



Sesquicentenary monument from the gap above which Throsby's Track descended.

