Reminiscences of Illawarra by Alexander Stewart

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Reminiscences of Illawarra by Alexander Stewart

Abstract
The following "Reminiscences of Illawarra" initially appeared in the Illawarra Mercury between 17 April and 18 August 1894 in 24 parts, each part usually dealing with a separate aspect of the very early history of Illawarra, and more specifically with the early development of the township of Wollongong. This book is one of a continuing series to be published as aids to the study of local history in Illawarra. Some thirty works are at present in preparation or in contemplation. The series' objective is to provide low-cost authentic source material for students as well as general readers. Some of the texts will be from unpublished manuscripts, others from already published books which however are expensive, rare, or not easily obtainable for reference. They may well vary in importance, although all will represent a point of view. Each will be set in context by an introduction, but will contain minimal textual editing directed only towards ensuring readability and maximum utility consistently with complete authenticity. Every book will be fully indexed and appropriately illustrated where possible, with maps and diagrams where needed.

Disciplines
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OF
ILLAWARRA

by
Alexander Stewart

Compiled and Edited
by
Michael Organ

Illawarra Historical Publications
1987
REMINISCENCES
OF
ILLAWARRA

by

Alexander Stewart

(1809 - 1895)

Arrived Wollongong 24th February 1828

Originally Published 1894

Compiled and Edited
by
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In this way the student will have a reliable source-book from which to work; there may be editorial warnings as well as occasional additions in square brackets, for instance, as guides to the identity of people and places. Yet in general the student will be left with the raw material of history out of which, with more research, opinions can be formed. The general reader will have a segment of history with aspects of Illawarra's communal life which can be accepted and enjoyed for its own inherent interest, and indeed fascination.

PREFACE & ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The "Reminiscences of Illawarra" by Alexander Stewart have long been considered by historians as perhaps the most accurate of the many reminiscences recorded in the latter part of last century and the earlier part of this century.

Though well known to local historians, the "Reminiscences" have until now remained relatively inaccessible, having originally been published in the Illawarra Mercury during 1894.

This publication is the first time since then that the complete text of the "Reminiscences" has been brought together in a single edition.

Many thanks are due to the following individuals for assistance in the compilation of this work: to Mr. A.P. Doyle for his continuing support and use of computer facilities, and his daughter Philippa for typing the text; to Mrs. Joyce McDonell for supplying valuable information on Alexander Stewart's family history; to the members of the Committee of the Illawarra Historical Society, especially to Mr. E. Beale, Mr. W.G. McDonald and Miss M. McDonald; to Mrs. Kerrie Alexander whose previously constructed index to the "Reminiscences" proved invaluable for purposes of comparison with my own index; finally many thanks to Jan Richards and the staff of the Reference Section, Wollongong Public Library, for all their assistance.

M. Organ

TEXTUAL NOTE

The "Reminiscences" are herein presented as printed in the Illawarra Mercury of 1894. Minor editorial variations include the creation of paragraphs to break up the monotony of the newspaper text which often appeared as a single block.

Items in square brackets, thus [ ], are editorial additions. The heading to each Number includes, in square brackets, the date the original article appeared in the Illawarra Mercury.
INTRODUCTION

The following "Reminiscences of Illawarra" initially appeared in the Illawarra Mercury between 17 April and 18 August 1894 in 24 parts, each part usually dealing with a separate aspect of the very early history of Illawarra, and more specifically with the early development of the township of Wollongong.

Nine months after the publication of the last part, the Illawarra Mercury, in the issue of 16 May 1895, reported the death of Alexander Stewart and published the following obituary notice:

DEATH OF MR. ALEX. STEWART.

The Oldest Resident of Illawarra.

On Monday night there passed away, at the residence of his son-in-law (Alderman Kirby) one who had long occupied a unique position in the community on account of his being the oldest living resident of the Illawarra district. We refer to Mr. Alexander Stewart, who had resided at Wollongong for 67 years, and attained the ripe old age of 85.

Mr. Stewart had a splendid constitution and enjoyed fairly good health up to a short time ago, when a general break-up of the system set in. Despite his great age, he regularly attended the Presbyterian Church (of the committee of which he was a member) until, two or three weeks ago, his feebleness increased so much that he was compelled to cease moving about. He also remained to the last an enthusiastic and much-esteemed member of the local lodge of Sons and Daughters of Temperance having for upwards of 50 years been a total abstainer.

He possessed a marvellously clear memory, and having throughout his life been of an observant nature, was able to relate with great freedom numerous incidents concerning not only the settlement of Illawarra but the early history of the colony. The retentiveness of his memory was well tested about a year ago, when he dictated a series of many interesting papers, which appeared in the Mercury under the heading "Reminiscences of Illawarra," the facts in which were related without reference to notes of any kind. The old gentleman often expressed regret that he had not kept a diary, saying that had he done so he would have been able to produce a very interesting book.

Mr. Stewart was born at Stranraen, Wictonshire, [Stranraer, Wigtownshire] Scotland, on October 4th, 1809, and arrived at Wollongong on February 24th, 1828.

He was a boot-maker by trade, and for many years was connected with the police force, having charge of the lock-up. When he settled in this district there were not more than 50 male residents in the whole coastal area extending from Bulli to Jamberoo, while women numbered 10 (all married) and children 16, the total population thus being under 80. Instead of the fertile farms which are now to be seen in every direction and have since made the name Illawarra familiar in all parts of the colony, a primeval forest existed, and many were the stories told by Mr. Stewart concerning the hardships that were met and successfully overcome by those pioneers to whom the district owes so much.

In 1861 Mr. Stewart married the widow of Mr. Charles M'Cann, of Millbrook Farm, Mount Keira, and two daughters were born to them, both of whom reside at Wollongong, one being, as already stated, the wife of Alderman J. Kirby, and the other being unmarried.

The remains of the deceased were interred in the Presbyterian cemetery yesterday afternoon, a large number of citizens paying the last tribute of respect to the dead. The funeral service was impressively conducted by the Rev. Simpson Millar.

This book is a compilation of the the 24 parts of the "Reminiscences" and is presented in two sections. Section One contains the "Reminiscenses" as published in 1894. Also included in this section are various corrections and addenda published concurrent with the "Reminiscences". Section Two contains six letters submitted by members of the Waldron and Warren-Jenkins families commenting upon aspects of Mr. Stewart's "Reminiscences" and usually criticising points he raised. These letters were published alongside the "Reminiscenses" in the Illawarra Mercury during 1894, and as Alexander Stewart commented upon some of them within the "Reminiscences", their inclusion is considered essential.

The "Reminiscences" were republished in the Illawarra Mercury between May and July 1934, minus some addenda and the letters. For this reason the following transcript is taken from the 1894 publication of the Illawarra Mercury.
How did these "Reminiscences" come about? They were initially recorded by John Brown, J.P. of Brownsville, presumably during 1894 (John Brown was the son of George Brown, a well known early settler in the Dapto area, after whom Brownsville was named). The 1890s was a period when many similar reminiscences were printed in regional newspapers throughout Australia as the first generations of native-born Australians, immigrants, and convicts, reached old age. Many editors and journalists went out recording the tales of these old pioneers.

An aspect of Alexander Stewart's life omitted from the obituary notice was the fact that he arrived in New South Wales in 1828 as a convict on board the 'Hoogley'.

Obviously there was a stigma associated with being an ex-convict at the time Alexander recorded his "Reminiscences", and it was considered that this aspect of his arrival in Australia was best forgotten. It was to be almost another 100 years before the convict streak would be finally accepted by the Australian community - Australian society in 1894 did its best to totally deny its convict background. It can only be pondered what interesting tales Alexander would have had to tell if he could have freely proclaimed his convict past. By negating this part of his personal history, the subsequent reminiscences would obviously have had to be restrained in their discussion of Illawarra and its convicts.

Young Alexander Stewart had been tried at Ayr, Scotland, 45 miles north-east of his native Stranraer, on 19 April 1827. He was charged with "Stealing in a Shop", and was sentenced to 14 years transportation to the penal colony of New South Wales. He was placed on board the ship "Hoogley" along with 194 fellow convicts, and sailed from London on the 5th November, 1827, for New South Wales. After a voyage of 111 days they arrived in Port Jackson on 24 February 1828.

Alexander Stewart’s convict indent (Archives Office of New South Wales, Microfiche No. 668, p52) records that upon arrival at Sydney he was 18 years old; of the Protestant faith; he could read and write; was 5 feet 3 inches tall; with a ruddy, much freckled complexion; brown hair and grey eyes; was a shoemaker by trade and had no prior convictions.

The indent also records that he was placed in private assignment to "Edward Corrigan of Campbelltown" upon arrival.

According to the "Reminiscences", Stewart was immediately sent by Corrigan to Spring Hill, near Wollongong, for three months, where he carried on as bootmaker. His subsequent duties while assigned to Corrigan are unclear - perhaps he continued to operate as a bootmaker, or simply worked as a labourer for Corrigan. In the 1828 Census, recorded late in 1828 or early 1829, he is noted as "Shoemaker to Edward Corrigan of Illawarra."

As noted previously, at no point in the "Reminiscenses" does Stewart refer to his convict origins or his assignment to Corrigan. Edward Corrigan was, according to Stewart, Illawarra’s first postmaster and one of the first police constables in the area. He appears to have been a strong influence upon young Alexander during his early years in Illawarra as a convict, separated so far from his home and family in Scotland.

Stewart received his Ticket of Leave on 15 July 1834, approximately 7 years after his trial date - this was the usual practice for well behaved convicts. A Ticket of Leave meant that he was no longer assigned to Corrigan and could now work for himself, though the ticket would be revoked if he was found guilty of any misconduct.

On 7 February 1837, the New South Wales Government Gazette reported that "Alexander Stewart of Wollongong has been appointed a Police Constable, while still holding a "Ticket of Leave". This speaks well of Alexander’s good character and standing in the community at that time. He remained a Police Constable until 1841.

Throughout his "Reminiscenses" Stewart refers to living "on the Green" just south-east of Crown-street, Wollongong [near the present Showground, in Burelli-street] during his early years in Illawarra. At the time of the 1841 Census (3 March 1841), he is recorded as living in a house in Burelli-street, Wollongong, owned by Alexander Brodie Sparke of Sydney.

Other experiences of Stewart’s gleaned from the "Reminiscences" include the facts that in 1841 he was poundkeeper for Illawarra and in September of that year he "resigned to go down to McCauleys place at Broulee." By 1846 he had returned to Illawarra, for he was appointed Collector of Monies for the Bulli Road Trust during 1846-7.
The 1855-6 Electoral Roll of Illawarra records him as a freehold owner of land on the Mount Keira Estate. This move to the Mount Keira area helps to explain his marriage at the age of 52 to Mary McCann (nee O’Hara), widow, of Millbrook Farm, Mount Keira, in 1861.

At some point the Stewart family returned to Wollongong to live, for within the "Reminiscences" Stewart refers to his purchase of an allotment in Crown-street.

Of his twilight years not much is known. His wife Mary died on the 4th June, 1877 at their residence in Crown-street, Wollongong. In 1883, he is listed as a "Storekeeper" of 25 Ann St, Surrey Hills, however his absence from the district must have been brief for the banner heading to the "Reminiscences" proclaims that in 1894 he was "now in the 67th year of residence in the district". As such he would have been one of Illawarra’s oldest pioneers at the time, as many of the other early settlers would have either died or left the district by 1894.

Stewart spent his twilight years in Wollongong and was living with his son-in-law, Alexander Kirby, at the time of his death in 1895.

The "Reminiscences" are important documents in Illawarra history. They record the memories of a man who had first-hand experience of the birth of the township of Wollongong and its initial development during the 1830s. It was during this period that the town was surveyed and laid out by Major T.L. Mitchell (in 1834-5), the harbour was first developed (1836-1844), and Wollongong became identified as the main port and economic centre of the land-locked Illawarra.

As a convict in private assignment Alexander was witness to the everyday activities of the developing community - unlike the absentee landlords who, though they owned much of the land in Illawarra, presided over their properties from outside the district. These "Reminiscences" give an overview of the activities of the convicts, soldiers, free settlers and clergy who were the true pioneers of the region.

Alexander, with a keen eye and obviously sharp memory, therefore presents a view of earliest Illawarra from the perspective of the common man - a view which is, nearly 100 years later, both entertaining and historically significant.

Taking into account the fact that when Stewart recalled his reminiscences of events up to 60 years past, he was then 84 years old; and also that he relayed those reminiscences to Mr. Brown "without reference to notes of any kind", it is indeed remarkable that the "Reminiscences" have proven to be so accurate. It is also understandable that some of the dates quoted by Mr. Stewart may be in error by a few years.

There are a few other minor inaccuracies, e.g. Stewart asserts that in 1828 there were "not more than 50 male residents [in Illawarra]...There were 10 married ladies between Wollongong and Jambrero but no single ones of marriageable age. There were 2 or 3 girls in their teenhood, and a few babies - 16 children altogether." The official 1828 Census of New South Wales actually records 347 people, including 78 women, residing in Illawarra at that time, though women may indeed have seemed very scarce to a young Scottish lad like Alexander. Nevertheless, the basic substance of the "Reminiscences" remains accurate, and speaks well for the memory of this then 84 year-old man.

Subsequent research by many local historians has revealed the greater part of Stewart’s reminiscences to be accurate, in so far as they can be verified by surviving records. The fact that their scope is so wide-ranging - taking in so many aspects of early Illawarra history - and that the text is so readable, truly enhances their historical value.

This compilation of the "Reminiscences of Illawarra" by Alexander Stewart, from the pages of the Illawarra Mercury of 1894, is presented both as a monument to the man and as a remembrance of our past.

Michael Organ
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SECTION I

REMINISCENCES OF ILLAWARRA

BY THE OLDEST INHABITANT
(Mr. Alexander Stewart),

Born October 4, 1809,
Arrived at Wollongong February 24, 1828.

Now in the 67th year of residence
in the district.

[In 24 Parts (Nos.), plus Addenda, as published
in the Illawarra Mercury between 17 April
and 18 August, 1894.]
The other day Mr. Alexander Stewart, aged four score years and four, the oldest living resident of Illawarra, met Mr. John Brown, J.P., at the latter’s residence at Brownsville, and had an interesting conversation for a few hours on times, scenes, and events of the past in this district. The result of their conversation will appear in these columns from time to time under the heading “Reminiscences of Illawarra,” and will embrace incidents that have occurred between Bulli and Jamberoo.

Mr. Stewart has a marvellously clear memory, and narrates his facts like a professional historian. When cosily seated in Mr. Brown’s drawing room, Mr. Stewart said to Mr. Brown, “I remember you when you were a baby in arms.” “I believe you do,” said Mr. Brown, “and that’s where you have the advantage of me.” During the chat Mr. Brown, the junior local historian, acted as “the friend, philosopher, and guide” to his senior relator, a leading question here and there serving to remind Mr. Stewart of much valuable data and many interesting occurrences.

It was in the early part of 1828 that Mr. Stewart, then a young man of 18, came to Illawarra and settled where Wollongong has since risen. At that time, in the costal district between Bulli and Jamberoo, there were perhaps not more than 50 male residents. Women in Illawarra then were very precious - possibly more precious than rubies - for they were very scarce and desirable. There were ten married ladies between Bulli and Jamberoo, but no single ones of marriageable age. There were two or three girls in their teenhood, and a few babies - 16 children all together. From Mount Keira peak, a Pisgah in those days, might have been below a veritable land and promise. But this land of promise was then a primaeval forest. In this forest, however, the more stunted as they neared the beach.

At the base of the mountains and up the slopes of the mountains were taller gum trees, and trees of greater girth, but of such as they were there are still many specimens left of the rising ground. The Illawarra forest was generally similar to the relic which now stands between Gwynneville and the Keira tramline, just above the engine-house. Between what is now Crown-street and the Tom Thumb Lagoon was densely covered with swamp oak trees, the ground on which these oaks grew being then all Government land.

At that time there was no Main South Coast Road. The present main road to Bulli and that to Albion Park were overgrown with trees and thick scrub, like the rest of the country around. None of the by-roads at present known existed then. Fences in Illawarra were rare - very rare. Government pegs, and few of them, were the fences’ predecessors, and did service for boundaries at that time. Land owners here were not so solicitous at that period as they are now about fencing in their weeds and tussocks, for the only possible trespassers were the cattle which the grantees’ stockmen had the looking after, and as these animals were like swine in an orchard after the gathering in of the fruit, they were not regarded as objectionable even on another man’s property.

The whole of the Illawarra lowlands were then used for grazing, with the exception of a few solitary patches - mere handfuls of land - on which a few of the small settlers grew maize. But these very limited areas under cultivation were like oases in a desert. In 1828 the real pioneers in Illawarra were the peripatetic cedar-cutters, who ferretted out the cedars on the mountain slopes, felled them, drew them with bullock teams to the coast, and shipped them to Sydney. But even the cedar-getters were not as numerous as the possums.

Most of the larger land-owners, or grantees, resided in Sydney, each having on his property here one or two stockmen. A few of the grantees, however, had neither cattle nor stockmen on their properties, which were resting in peace and biding their time. The stockmen, mostly miles apart, lived in very primitive huts in a most pastoral and hermetical fashion, and, like the cedar-getters, “batched” in a style more solitary and Arcadian than the miners who do likewise in Illawarra at the present day [1894]. A pipe and a book were the only companions they could boast of in addition to the cattle luxuriating in the scrub and dodging the gum trees around their cabins.

Bush tracks there were, but they were not well defined, pedestrians being few and far between. To a bushman in Illawarra then, notwithstanding his bushcraft, a pocket compass was as valuable as a mariner’s now is to the navigator upon the trackless ocean.

Illawarra was, in 1828, in the words of the poet Campbell, a "delightful land, a wildness e’en benign."
No. II

[19th April 1894]

Asked for an account of the owners and occupiers of land in Illawarra in 1828, Mr. Alex. Stewart said: -
"Going south from where Crown-street, Wollongong, now is, was a hut upon Edmund Burke's land, which was
south of the top of Crown-street. Burke himself lived in this hut.

Sterling Jones's land came next, going south. It was at Blind Creek, or Jones's Creek. It is now Mount St.
Thomas, and lay on the south side of the present Wollongong Cemetery.

George Tate's place came next. It was on what is now Spring Hill.

Heron Farm, where Mr. C.J. Cullen now lives, was the property of Thos. Barrett, sen. I think he was the
grantee. Beyond that was Jenkins' estate at Berkeley. No person lived on it but a stock-keeper at that time.

East of the Berkeley estate, and south of Spring Hill, was the Five Islands Estate, on which the Messrs.
O'Donnell now live. William Chas. Wentworth was the owner of this estate at that time, but he had purchased
it from one Allen. This Allen was not the person Allen's Creek derives its name from. Allen's Creek was named
after a man called Allen, who had a garden on Spring Hill estates, and who sold off some thirty-three years ago.
He had the garden there for a long time before he sold off. The Five Islands estate consisted of 500 acres. No
one was living on it in 1828.

Beyond Berkeley we came to John Wiley's flats, which are now divided by the Dapto road, and in the middle
of which the Kembla Grange now stands. Beyond Wiley's flats came Mullet Creek, and on the south side of this
creek was the establishment of Mr. George Brown, the father of the present Mr. John Brown, J.P., of
Brownsville. Mr. George Brown was then living at his hotel at Liverpool. He had a man in charge of his property
at Dapto.

Captain Brooks had an estate east of Mr. Brown's, and a man was in charge of his stock there. Captain
Brooks's was a very large estate. It was bounded by Mullet Creek and the Lake, east of Mr. Brown's, and
extended to Yallah. It took in Kanahooka Point and the land where Mr. Reed's hotel now stands, Yallah Estate,
which was a very big one, belonged to old "Merchant" Brown, who lived at Appin. It extended from the long,
steep hill (Brown's Hill) to the Macquarie River. Brown's Hill was named after old "Merchant" Brown. Two
brothers, named Greylish, lived upon the estate, and looked after it for Mr. Brown.

Where Albion Park now stands was then called "The Meadows," or "Terry's Meadows", the property
belonging to Samuel Terry, who lived in Sydney. I don't think there was a stock-keeper on it at the time. This
estate extended from the Macquarie to near Jamberoo, taking in Mount Terry. It also stretched a good bit up
towards what is now Tongarra.

What is now Shellharbor was the Petersborough Estate. It belonged to the late Darcy Wentworth, a relative
of the famous barrister and legislator who owned the Five Islands Estate, and who, I believe, afterwards went
to England and was knighted. Darcy Wentworth had a stock-keeper on his property.

Coming back towards Wollongong, a Mr. Johnston had an estate which extended from the Macquarie to
the north and west of what is now known as the Marshall Mount Estate. Johnston's lay to the west of "Merchant"
Brown's property, and extended towards the foot of the mountains. Captain Weston, the uncle of the present
Captain Weston, had an estate adjoining Johnston's, and also extending west and north of the land afterwards
granted to Henry Osborne. What is now the Marshall Mount Estate did not exist then. It was Government land
at that time, but was afterwards granted to Henry Osborne.

The Avondale Estate, which adjoining what was afterwards the Marshall Mount Estate, belonged to Alfred
Elyard. He was not living on it, nor was anyone employed by him. This estate was afterwards sold to Henry
Osborne, Colonel Moles had an estate north of Avondale, at what is now West Dapto. No one lived on it then,
nor were there any cattle on it. Messrs. Paul, auctioneers, of Sydney, had a section, 640 acres, at West Dapto,
higher up towards the mountain than Moles' property. Neither man nor cattle lived on Pauls' property then.

Messrs. Stack, butchers, had a property at Dapto west of Mr. George Brown's. West of Stacks' was Moles',
and west of Moles' was Pauls'. One of the Stacks, I think Michael, was living on the estate. Adjoining Stacks' property on the north was Mrs. Weston's, called then, as now, "Horsley". She was an elderly lady, and lived on
her property. She was afterwards married to one Williamson.
North of Mrs. Weston's was the Kelogues Estate, of which the owner or grantee was Mr. Gregory Blaxland, who was at that time a member of the old Legislative Council. This Kelogues Estate was west of Berkeley, and the American Creek ran through it. The Kelogues homestead at American Creek is now in the occupation of Mr. John Clark. All Mount Kembla was then Crown land.

Next came the farm of Matthew Ryan at the Figtree. He lived upon it. I think Mr. E. Gibson has bought this farm.

Across the Figtree Creek, north and east, was "Paul's Grove", now the Mount Keira Estate, and divided into small farms. It consisted of 2000 acres, and ran from Figtree to Fairy Meadow. This estate was owned by Mr. Spearing, who lived at Mount Keira House, which is now occupied by Mr. John Edwards. Mrs. Carbery's residence, just beyond the Cross Roads, is on what was a portion of this estate."

No. III

[21st April 1894]

Continuing, Mr. Alexander Stewart said - "Where Bulli township now stands was Bowman's estate in 1828. Bowman was the grantee, and had 300 acres there. There were no houses in Bulli then, except Peggy M’Gawley’s, Cornelius O’Brien’s, and that of the Gerraty brothers, James and Patrick. The latter occupied a grant of 100 acres adjoining M’Gawley’s. A man named Collins now owns the place where Peggy M’Gawley lived near Bulli. The farm is between Woonona and the beach.

James Denny [Dennis] and Harry Angel, who were in partnership, had land at Angel’s Creek, about three miles north of Wollongong. Their property was on both sides of what is now the Towrodgi Road, and came west of where the Towrodgi Road now intersects the Bulli Road, which did not exist then.

Coming on towards Wollongong was C.T. Smith’s estate, which ran from Fairy Meadow Creek to the north side of what is now Crown Street. One Thompson was the original owner of the Garden Hill estate. Dr. John Osborne came here and bought it from him, then went home, and afterwards came here to live. Adjoining Garden Hill estate one Drummond, the original owner, had 300 acres, which ran down to the Thumb [Tom Thumb’s Lagoon]. Drummond’s property was bounded on one side by Garden Hill estate, on another by Sterling Jones’s, and on another by the Government land between Wollongong and the Thumb.

Adjoining Mr. Spearing’s Keira property at Fairy Meadow was an estate owned by Mr. Patrick Lysaght, the father of the present Mr. Andrew Lysaght. Mr. Lysaght’s 60 acres lay to the left of Mr. Spearing’s. No one was living upon it then. Another farm, 200 acres, lay to the east of Mr. Lysaght’s on the Fairy Meadow Road. It had been granted to Robert Anderson, of Liverpool, and afterwards belonged to his brother, George Anderson. Mr. Bode’s racecourse and grounds are now on part of this property. No one was living on it at that time.

North of the Keira Estate was Mr. Buckland’s Estate, 1200 acres, which extended from Fairy Meadow Creek to Angel’s Lane (now Payne’s Lane). The Buckland estate was afterwards sold to William Wilson, subdivided, and sold in allotments. Balgownie and Mt. Pleasant townships now stand on what was the Buckland estate.

The Fairy Meadow Road now runs through what was then two small farms, one 200 acres and the other 60 acres. One of these farms belonged to Dennis O’Brien, and the other to one Conoboling. Mr. Bate’s brickyard is now on O’Brien’s farm. The other farm was on the eastern side of Fairy Meadow Road, and ran down to the beach. These farms were bought by Mr. William Wilson when he bought the Balgownie estate, and they were cut up into allotments along with the Balgownie estate.

Harriett Spearing, wife of the Mt. Keira Spearing, had 2000 acres from Towrodgi to Woonona, taking in Corrimal, Bellambi, and Woonona flats. There were one or two small farms in between, and wherever small farms had already been granted the big grantees ran their large estates around them. No one lived on Mrs. Spearing’s property at that time. Gerald Anderson had a small farm at Corrimal adjoining Mrs. Spearing’s estate and Underwood Brothers had another there of 160 acres. Sergeant Trotter had 80 acres on the west side of Underwoods’, also at Corrimal."
Addendum

[24th April 1894]

In the last portion [Part III] of these "Reminiscences" it was stated that Denny and Angel's farm was on both sides of the Towrodgi Road. It should have been that the farm was on both sides of what is now the Bulli Road where the Towrodgi Road intersects it. The original grantees of their land were Messrs. Mooneys and Cunningham.

Drummond's property, adjoining Garden Hill, was bounded on the west by Spearings's grant. Mr. Lysaght's 60 acres at Fairy Meadow lay "on the east" of Mr. Spearings's property instead of "on the left." Buckland's property ran along the Mount Keira Estate, on the west being Government land. On the east, towards what is now the Bulli Road, were several small farms. Mrs. Spearings's property did not stop short at the Towrodgi Road, but came towards Wollongong as far as the Cabbage Tree Creek.

No. IV

[24th April 1894]

Mr. BROWN: "Do you remember any bushrangers coming into the district in the early days?"

Mr. STEWART: "Yes. At the latter end of 1828 four bushrangers ran away from their master at Appin. They came down the old Bulli mountain pass and went to Peggy McGawley's, the place now owned by Mr. Collins. Here they stole a fowling piece, and then went to the adjoining farm, where the Gerraty Brothers lived. Whilst they were going to Gerraty's, Peggy sent a little girl over by a short cut to tell her neighbors that bushrangers had taken a fowling piece from her house and were coming over to theirs with it. The Gerraty's having been thus apprised, were ready for them.

Jim Gerraty brought out his fowling piece, and when they were coming up the pathway towards the house Pat Gerraty signalled to them with his hand to keep off. One of the bushrangers levelled the stolen fowling-piece and shot Pat Gerraty in the hand blowing off his forefinger. Jim Gerraty immediately levelled his fowling-piece and shot the man dead who had just fired at his brother. The three surviving bushrangers left the stolen fowling-piece at the spot where it fell and ran away. What became of them I do not know, but I did not hear of them afterwards.

The dead bushranger was afterwards buried in sand at the corner of Peggy McGawley's point [Woonona Point], which is the first point on the beach north of where the Bellambi jetties now are. The Gerratys' two farms adjoined Peggy's and all three ran down to the beach. These three farms are now due east of the mouth of the Bellambi (Woonona) mine. The master of the man who was shot was, I think, called Leyton or Clayton.

I saw in the Mercury a little while ago that some human bones had been found in the sand at Peggy McGawley's point. It was surmised that they were the bones of a blackfellow, but they were the bones of the bushranger.

At the time of this visit from Appin there were neither constables nor magistrates here, but in consequence of the occurrence the Government appointed Jim Gerraty a constable and Edward Corrigan, who lived at Woonona, another. Corrigan as soon as he was appointed came to live in Wollongong, but Gerraty remained on his farm. The Government then [1829] also appointed Lieutenant Butler, of the 39th Regiment, as commandant and magistrate, and sent him to Wollongong with about twelve soldiers and a sergeant. The Government also sent down a gang of about twelve tradesmen, prisoners of the Crown. Amongst them were stone-masons, carpenters, plasterers, splitters, etc., and they were to build a barracks for the soldiers and a residence for the commandant. The barracks, I think, was not completed till some time in 1829. On the meantime the soldiers and the commandant lived in tents, which were located near the beach, behind where the old watchhouse stood.

Shortly after coming to Wollongong Corrigan built a house for himself on the Green at the bottom of what is now Crown-street, just outside Mr. Smith's boundary. He was temporarily appointed, shortly after coming to Wollongong, the first postmaster here. The post-office was a small place, about ten or twelve feet square, near where the old watchhouse stood.

Corrigan held the position of postmaster till Henry Anthony Burton Bennett was appointed clerk of petty sessions at Wollongong in 1832. Bennett then became postmaster as well as clerk of petty sessions. Corrigan
was afterwards appointed chief constable of the district, which extended from Bulli to Shoalhaven. He then had two ordinary constables, a district constable, and a lockup-keeper under him. He made a good chief, and was a very smart man as a police officer.

Jim Gerraty held the position of constable at Woonona till James Gerraty died at Liverpool Hospital on 13 March 1830, after accidentally shooting himself at Woonona a few days earlier. His brother Patrick was then appointed district constable, under Corrigan, and was stationed at Kiama.

Lieutenant Butler held the court in a small tent near where the old watchhouse was afterwards built. He lived, slept, and held court in the tent. The prisoners used to stand outside the tent, guarded by the police, there not being room for them inside. Not many trials were held by Lieutenant Butler, who was relieved in 1831 by Lieutenant Sleeman, of the same regiment.

The prisoners were mostly charged with disobedience or insolence to their masters or mistresses. They were mostly found guilty, and the punishment was a flogging. A prisoner usually received from 25 to 50 lashes. A man named Waddell, a great big, strong fellow, and a prisoner of the Crown, was appointed the first flogger here. He came down from Sydney. I think he was sworn in as a special constable to do duty as such if required. He lived in a hut by himself.

All the builders who came down, though they were prisoners of the Crown, lived in huts by themselves on the sand bank.

They were not kept in custody. Patrick Smith, a free man, was the overseer over the works and the prisoners. Neither the soldiers nor the police had anything to do with them. The police were sent down to scour the bush for runaways. They used to go out making excursions, and sometimes they would bring in some bushranger.

A soldier who was a servant man to Lieutenant Butler threw himself over the Pulpit Rock. This soldier, named French, was the first man that I know of who died in Wollongong, or was buried here. He was buried in the sand bank opposite the town lagoon. Others had died previously in the district, but they had been buried on their own properties, for there was no burying ground in Wollongong at that time. Another soldier, named Crowley, a servant of Lieutenant Sleeman’s, about a year afterwards threw himself over the same rocks into the sea, but his body was never found.

It was supposed that each of these two soldiers was fond of a woman who used to visit the camp occasionally, but who would not look favorably upon either of them, and that they therefore committed suicide through pique.

Addendum 2

[1st May 1894]

In the last portion of these reminiscences the writer erroneously stated that the first post-office in Wollongong was held in a little house beside the commandant’s residence. It should have been that Corrigan held the first post-office in his own house, which was on the Green at the bottom of Crown-street, and remained there till Mr. Bennett was appointed postmaster and clerk to the police magistrate, Lieutenant Captain Allman, in 1833. Mr. Grey, who relieved Captain Allman, used the second post-office as a courthouse till 1835, when the red one was finished.

Edward Corrigan, the first constable and postmaster in Wollongong, came from Avondale, and not from Woonona. He has a son now living at Fairy Meadow.

In reference to the letter of Miss Warren-Jenkins [See Section 2, Letter I] which appeared in last Thursday’s issue of the Mercury Mr. Stewart says he is not prepared to dispute the statement or claim of that lady, nor had he any desire to throw doubt upon the title to Allen’s garden. He believed that all Miss Warren-Jenkins states with regard to the ownership of Allen’s garden may be perfectly correct. But, he says, Allen’s garden was in one of the sharp bends of the creek on the Wollongong side, and was usually approached through Tate’s meadows, of which it seemed to be a part. He and others therefore assumed that it was part of the Spring Hill estate. No part of the creek up to that time, adds Mr. Stewart, was known as Allan’s Creek.

In 1837 and subsequently a map of the district was kept in a case in the police office for the information of the public. It was from that map that Mr. Stewart learned all the boundaries and the names of the grantees, and he does not think that the words “Allan’s Creek” appeared on the map as the name of the creek in question. At
the time Allen cultivated the garden the creek was commonly known as Jenkins' Creek, both at and above Allen's garden and below down to the mouth of the Thumb.

At the ford on the old road to Dapto the creek was then known as Bartlett's Creek, Bartlett [should read Barrett', see Addendum 3] being the owner of the Heron Farm, through which the creek ran. At Figtree, before the new road to Dapto over Cobbler's Hill was cut, the creek was known as Mat Ryan's Creek, Mr. Ryan being a landowner there. At the falls where Mr. Logan now quarries stone the stream was called Kecologue's Creek. The upper portion of the stream is now called American Creek. Mr. Stewart never heard it so called in the early days and he does not know how it came to get that name. It is only since the controversy commenced between the two councils with regard to Allan's Creek bridge that Mr. Stewart has heard the name Allan's Creek given to that stream.

In the early days it was usual to call what might be termed the different sections of the creek by the names of the persons who owned or occupied land on its banks.

No. V

[1st May 1894]

"In 1828," continued Mr. Stewart, "when I came to Wollongong, there was only one house in what is now the borough or town of Wollongong. That was situated in the acute angle formed by the two fences which at present come to a point at the corner of Harbor and Smith-streets, about 50 yards to the north of the present Convent on the western side of Harbor-street. It was the residence of Mr. C.T. Smith. This homestead was a not very imposing structure. Not a vestige of it at present remains. Mr. Smith's barns and shed were where Mr. Beattie's stables stand at the south-western corner of the paddock. Harbor-street was then a bush track, and not a very good one."

Mr. Brown: "Could you give us a description of the Crown settlement in Harbor-street when the permanent buildings had been erected?"

Mr. Stewart: "Yes. The settlement was on the eastern side of Harbor-street, and extended from its abutment on to the street to the beach eastwards. On the south, or upper side, it is bounded by the fence which now separates it from the allotment in which stands the ancient-looking house in which Mrs Traveller resides, and beachwards it ran down to the front of the present Customs House and Gaol. Where the Goal and Customs House [modern-day Drill Hall] now stand was the police paddock, the police using it for the grazing of their horses.

The Crown settlement proper stood between the fence at the southern end of the police paddock, or that which now runs in a line with the southern side of the gaol, and that on the northern side of Mrs Traveller's residence. The residential portion of the settlement consisted of about an acre, or perhaps a little more.

The whole of that Crown corner originally belonged to Mr. C.T. Smith, but he gave it to the Crown in exchange for Flagstaff or Signal Hill when the Government proposed to locate their emissaries in Wollongong, and afterwards Mr. Smith used to graze his cattle up on "the point" [Flagstaff Hill], as it was then called, where the Permanent Artillery men are now stationed and where the coal train lines now run.

The Crown settlement, as I have already said, in the beginning was wholly a canvas one. Then the tradesmen who came down with the soldiers built the courthouse. This is the small building abutting on to and facing Harbor-street. It is painted red and is of a plain old English style. Immediately behind it was the watch house or lockup. It was a small wooden building consisting of three rooms or compartments. The middle compartment was where the lockup-keeper stayed and the compartments on each side of this were for confining prisoners not tried. One of the compartments was for males and the other for females. That lockup does not exist now.

Behind that wooden building stood the cells. There were three of them, but all built together in one building, which was of brick. The cells, which were separated by brick walls, were lined inside with swamp mahogany, a very hard wood. These cells still stand. In them prisoners were kept after trial. The prisoners were mostly sentenced to seven days imprisonment, and during their incarceration were fed solely on bread and water.

Behind the cells, still going east, was the commandant and magistrate's residence, which still remains, and is distinguishable by the two black chimneys, which are built of stone. The residence is a wooden building, and the front of it faces the back of the Custom House. At the front of it was a nice little flower garden, fenced round
with a picket fence. A portion of this garden still remains, and an arc-shaped fence runs round it. East of the commandant's residence still stands a spacious wooden building, painted black. This was the soldiers barracks.

East of this barracks, built in Lieutenant Sleeman's time [1830-2], there stood a small wooden watch house. In it there were two small rooms and a little place for the flagellator to live in. This building has been done away with. East of this later watch house, and right up on the sand bank, was a stable for the horses of the mounted police, and also the tradesmans huts. No vestiges of this stable or the artisans' huts now remain.

In the south-west corner of the allotment, on the convent side of the red courthouse, and abutting on Harbor-street, once stood a little wooden building. It was the second police court in Wollongong, and the first after the one held by Lieutenant Butler in his tent. This wooden hut or cabin was used as the police court whilst the red one just below was being built. It was also used by Mr. Bennett, the magistrate's clerk, as the post office. It was the second police court and the second post-office in Wollongong, the first post-office being Corrigan's hut on the Green at the bottom of Crown-street, which remained so till Mr. Bennett came to Wollongong.

When police court and post-office were removed to the red court house the wooden court house was taken down and no signs of it now remain.

I was in the commandant's residences in Captain Plunkett's time. It was well furnished, nicely kept, and very cozy and comfortable. Captain Plunkett, who was an excellent and genial man, had a wife and several children here then.

The old red courthouse, the third in Wollongong, is now used as a barracks for the police constables. What were the cells behind in former days are now used by the constables as sleeping apartments, and are more luxuriously furnished than they were when their predecessors the prisoners used to 'do' seven days in them on a wooden couch with a wooden log for a pillow, bedless and coverless, so far as blankets, sheets, and quilts go. The cells have been touched up and improved, but they are not more spacious than when a prisoner could not take two strides in them beside his very hard couch. The commandant's residence is now in the possession of the constables, and the wooden building that was the soldiers' barracks the constables now use to stable their horses in."

No. VI

[5th May 1894]

Mr. Brown: "Could you tell us how they got their drinking water in Wollongong in the early days?"

Mr. Stewart: "In 1828-29 there was no fresh water in Wollongong to be got. Mr. C.T. Smith then had to go to Barrett's Creek, a portion of "Allan's Creek", and get water from the stream just above the ford where the old road to Dapto crossed. He went over Spring Hill and Tate's flats, beyond Spring Hill, and then over Jenkins flats. He dipped for water at a place a good distance to the east of where the present road to Dapto crosses the creek.

To convey the water back he had two bullocks yoked in harness, like horses, but tandem. This water was solely for his own use and that of his stock.

The soldiers at that time, when they came down, dug a well on the north side of where the town lagoon, beside the Convent, now is. The well was east of the Convent. It was about nine or ten feet deep, and there were steps going down to it. The spring was a very poor one, and water came into the well very slowly. We had to get up in the night to try to get the first water, and the competition for it was so keen that many persons had to go without any, even though they came for it very early in the morning, for others had been there before them and taken all there was. The well was supposed to supply the soldiers, the police, and others who were about at that time. The water was fresh and good.

At the southern end of the present town lagoon Mr. Smith sank a barrel for his cattle to drink from. The water that came into it was not so good as that which came into the soldier's well at the other end of the lagoon. When we boiled it, and put tea into it, the water turned as black as ink. It was not brackish, but it was not fit for human beings to drink, and the people therefore did not use it for their own consumption. But Mr. Smith's cattle drank it, and they were very glad to get it, because they had none in any other part of their run. After being all day without water, they were driven up by the stockman at night to be milked, and they would come lowing and hastening up to the barrel. Then they would get round it and anxiously try to get their turn at the water. The strongest got the best show. They were as eager for it as the human folk were for the water in the
soldiers’ well, for whilst some of the cattle were drinking the others would be horning them to get them out of the way.

It was a copious spring, and yielded sufficient water to satisfy all the animals at the time they came to quench their thirst. Though emptied by the cattle at night, it was full of water again the next morning. Mr. Smith’s cattle were mostly milkers.

When I came here the town lagoon was a hollow, the same as it is now, but it was then dry. I was told that there had been no water in it for some two or three years previously, there having been very dry seasons for several years. But in 1832 there was a great downpour of rain, which many persons called a waterspout. The land was flooded, and the lagoon became so full that the water overflowed and ran into the sea through a channel where is now placed the barrel overflow flume for carrying away the overflow water from it past the eastern side of the goal and into the harbor near the I.S.N. Co’s [Illawarra Steam Navigation Company] jetty. The water in the lagoon then was good and pure, and it served all those who required drinking water for some years to come. There was also sufficient for the cattle as well.

That great rain carried away two water mills that Mr. Spearing had on Millbrook (then Hell Hole) Creek. One of the mills was not completely erected. The stones were laid for it, but they were carried away by the torrent, and the debris were afterwards found lower down the creek. The other mill was in use, and was situated near where the Mount Keira gardens were.

The flood carried this small watermill away down the creek, and it was never seen again.

I think Mr. Spearing, who was a master miller by trade in the old country, made these watermills himself. He also erected a windmill near his house at Mount Keira (then Paul’s Grove), and there he used to grind what corn he wanted for use. He made the windmill himself, having carpenters and other tradesmen working for him.

During that great rainfall the Loddon Creek, at the top of the mountains, was in flood. Mr. George Brown (the father of Mr. John Brown, J.P.) had the contract to run the mails between Wollongong and Campbelltown. The mail carrier in Mr. Brown’s employment was one Dan Sullivan, who was called Dan the Postman. He used to go with the mails on horseback, and he had to go through the Loddon Creek. He was mounted on a very superior black horse, called Black Jack, of which I will say more later on. The mail bags were strapped upon the saddle. In crossing the Loddon, about two miles from the top of the old Bulli mountain, Dan was carried off the back of Black Jack by the flood and drowned. His body was afterwards found by some one lower down in the creek.

The horse, when he had lost his rider, got out safely and made his way home with the saddle and mail bags, with which he arrived in Wollongong all right. The horse went direct to his stables at Mr. George Brown’s, they being on the flat in the paddock where cricket is now played to the south of Mr. G. Cochrane’s Hotel. The stables were down in the lower part of what is known as Baxter’s paddock, but all traces of them have disappeared.

Going back to July, 1829, there was a small boat, called the Foxhound, that traded between here and Sydney with cedar and various kinds of produce. Mr. Barrett, sen., who lived on Heron Farm (where Mr. C.J. Cullen now is), and his son-in-law, a Mr. Cullen (not belonging to the present Cullen family), a Sawyer, loaded the Foxhound with cedar and pumpkins. She sailed from here for Sydney, I think, on the 28th of July, 1829, and old Mr. Barrett and Mr. Cullen were passengers by her. They were going to Sydney to dispose of their produce there.

It was a very dark, windy, squally night. She must have foundered somewhere off Coalcliff, for neither Mr. Barrett, nor Mr. Cullen, nor the sailors, nor the boat were ever seen or heard of again. Some black-fellows came to Wollongong immediately after the disappearance of the boat and brought word to the settlement here that there were cedar and pumpkins lying on the beach in an inlet on the north side of Coalcliff, near Mr. Gibbon’s place [Stanwell Park]. This cedar was taken to be some of the small light cedar that had been placed on the deck of the Foxhound, and it was assumed that it and the pumpkins which were on the deck, had been washed ashore when the boat went down.

The place where the blackfellows had reported the pumpkins had come to land was then known as Little Bulli, and from Big Bulli, or the present Bulli, to Little Bulli, there was nothing but a pathway, and when one got near the cliffs the footpath was so narrow that it was very difficult to walk or get along there. It was considered a very dangerous place for travellers, for few persons could make their way across that part of the coast. Constables Corrigan and Gerraty, however, went out there, and found the cedar and pumpkins on the beach.
as reported, and it was believed that these were identical with those that were on the Foxhound. None of the bodies of the persons aboard the vessel were ever found.13

The boat was a good-sized schooner - perhaps 60 tons."

Addendum 3

[5th May 1894]

In Part 5 of these reminiscences the writer should have stated that the old red police court in Harbor-street, the cells behind, and the intervening watch-house were built in 1835, Mr. George Brown, who had the mail contract, being the contractor. The tradesmen who came down with the soldiers had erected the other buildings on the settlement previously, but had nothing to do with the latter ones.

In the explanation at the end of part five a printer's error also crept in. "Bartlett's Creek" should have appeared as "Barrett's Creek" (that portion of Allan's Creek which runs beside Mr. C.J.Cullen's farm).

No. VII

[10th May 1894]

Mr. Brown: "I used to hear something about some veterans. Do you remember anything about them?"

Mr. Stewart: "Yes. There were ten of them, and their names appear as the original grantees on the maps of the district. They were each granted 100 acres, and their land lay on the north of Mullet Creek. Some of their grants were on one side of Dapto Creek (a tributary of Mullet Creek running north-west) and some on the other side of it. The West Dapto Road, from Kembla Grange Railway Station, now runs through the middle of these properties, as well as the Dapto Creek. The names of the ten veterans were - John M'Kelly, Daniel M'Coy, John Robins, Charles Clayton, Thomas O'Brien, William Millan, James (Sergeant) Mitchell, Ben Bundett, Christopher Ecklin, and, I think, William Keevors.

Mrs. Millan became a widow, and afterwards married one Cray. Her christian name was Eilen, and that is why "E. Cray" now appears on the map instead of "William Millan."

The veterans were old soldiers, who had been discharged from the British Army, and the inducement offered to them to come out here was that they would each get a free grant of 100 acres. They were also pensioners, and that is the reason they were called veterans, it being usual in those days to call old soldiers who were pensioners veterans. Their grants were for long service, and they were all old men when they came down here. They came out from the old country in charge of prisoners.

A surveyor was sent down here by the Government to measure out the farms for these veterans. The veterans, having been discharged in the old country from active service, were not obliged to come out here, but they came out because they were promised these free grants if they would settle here. The surveyor surveyed the farms in 1829, and the veterans arrived here in 1830.14

When they landed at Wollongong, by boat, each had a wife, but they did not seem to have any children. At all events, if they had any children, they did not appear to bring them with them. They all landed here together.

Not much interest was taken in their arrival, for, in fact, there were not many people about Wollongong in those days to take an interest in any unusual event. Besides the soldiers and the police, there were then in Wollongong only Mr. Smith and myself.

The veterans did not seem to bring much property or furniture with them. The Government built a house on each allotment for each veteran. Each house had two rooms, and I think the front of the house was weatherboard, the back being slab. The houses had glass windows in them. The veterans were really comfortably housed.

The Government supplied them with rations for 12 months free. Mr. Cornelius O'Brien, of Bulli, was the contractor for these rations, which his men delivered every Saturday at Sergeant Mitchell's house. Sergeant Mitchell, being the only sergeant amongst the veterans, was chosen by the Government, possibly on account of
his former rank, to take charge of the victuals and see to their distribution. Though he was regarded as the chief amongst the veterans, he was only granted 100 acres, as the others. The Government also gave to each veteran an assigned servant to help to clear his land and do other work about his farm for him. Each assigned servant was a prisoner of the Crown, and came here from the Hyde Park Barracks. The assigned servants were also supplied with rations by the Government for 12 months, and their rations were also sent by Mr. O'Brien to Sergeant Mitchell for distribution.

As soon as the veterans arrived at Wollongong they went straight to their places at Dapto after they had all shaved themselves in the open air on the Brighton beach. But none of them remained very long upon their land. They were all pretty old men when they came - almost too old to do much work. And then not having been accustomed to farming they did not seem to take to the land.

M'Kelly, I think, never went to live upon his land. His man was felling a tree on his property near the present northern Main South Coast Road bridge at Mullet Creek, and the tree fell upon the house the Government had put up for M'Kelly. The house was smashed in and rendered useless. Consequently M'Kelly never attempted to occupy or reside upon his land. He sold his property to Mrs. Weston for her son John, and the son John sold it to Mr. Henry Osborne.

Sergeant Mitchell sold his property to a man named Connolly, and this sale must have taken place soon after Mitchell came here. Connolly afterwards fell from his horse in going out of Wollongong near where the present Terminus Hotel stands. He was at the time living upon the farm he had bought from Sergeant Mitchell. He hurt his big toe, got lockjaw through it, and died. His widow afterwards married a man named Thomas Drinkwater, who was well known here some years ago.

All the veterans quickly sold out, and went away to live. Ecklin, when he had sold out, came to live in Wollongong. He bought two allotments at the corner of Barrella and Kembla streets - the property on which Mr. Joseph Hart now lives. I think this was about 1838. When Ecklin died, and afterwards, Mr. Hart's mother - the late Mrs. Fairs - was very kind to old Mrs. Ecklin, and as a result Mrs. Ecklin left the property to Mrs. Fairs. The cottage that Ecklin put up has been taken away, and the superior one that Mr. Hart now lives in stands in its place. The old buildings still at the back of Mr. Hart's house are some of the original buildings that Ecklin put up there. Millan's property was on the old track across the Dapto Creek."

No. VIII

[15th May 1894]

Continuing, Mr. Stewart said: - 'I said previously that no one was living on the Marshall Mount estate and on Colonel Moles' property at the beginning of 1828. In July of the same year, however, Mr. Henry Osborne came down and took possession of the Marshall Mount, and from that time he resided there permanently.

Mr. John Hore, senior, also came down in the same July and took possession of Colonel Moles' land at West Dapto. Mr. John Hore came from the Cow Pastures River in the Camden district, where his family were residing when he arrived here. He did not bring his family with him when he first came, but afterwards, when he had built a place for them to live in, they came and resided at West Dapto. His son, Charles Hore, is now living at Dapto, and he has grown-up children.

In 1829 there was a bushranger who used to frequent the Bulli mountain, and who went by the name of Bulli Jack. His name was Bourke. He had been about the Bulli mountain before I came down here, but he had not been apprehended. He used to hide beside the track and then come out from his hiding place and tackle lone men. He would take anything from them - even rations and tucker. Men going from here to the Liverpool Hospital he would pounce upon, and would take from them rations or clothes, or whatever they were carrying. He was a very mean robber. I think he was apprehended in 1830 by, I think, some mounted police.

He was tried for robbery and sentenced to be hanged. He was brought to Appin to be hanged. He was the first Governor Bourke hanged after coming to the colony, and it was curious that he should be a namesake.15

In 1833 two mounted police went out from Wollongong into the bush at Fairy Meadow for a cabbage tree trough for the pigs and fowls to drink from. These troopers, named Shannon and Ward, were carrying the trough in upon their shoulders. When they got opposite what is now a portion of the convent (it was then Elliott's public-house, a small weatherboard place) Shannon dropped dead under the load.
As there was no burying ground in Wollongong at that time his body was buried just in front of where the Brighton Hotel now stands, in fact, in what is now the little front garden of the hotel. That spot then stood just inside Mr. Smith's paddock. Prior to the interment the wife of a Sawyer named Rock was buried in the same place.

When the Catholic burying ground on the sand bank was laid out Shannon's remains were taken up and reburied in the sand bank. When her husband's body was interred in front of the Brighton Hotel, Mrs. Shannon put a rug round the coffin to preserve it, for she intended to have it taken up again and buried afresh when there was a proper burial ground. Shannon was buried with military honors, but there was no band here then to play the Dead March. I believe he was the first person buried with military honors in Wollongong. I believe Mrs. Rock's remains still lie in the ground in front of the Brighton. At all events, I don't remember their ever being taken up.

The little house I previously spoke of as standing in the south-west corner of the settlement, and which was used as the second post-office and the second court house in Wollongong, was built to be a residence for a married trooper, there being no room in the barracks for an additional married man when Mrs. Shannon had become a widow.

Captain Allman then got permission for Mrs. Shannon to build a house for herself on the rise just a little to the east of where the front of the gaol now is. Her house stood about where the tramway now runs up the hill. She lived and kept a little shop there for a time. Afterwards she married Corporal Shanahan, and then she left her house on the hill and came back to the barracks.

She let her little house to [James O'Brien] Crocker, who was the magistrate's clerk, and afterwards the Government, requiring the ground on which it stood to carry out the harbor works, destroyed it, giving to Mrs. Shanahan in lieu of it the first allotment up at the Green. The Government gave her this piece of ground, Number 1 allotment of Section 9, as soon as the section had been measured, and before any of it was sold. The little house she put up on this allotment still stands there. Corporal Shanahan had a son who died here, and one of his sons, I believe, lives in the town here now.

In 1833, I think, one Thomas Mahar was the caretaker for Mr. [J.H.] Plunkett, the owner then of the Keelogues estate. Mahar was sleeping in the bulkstores on the estate and in the night he was roused by a rapping on the door. He got up out of bed and partly opened the door. He saw four men outside, all their faces being blackened. The men had come to rob the stores, and as soon as he opened the door one of the robbers fired at him. The shot went through the door, but did not touch Mahar, who immediately fired his gun and shot dead the robber who had fired at him. As soon as he was shot the other three robbers ran away, leaving their firearm behind them.

When the dead robber's face was washed it turned out that he was one of Mr. Plunkett's assigned servants - a man subservient to Mahar. A gun that was left behind Mahar knew to belong to a free man named Larry Moore and this led to the apprehension of Moore, who stated to Corrigan, the head constable, that whilst he was out some one had stolen the gun from his place and also the beef out of his cask. Corrigan searched Moore's house, and found the whole of the beef that had been in the cask up in the loft on a sheet of bark.

One [David] Mott who was an assigned servant to Mr. Plunkett, and who was afterwards the flogger here, lived in one of the huts along with the man who was shot dead, but did not go with the robbers to rob the stores. This Mott proved that the three robbers who ran away were Larry Moore and two assigned servants to Mat. Ryan, a neighbor. He also proved that the four had blackened their faces in the hut where he (Mott) and the dead man had lived. Moore was a very tall man, and when Mahar saw one of the four was a very tall man he suspected him to be Larry Moore. The three robbers were committed for trial in Wollongong, taken to Sydney, found guilty, and hanged.

No. IX

[17th May 1894]

Continuing, Mr. Stewart said: "In 1833 Captain Waldron, the owner of Spring Hill estate, resided on his property. One day he was sitting under his back verandah, the floor of which was very high. I was told that he was smoking there, and that he was expectorating round about him.
He had two convict women there as assigned servants. One was called Sarah McGregor and the other Mary Maloney. Mary was an Irish Londoner, and Sarah was a Liverpool girl. They were both young, and both somewhat "flash".

He called the women to clean up the expectoration, and they did so. He went on smoking, and bye-and-by he called them again to repeat the cleaning up. Both women came, and, evidently displeased, they pushed the captain off the verandah. The ground on which he fell was very stony, and as he had fallen from a good height he sustained serious injuries, his death resulting from the fall.

The two women were then brought into Wollongong, and, after hearing evidence here, they were committed to take their trial on a charge of wilful murder. They were then taken to Sydney, tried there, and found guilty. They were sentenced to be hanged, but, as one of them was likely soon to become a mother, the case was sent to England. William the Fourth was the King then, and a free pardon came back from the Home Government for their crime here - the murder of Captain Waldron. They were then released again in the country here, but they still remained as prisoners of the Crown for the offences they had committed in the old country.16

As there was no burying ground here then, Captain Waldron's remains were interred at Mount St Thomas. His body was afterwards taken up, about 1836, and buried in the Protestant burial ground in the sand bank beside the Catholic burial ground. When the sand bank was condemned as a burial ground his body was again taken up from there and reinterred in the burial ground in Kembla-street. That would be a few years after his body was interred in the sand bank."

Mr. Brown: "Could you give us an idea of how the harbor originated?"17

Mr. Stewart: "Yes. In 1828 there was no Brighton Lawn, no I.S.N. Co.'s stores, no coal shoots, no stone wall to keep the sea back, no lighthouse breakwater. The small vessels that came from Sydney discharged their cargoes on the beach at the bottom of the track that is now Harbor Street, and those to whom the goods were consigned came and removed them from there.

The boats pulled in as close as they could to the beach, but they could only load or unload when the sea was fairly calm.

From the Pulpit Rock to where steps now go up at the nether end of the T jetty to the lighthouse breakwater were jagged and nasty-looking rocks, similar to the Pulpit Rocks where they get the washing of the sea, but they were not so high out of the water as the latter rocks. The long stone wall to keep the sea back in rough weather now stands on the top of those rocks, and what they were like may still be seen by looking at what remains exposed on the sea side of the wall. Where the lighthouse and the lighthouse breakwater now stand was very deep water, and it was fairly deepwater where the T jetty now is. The rocks stopped short at the present stone steps leading up to the breakwater.

Right round from where the Brighton [Hotel] now stands to where the I.S.N. Co.'s pig pens now are was a sandy beach similar to that still in front of the Gaol. Signal Hill, on which there was then nothing at all, sloped down to the sandy beach, which was lowest where the water now is in front of the I.S.N. Co.'s pig pens and stores. At the base of Signal Hill, between the present Keira coal shoots and the I.S.N. Co.'s pig pens, was a pebbly beach, which was washed by the sea at high tide and in rough weather. This was just above the sandy beach that was washed by the sea at high water with ordinary tides.

Where the basin excavated by Mr. Lahiff now is - that in front of the Keira and Pleasant shoots - was then a sandy beach, but sloping down from the rocks to where the I.S.N. Co.'s steamers now lie to take in coal and goods. The sea often washed over the rocks and left sand on the inner slope. Where the I.S.N. Co.'s now lie and where their stores and pig pens stand was an inlet or sandy cove - just such a sheltered hollow as children delight to pass their time in on a fine day with sand buckets and wooden shovels.

Vessels that came from Sydney in ballast in the early days were mostly charged with loose or rubble stone, and the captains were directed by the authorities to throw their stone ballast into the deep water where the lighthouse breakwater now stands. The captains in the early days thus built up the base of the breakwater, but many far-seeing men complained that they were filling up deep water that would be very valuable some day. A board stood in the police paddock, at the corner of Harbor-street, and facing the sea, on which was a notice warning captains not to throw their ballast in the fairway, but, when stone or rock, to take it as close up to the north-eastern end of the rocks as they possibly could and deposit it there. They commenced throwing in the stone where the steps now are, and continued depositing their ballast off there up to the time Mr. Lahiff began excavating the second portion of the basin.
In 1828-29 Mr. Geo. Brown, J.P., who was then residing at his hotel at Liverpool, had a man making salt on the pebbly beach. This man had a large pan on the beach in the open air. The pan was built upon stone or brick work, so that there was a fireplace like an oven underneath. Beneath the pan the man made a fire with wood brought from round about, and thus he boiled the seawater, evaporating the pure water from the brine and leaving the salt like a white powder in the pan. I remember seeing the man making the salt, and he kept at it constantly for two years or so after I came here. The salt was taken away in a little sloop called the George, which used to trade here. Some of the salt was taken up to Mr. Geo. Brown's at Liverpool by way of Botany Bay and George's River, and some of it was taken to be used on Mr. Brown's farm at Dapto."

No. X

[22nd May 1894]

Mr. Stewart, continuing his account of how the Wollongong harbor originated, said: 'In 1828-29, at the same time that Mr. Geo. Brown's man was making salt on the pebbly or stony beach, a shipwright named John Cunningham, who came from Sydney, had a cottage on the same pebbly beach, beside, but a little to the south of the salt pan - that is, a few yards nearer to the town lagoon.

A boat belonging to a gentleman named Clintendorff was driven by a north-east wind on to the rocks at Wollongong. Cunningham then got permission from the Colonial Secretary to build his house on the pebbly beach in order to repair that vessel and any other that might be driven ashore or wrecked at Wollongong. After he had repaired that schooner he remained here and built a number of coasters and other boats. One vessel that he built here was called, I think, 'The Speculator'. This was a good sized boat - perhaps 100 tons. The wood that he used to build his boats with he got from the sawyers in the district. He had stocks on the pebbly beach for the building of his vessels, and he used to launch the boats in the sandy cove or inlet that afterwards became the Government dam (the place where the I.S.N. Co.'s boats now lie to take in coal, etc.).

Cunningham also lengthened a boat that ran on shore in front of where the gaol now is. This schooner was called 'Sarah'. Mr. Geo. Brown bought the wreck and got Cunningham to cut her in half and make her 20 feet longer. Cunningham built his stocks around the wreck on the beach in front of the gaol site, and when the new boat or renovated Sarah was again launched she was named 'The Albion'. The Albion was a nice looking vessel, and afterwards traded between Sydney and Launceston.

Cunningham had two apprentices. One was Edward Tate, who was the youngest son of the late Mr. Geo. Tate, the original owner of the Spring Hill estate of 500 acres. This Edward Tate is now farming at Jambaroo, and is a very old man. The other apprentice was called Davis, and was a son of a schoolmaster who lived here and then taught a school in Mr. Smith's barn, which stood where Beattie's stables now stand. I think this apprentice Davis is now living at Brisbane Water and building vessels there, and I believe he has been for many years past.

In July, 1834, Major (Sir Thomas) Mitchell, Surveyor- General, came down from Sydney and drew out a plan of the future township of Wollongong. On this plan Major Mitchell drew a contemplated breakwater, which he ran out from the Pulpit Rock towards the Bellambi point. That projected breakwater could be seen on the old map of the township. At the same time, however, Major Mitchell said the harbor should be at Port Kembla, where (at Red Point) there had been soldiers and others prior to my coming to Wollongong, and he proposed to link the nearer three of the Five Islands together with breakwaters and connect them with the mainland at the point.

In 1835, the making of the Government dam, or the first portion of the Wollongong harbor, was commenced. Colonel Barney, the Engineer in Chief for Harbors and Rivers, came down from Sydney in 1835, and, not being able to get the money to run out Major Mitchell's breakwater from Pulpit Rock, nor to carry out the latter's idea at Port Kembla, he designed the Government dam, or the first instalment of the present berthing accommodation at Wollongong. He remained here in charge of the works until the dam was completed. A gang of prisoners were sent down specially from Sydney to do the work. A Mr. Cronin, a stonemason, was the superintendent of the harbor works.

The prisoners were locked up at night in boxes on the Point (now Signal Hill). These boxes were made on purpose for these prisoners. They were sent down from Sydney in pieces, and were fastened together on the point with screws and bolts. They were very strong boxes, and were well bolted together. Each box would hold 7 or 8 men. The boxes were sent down and put together before the prisoners arrived here.
Barracks were also built on the point for the soldiers who came down specially to take charge of the prisoners. The barracks were also built before the soldiers came down, the soldiers arriving here with the prisoners. The soldiers guarded the prisoners whilst they were at work during the day, and the military also kept watch over the boxes during the night, when the prisoners were locked up in them.

When the dam was finished the soldiers and the prisoners were removed to the stockade at Goad's Corner (that piece of land at the Cross Roads on which stands the house in which Mr. A.B. Chippindall, J.P., resides). These prisoners, under the supervision of the soldiers, then began to make the Wollongong streets and to form the Dapto and Mount Keira Roads.

The barracks and the boxes on the Point were afterwards, I think in 1847, sold by auction.

Those who were engaged in making the dam wanted to take in that portion of the pebbly beach on which Cunningham's house stood, and they requested him to remove it or leave, but he would do neither, for he said the Colonial Secretary had given him permission to build his cottage there. A blast was therefore made that would throw stone on to his house, and when Cunningham had gone up the town the blast was fired.

The blast threw stones on to the house and smashed it in. When Cunningham came back he found his house in ruins. He did not bother about putting the wrecked cottage up again, but left it to the workmen to demolish. He then went to live in a cottage behind where the Cricketers' Arms (Roxby's) now stands. After that he married a wife, and they had a son, who was born near the Mount Keira House, down beside the creek there. This son afterwards became a well-known monumental mason, and carried on business in Margaret-street, Sydney. He made many of the headstones now in the Wollongong burying grounds, and that is why "Cunningham" is engraved on these tombstones.

The old Mr. Cunningham went to live at Mt Keira on what has since been known as the Zlotskowski farm, where the son was born. That farm was Shubert's ground then. Afterwards old Mr. Cunningham went to live in Sydney, where he died.

Whilst he resided in Sydney he either bought or leased a valuable piece of ground in Sydney from Sussex Street to the wharf. A portion of this piece of ground is now known as the Phoenix Wharf - the wharf at which the I.S.N. Company's boats lie. The I.S.N. Company bought old Mr. Cunningham out, and the latter then became pretty well off. His good luck in Sydney made up for the wrecking of his house where the I.S.N. Company's stores and pigpens now stand.

Some of the stone excavated was used to build up the stone wall on the opposite side - formerly called "the pier-head" - the wall facing the I.S.N. Company's wooden pier. This latter wall now keeps back the made ground which lies between the T jetty and the I.S.N. Company's stores. When that wall was built it was constructed to be a breakwater, and was to keep back the sea that washed over the outer rocks from dashing against the vessels that lay in the dam.

Addendum 4
[24th May 1894]

In part X of these reminiscences the writer stated that Colonel Barney, the Engineer-in-Chief of the Harbors and Rivers, remained here in charge of the works until the Government dam was completed.

It should have read the Colonel Barney had the carrying out of the works, and frequently came down from Sydney to supervise them till they were finished. He never resided here.

No. XI
[24th May 1894]

Mr. Stewart, continuing his account of the rise and progress of the Wollongong harbor, said: 'In 1839, before the Government dam was completed, the Sophia Jane came to Wollongong. This was the first steamer that ever came here. She was a pretty big vessel, for she had come out from England. Captain Wiseman was her skipper, and she traded between here and Sydney for some time afterwards. She did not go into the dam, nor did she when it was completed, for the dam was not deep enough to take her in.
Mr. C.T. Smith built the middle portion of what is now the Brighton Hotel as a store in which to place the goods that arrived by this steamer.

The vessel used to lay off at anchor in the deep water between the present lighthouse and the men’s bathing hole. A barge brought the cargo from the ship to the land, and the goods were then run up the beach and into the store on a tramway. Mr. C.T. Smith then let this store to a Mr. Moon, a commission agent in Sydney, who was also the owner of Moon’s wharf in Sussex Street, Sydney. Moon’s wharf was where the Illawarra boats used mostly to put in.

Subsequently Mr. C.T. Smith sold the Brighton store to Mr. H.G. Smith, who was a merchant in Sydney. Mr. H.G. Smith took a great interest in Wollongong, and at different times bought up a great many allotments in all parts of the township. He first came to Wollongong shortly after the township was laid out, and from that time forth he kept buying up all the allotments that he could get hold of.

When the Sophie Jane ceased trading here a small steamer called the Kangaroo, that had previously been used on the Parramatta River, and had been built in the colony, came down here, and thenceforward traded between Wollongong and Sydney for a long time.

When the Kangaroo dropped out a steamer named William the Fourth commenced trading between Wollongong and Sydney. This steamer was known as "Old Billy." It was built on the Williams River, a tributary of the Hunter, at Newcastle. It was a small steamer, and had very little power. It could only go when the wind was favorable, and often had to put into Botany Bay, Spring Cove, and Rose Bay. When there was an adverse wind it could not come out of the heads at Sydney.

The mate of the Sophia Jane was called Sullivan. He was afterwards captain of the Kangaroo, and then of Old Billy, the latter steamer running between here and Sydney for a good many years.

A screw steamer, which was named the Illawarra, was bought in England by Mr. H.G. Smith, and put on by him to run between Wollongong and Sydney. This screw steamer Illawarra arrived here from England in February, 1852, and two sailors that came out with her were James Kiernan and Peter Sloan, both well-known residents of Wollongong. Peter Sloan was afterwards the second mate of the Old Billy, and remained in the company’s service for many years.

When the company’s stores were removed from the north to the south side of the dam (where they now are) both Sloan and Kiernan had charge of the coal-filling on the wharf for the company’s steamers. The screw steamer Illawarra, which was about as big as one of the present steamers of the I.S.N. Company, did not answer very well, for there was no basin here then that she could go into, and she had to lie out at the pier head. The result was that she soon ceased running to Wollongong. The Old Billy continued coming to Wollongong for several years after the screw steamer Illawarra first came here.

Mr. Edye Manning, of Sydney, who owned both the Kangaroo and Old Billy, formed the old Illawarra Steamship Company. That company had several steamers which traded down the South Coast as far, I think, as Moruya. The Kiama people then started a company of their own, and they had a steamer called the Kiama.

The competition between Manning's company and the Kiama company became so keen that both companies often carried passengers for nothing. When they found that cutting each other's throat did not pay they amalgamated, the result of the combination being the present I.S.N. Company. The steamer Kiama was then cut in two and lengthened. She still calls here for coal on her way to the Clyde River, and is known as the old Kiama. She is the only steamer left running here of the I.S.N. Co.'s old fleet.

Mr. R. Waugh, of Kiama, the father of the Reverend R.H. Waugh, late of Wollongong, was the chairman of the new I.S.N. Company for many years. Mr. R. Howarth, who owned the Queen's Hotel, and who had a tannery at the back of Deed’s workshop, and who resided in the house in which Mr. James Robertson now lives, was one of the shareholders in the company. Messrs. Byrnes were also shareholders in the company, one of them being, I think, the present chairman of the Harbor Trust, Mr. C.J. Byrnes.

The late Mr. Fairs was the first agent in Wollongong for the old I.S.N. Company, he being appointed to the position in 1852. Captain Hart was the next agent for the company here, and he held the position till his death. Mr. W.S. Makin, who was the clerk under both the agents named, succeeded Captain Hart as agent, and when Mr. W.S. Makin died his son, Mr. George Makin, the present agent, succeeded him.

The new I.S.N. Company decided to have some new steamers and they sent Captain Sullivan, the skipper of Old Billy, to England expressly to superintend the building of them. He came back from England in command
of the old paddle steamer Illawarra, and was the captain of her for many years - until he retired from the service. He was succeeded in command by his mate, Captain Garde, who is the present commander of the present paddle steamer Illawarra.

[The remainder] of the steamers of the company's old fleet were the Kiama and the Nora Creina - both boats of the defunct Kiama Company - the John Penn, the Mimosa, the Illawarra, and the Rapid (the slowest boat of the whole fleet). 18

Before the rival companies were amalgamated the Kiama used to lie against the southern wall of the dam (where the I.S.N. Company's boats now lie), and the I.S.N. Company's steamers used to lie on the opposite (northern) side of the dam, beside the pier head. Where now is the water in "Lahiff's dam" was then made ground which was level with the made ground behind the pier head. On this latter ground stood the I.S.N. Company's stores, between the present crane on the western side of Belmore Basin and the old Custom House (a little white box like a sentry box), which still exists there on its old site.

The excavation of the second portion of Belmore Basin was then commenced. By some of the old residents it was called "Lahiff's dam". I do not remember the exact date when the excavation of it was commenced, nor the date when the basin was opened, but I recollect that the works were in progress at the time of the great Shoalhaven flood, which was in February, 1860."

No. XII

[29th May 1894]

Continuing his account of the rise and progress of the Wollongong harbor, Mr. Stewart said: - "In 1860, or a little later, "Lahiff's dam," or the second portion of the present Belmore Basin, was commenced, and I do not think it was opened for the reception of vessels till 1866 or 1867. Mr. M.H. Moriarty, a brother of Mr. E.C. Moriarty, the Engineer in Chief of Harbors and Rivers, had charge of the works, and lived here in a nice little cottage (belonging to Mr. Rush) in Harbor Street, facing the gaol wall. His office was that Mr. G. Good recently occupied near the Brighton Hotel. Mr. M.H. Moriarty had the expending of the money voted by the Government for improving the harbor.

Mr. R. Howarth, the owner of the Queen's Hotel, was the contractor for the basin, and Mr. Lahiff somehow worked under him. Mr. John Madden, who now lives at Fairy Meadow, was the diver here then, and he did the diving for many years afterwards.

In order that the basin might be excavated a coffer dam was run out from the western corner of the pier head to the road above the beach near the mouth of the culvert whence the overflow water from the town lagoon issues in times of flood. The water inside the old Government dam, which was now shut in by the coffer dam, was pumped out with powerful pumps, which were kept constantly going till the basin was finished pumping out soakage water that made its way through the coffer dam into the workings. Once or twice the water broke through the coffer dam.

To accommodate shipping whilst the basin was being made a jetty was run out from the beach in front of the gaol into deep water, and here the vessels loaded and unloaded their goods. The western face of the old pier head, however, was still available for and used by the I.S.N. Company's steamers. Mr. James Anderson was the superintendent of the works under Mr. Moriarty, and he was succeeded as superintendent by Mr. William Davies.

Captains had continued to throw their stone ballast into the water where the lighthouse breakwater now stands from the very early days, but when the basin was commenced the diver (Mr. Madden) had to take up a good deal of the rubble that had been dropped into the fairway. The stone that was taken from the basin was added to the ballast already deposited to make up the lighthouse breakwater.

Mr. M.H. Moriarty had charge of the concreting of the top of the breakwater and of the making of the old concrete blocks which till recently lay on the sea side of it. He also built the lighthouse, the T jetty, and the Keira and Pleasant coal shoots, but these latter works were not completed till some considerable time after the basin had been finished. Mr. Lahiff made the basin 14 feet deep at low water, and he deepened the old dam to that depth.

When the basin was excavated, but before the finishing touches were put to it, Earl Belmore, who was the governor of the colony at the time, came down from Sydney and opened it [on Tuesday, 6 October 1868]. He
named the old dam and the new dam together the Belmore Basin, after letting the water flow in through the coffer dam. There was a very large gathering at the basin of the people of the town and district to witness the ceremony of filling and naming the basin, the event causing a good deal of stir and excitement.

It was not till 1870 that the harbor had the appearance that it had just before the recent works under the [Wollongong Harbour] Trust were commenced. The transformation of the harbor took something like 40 years from 1835, works and improvements going on there almost continuously during that period.

I think it was in 1880 that the long stone wall between the basin and the sea, from the Pulpit Rock to the steps, was built.

Mr. Moriarty also built the wall which supports the shoots on the hill side, and he made the Brighton lawn, which previously was similar to the beach in front of the gaol. When the basin was finished the coffer dam was taken up and the temporary jetty was removed.

I do not remember with certainty the several sums granted by the Government for improving the harbor here, but the money voted at different time would come to a considerable amount. I think the first sum granted was £26,000. That was for the old Government dam. I think the last money granted was £9,000. That was to take up the black buoy rock out of the fairway near the men's bathing place. When this £9,000 was voted Mr. J.C. Neild, M.L.A. for Paddington, said, "I will vote for this, but it is the last money for which I will ever vote for the Wollongong harbor." That £9,000 had not all been expended when Mr. Moriarty left Wollongong, and I think some of it still remains unspent.

The old paddle steamer Illawarra was brought out from England by Captain Grainger, who is now the collector of wharfage rates for the Harbor Trust.

I should have stated that Captain Houslar succeeded Captain Sullivan as commander of the old paddle steamer Illawarra. Captain Garde, who was second mate under Captain Houslar, took command after the latter. Captain Houslar, however, remained in the company's service for 10 years or so longer, and was captain of the old Kiama for a number of years. Captain Houslar brought the last vessel into the old dam, and he also commanded the first that sailed into the new Belmore Basin. Both of these were steamers. After leaving the I.S.N. Company's service, some 25 years ago, Captain Houslar was the pilot here for 20 years. He has been living retired on a pension for the last five years at his residence, Fairy Meadow."

Addendum 5

[29th May 1894]

In part 7 [VII] of these reminiscences a couple of errors occurred.

John Thompson, the father of William and Dr. Thompson, and Andrew Thompson, their uncle, did not live on Ecklin's farm, but resided for some time on M'Kelly's farm adjoining, on the right of the northern bridge at Mullet Creek, and now known as "Karrara".

The name of the gentleman who owned the boat that was driven on the rocks at Wollongong, mentioned in part 10 [X], was Klensendorf, and not Clintendorff.

The name of the screw steamer brought out by Mr. H.G. Smith, mentioned in part 11 [XI], was the "Keira", and not the "Illawarra".

It was aboard this Keira that Messrs. James Keirnan and Peter Sloan came out.

In part 2 [II] "Messrs. Stack butchers," should have read "Messrs Stack Brothers." Also, in part 2, the former Captain Weston was stated to be the uncle of the present Captain Weston. It should have read that he was his father.
Mr. Brown: "I suppose you remember the laying out of the township of Wollongong?"

Mr. Stewart: "Yes. Mr. C.T. Smith applied to the Government for a portion of his property to be surveyed and laid out in township allotments, and in July, 1834, Major Mitchell, the Surveyor General, arrived here from Sydney to effect the survey of "Smith's township".

The township laid out consisted of the oblong block extending from Crown-street to Harbor-street. Keira, Smith and Harbor-streets were included in the block surveyed. Mr. Smith's southern boundary came to the northern side of Crown-street, and Crown-street was therefore not included in the survey. Nor was Coomb-street to Market-street with the Salvation Army barracks at one end and the Congregational Church at the other.

Mr. Smith had made a promise that he would give a square block of land on the highest point in the township, or on one of the highest rises on his property, for an Anglican church, but whether this promise had been exacted from him by the Crown, or whether he had made it voluntarily to the Church of England authorities, I do not know. However, the church block had to be cut out of the township, and it was the laying out of the township with this block cut out that caused anxiety.

The block was to be reserved on the crown of Church Hill, and the puzzle was how it was to be done and at the same time admit of a decent looking township being planned. Moreover, the church block was to be approached by a street on each of its four sides. I think this was an imperative condition.

From my house on the Green at the bottom of Crown-Street there was a clear view, and from the green for several days three of four I watched Major Mitchell standing alone on the summit of Church Hill (near the letter-box on the eastern side of the church). He would stand there for hours, together with his field-glass and a book and pencil, cogitating and pencilling and endeavoring to solve his problem.

He had a man assisting him, but this man stood at a distance from him and only went to him when he called. This man would not let anyone go near Major Mitchell when he was viewing and scratching his head on top of the hill.

At last, after he had stood there like a scarecrow for days and days, he drove in the corner-pegs of the sections and said the township was laid out. Then he went back to Sydney, and a few days afterwards he sent down a surveyor who surveyed the allotments and pegged them out.

Major Mitchell wanted to make all the allotments in the township half-acre ones, and what troubled him was how to do this with the church block cut out. At last he got out of his difficulty by hitting upon the idea of giving half the depth and double frontage to the allotments on the southern side of Market-Street. There were to be eight sections, and 20 half-acre allotments in each section. Each allotment was to have a chain frontage to Crown, Market, or Smith-Street, and each allotment was to be five chains deep. But as he could not contrive this throughout, he gave the allotments on the southern side of Market-Street each a 2 chain frontage with a 2 1/2 chain depth, thus making these half-an-acre each like those facing Crown-Street or Smith-Street.

From Crown-Street to Market-Street it is only 7 1/2 chains across the + sections, but from Market-Street to Smith-Street it is 10 chains, and what Major Mitchell had been scheming to do was to make each of these sections 10 chains by 10 chains. As the building line on the northern side of Crown-Street was Mr. Smith's southern boundary (Stuart Park being his northern boundary), Major Mitchell wanted to make the town run due east and west and north and south. In order to do this he had to get over a difficulty at Harbor-Street, in which it will be noticed there is an elbow at the convent. Harbor-Street did not previously run due north and south, but the track from the beach came up what is now Harbor-Street to the angle at the convent, and then struck across what is now Market Square, where the Trust's offices [the present Illawarra Historical Society Museum], now stand, past Mr. Herd's house, across Crown-Street over Spring Hill, to Dapto, coming out near the Farmers Arms Hotel.

At the angle of the convent, and running across the last-made portion of Harbor-Street to the Market Square, and having a frontage to the old track from where the convent now stands a man named Harris had a piece of land. Major Mitchell required this corner piece of land to make it a part of the new portion of Harbor-Street, which was to run due north and south. As Major Mitchell was not surveying north of Smith-Street, he did not bother about diverting that portion of Harbor-Street running from the convent angle.
to the beach. Harris was an old soldier, like himself, and I suppose that for that reason he did not like taking
his corner piece of land from him unless he got some compensation.

I heard Major Mitchell say to Harris that "if Smith would not give him something in return for this piece
of land Wollongong could remain as it always had been and it could go to heaven or heaven's antipodes."

Mr. Smith, however, gave Harris, in exchange for the small piece in front of where the convent now stands,
that square piece of land between the lagoon and the convent, bounded by the sandbank, the convent,
Harbor-Street, and Market-Street. The convent school now stands on it. Thus Harris got a very big piece in
exchange for his small piece, and so it was that a portion of Harbor-Street was squared and made to run parallel
with Corrimal-Street.

Each of the township streets was laid out a chain wide, and I make out that in "Smith's township," including
Keira, Smith, Harbor, and the intervening streets, there are about 70 acres. Mr. Smith's estate, before these 70
acres were cut away from it, consisted of 300 acres. When the allotments were pegged out the streets were
named.

Smith-Street was so named after the owner of the property, and "Harbor-Street" was retained for old
acquaintance' sake. Keira-Street was so called in honor of Mount Keira; Kembla-Street was so named in
deerence to Mount Kembla, and Corrimal-Street was so styled out of respect for Mount Corrimal (Broker's
Nose). The three towering points were thus honored.

Church-Street, running past Church-Street Hall and Mr. Turner's, was so named out of regard for the
church that was to be built on the top of the hill in the future. The street running round the church block always
was and still is nameless. I cannot say why."

No. XIV

[7th June 1894]

Mr. Stewart, continuing his account of the laying out of Wollongong township, said: - "The present paddock
north of Market Square was not surveyed into allotments when "Smith's Township" was laid out.

In the angle of this paddock, at the corner of Smith and Harbor- Streets, Mr. Smith's house stood. In the
corner of this paddock opposite the angle in the convent stood a hut in which lived old Selby, who was a
well-known character here. Previously Mr. Smith's man lived in this hut.

The Crown gang, or the prisoners, made the streets of the township shortly after it was laid out, and they
spared old Selby's hut. In order to do so they made a sort of half-round bend in the street there.

Mr. Smith's barn, as I before stated, stood in the same paddock, a little to the west of Selby's hut. Afterwards
Mr. Smith sold this paddock, which has a long frontage to Smith-Street and also to Harbor-Street, to Mr. H.G.
Smith, to whose legatees it still belongs.

At the time the township was laid out Mr. Smith gave six allotments (3 acres) for a market place. This
reserve afterwards became Market Square. It included the street or streets running on the west and north of
it. Some influence, I think, was brought to bear, and the result was that these streets were cut off from the
market reserve.

By making those streets, the owners of the property abutting on them got frontages to streets that they
otherwise would not have had. The Crown gang also made those streets, which, like those running round the
Anglican church, are, and always have been, nameless.

The Market Place was fenced in with a 3-rail fence when they cut the streets from it, and it lay waste and
remained a wild and weed-growing paddock till the town was incorporated and the first council was elected in
1859.

There never was any market held in the Market Place, and it was not used for anything at all till the
agricultural show was held in it. The Crown gang erected the fence around the square.

The gangs could go upon any property and cut timber gratis for road-making or anything else, for all the
timber on the Government grants in those days was reserved by the Government. They could also take gravel,
and stone, and soil, which were also reserved by the Government, from off anybody's property, for making roads, and they could make a road through anybody's land in spite of the owner.

When the township was laid out Mr. Smith offered to sell the corner allotments for £15 each and the intermediate ones for for £10 each.

Alexander Elliott was the first who bought. He purchased, I think, two allotments where the Wollongong Hotel used to be, opposite the present offices of the Harbour Trust and on the western side of Market Square. He built the Wollongong Hotel, (now owned by Mr. Duncan M'Rae) on the allotments in 1835.

Hugh Kennedy was the next purchaser. He brought two allotments (4 chains) on the opposite side of Market-Street. The frontage of these extended from Harbor-Street right up to the Queen's Hotel. On his ground he also built a publichouse, which has since been taken down.

These two hotels were the first buildings erected in the new portion of Wollongong, or Smith's Township.

Mossop, a blind man, and Bate, his son-in-law, built the Royal Oak Hotel in Corrimal-Street, opposite the present Harp of Erin Hotel, in 1835. Mrs Collins lives in the building now. A license was got for the Royal Oak in 1836.

The wooden building now standing at the corner of Crown and Corrimal-Streets, opposite Roxby's, and recently occupied by a Chinaman, a furniture maker, and formerly the Mercury office, was built by Mossop in 1835. This was the first building put up in Corrimal-Street. Mossop was going to Sydney in 1835, in the Swan, and was drowned on the way. He was living in this wooden corner house at the time.

Between 1834 and 1838 Mr. Smith sold a good many of the allotments at the prices he had pit upon them.

In 1838, I think it was, I went to buy the corner allotment where M'Guffie's shop stands. It has one chain frontage to Crown and five chains to Corrimal-Street, which includes the site of the Harp Inn. Mr. Smith, however, had just sold it to the Police Magistrate, Mr. Holden, for £15.

Mr. Smith gave the four allotments (2 acres) on which the Catholic Church now stands to his brother-in-law, Cornelius O'Brien, of Bulli. Cornelius O'Brien and Mr. C.T. Smith had each married a daughter of a Mr. Broughton, a gentleman, who resided at Appin. Mr. Broughton was, I think, at one time, the Commissary-General.

Mr. O'Brien gave the four allotments given to him by Mr. Smith to the Catholic Church, and in 1836 the wooded chapel that stands there now was built. It was used as a chapel and school-house for a long time - until the present fine chapel was erected.

Mr. C.T. Smith went to England in 1839, and came back with a ship he had brought there in 1841.

1843 was a year of great depression, and Mr. H.G. Smith, who was about the only man in the colony who had any money, bought up all the allotments he could get in Wollongong. All the people here who were hard pressed and wanted to sell went to him in Sydney and sold their allotments to him.

Mr. H.G. Smith bought land opposite where the Town Hall now stands - right through from Crown-Street to Market-Street. He afterwards ran Coomb-Street through the middle of his property there in order to cut it up into small allotments and sell them for cottages on each side of the lane. Whether he gave the piece of ground on which the Congregational Church now stands for that church to be built I cannot say.

Addendum 6

[7th June 1894]

Mr. Stewart, in reply to the letter of Mr. Waldron in Saturday's issue [see Section 2, Letter No. 4] says: - "I am not going to dispute with Mr. Waldron as to whether my informant showed the ignorance and vulgarity of one unaware of the manners of a gentleman, or even of common decency.

Mr. Waldron, by his reticence as to the cause of his father's death, seems to confirm a rumor which I have heard recently, but never before. And those who now put forth this alleged cause of death do not know what they are talking about, nor could they possibly know.
Captain Waldron, I am pretty certain, did not die immediately after his injury, but had the cause of death been as is now alleged by some it is highly probable that he would have died very speedily. This rumor has gained currency simply because two flash women were his servants, but were the cause of death that now alleged by some, and apparently confirmed by Mr. Waldron, it is questionable to my mind whether "the manners of a gentleman" or "common decency" would be less absent in the latter case than in the former, if either manners or decency can be brought into the matter at all.

Mr. Waldron says he was an eye-witness of the sad occurrence, but he must have been a very small boy at the time.

Corrigan, the head constable, who was sent out and apprehended the women, told me what had happened, and what the women said when he accused them of the crime. They said they only pushed him off because he aggravated them by asking them to clean up the verandah a second time. Corrigan also told me that that was the women's defence both in Wollongong and in Sydney, and I believe the Gazette that was published in Sydney at the time will show this. All those who heard the trial in Wollongong and who spoke to me about it, never hinted at any other cause of death than that told me by Corrigan.

Corrigan told me afterwards that the defence sent home to the British Government by the women when they appealed for pardon was that they merely intended to push Captain Waldron off the verandah, and not to kill him, because they were angry at his calling them a second time. And it was on this plea, Corrigan told me, that William the Fourth granted them a free pardon, for the Privy Council, in recommending a free pardon, thought that the women had had some provocation.

These women and other female prisoners of the Crown knew that to get away from masters or mistresses whom they did not like they had only to commit some assault upon them, or do something offensive to them. They would then be sent back to the Crown factory, and afterwards they might get a master or mistress whom they liked better.

I do not think Corrigan would have told me what he did, and repeated it to me so often, which was confirmed by everyone who spoke about the occurrence at the time, and nothing ever said to the contrary by anyone, if the cause of death had not been as stated by the head constable here. And is it likely that a free pardon would have been granted to the women had the fact been that they had deliberately mutilated Captain Waldron?"

No. XV

[12th June 1894]

Mr. Stewart, continuing his account of the origin of Wollongong township, said: - "Shortly after Smith's township was laid out Edward Palmer, who was the first postmaster here not connected with the police or military, bought, I think, three allotments, having a frontage to Smith-Street, and running back to Market Square. They were to the west of Mr. Smith's house. By cutting the road round Market Square he got two frontages. He built a store on them facing the Market Square, and it was there for many years. I think it is pulled down now.

Beattie's house and stables now stand on Palmer's allotments, and the store mentioned stood immediately west of where Beattie's house now stands. The houses there that belong to Lieutenant- Colonel Owen are also on these allotments. They were built by the Rev. Mr. Mears, who lived in one of them for a considerable time. Robert Osborne made some additions to them, and they were then let as a public house, which was called the Freemasons' Hotel.

In 1839 Mr. H. Smith got erected an iron house - two tenements under one roof - next to the Church of England school-house. This school-house was also built in 1839 by the Anglican Society in Sydney, and was used as a church and school-house until the stone church in Kembla-Street, demolished in 1859 or 1860 by Mr. Lahiff, was built.

As soon as Mr. C.T. Smith had begun to sell his allotments, the Government thought they would sell some too, so at the latter end of 1835 or the beginning of 1836 they sent Gilbert Elliott, a surveyor, down from Sydney to survey the Government township. This extended from Harbor-Street to Church-Street, and from Crown-Street to Stewart-Street. He surveyed six sections, but these, unlike those in Smith's township, were only 5 chains deep. The sections between Harbor-Street and Kembla-Street each contained 10 allotments, each allotment having a chain frontage, or a frontage in each street. But, owing to Burke's boundary interfering, the sections between Kembla-Street and Church-Street each contained only 9 half-acre allotments. Burke's corner
The pin was at the south-east corner of the Presbyterian church, and Cochrane's Hotel now stands on a portion of Burke's land.

The continuation of Smith's Church-Street and Crown-Street from Harbor-Street to Cochrane's was included in the Government survey.

Crown-Street was called Crown-street because it was cut out of Crown land. Barella [Burelli], the name of the next street south of Crown-Street, is a native name, but I don't know what it means.

I don't know why Stewart, the next street to the south was so named, unless it was called after me, for I was living on the Green at the time, and Gilbert Elliott and I were on good terms. There was no other Stewart about here then, and I knew of no eminent Stewart in Sydney at the time, so that I think the surveyor named that street after me.

In that Government survey the continuation of Harbor-Street south was not included.

The Green then came up to Mrs. Shanahan's fence, which is at the corner of Crown-street east of Mr. Copas's house. As I said before, the Government gave Mrs. Shanahan No. 1 allotment in Section 9 (that corner allotment mentioned) in lieu of her house on Signal Hill (where the tramway now runs up) when they required the site. Her allotment was the first appropriated out of the Government township.

The numbering of the sections followed on the numbers of those in Smith's township. No. 8 section was the last in Smith's township, and No. 9 was the first in the Government township, No 14 being the last. The sections on the south of Crown-Street are 9, 10, and 11, beginning at Harbor-street and running up to Morey's corner.

The upset price of every allotment in the Government township was £2. As soon as this township was laid out the Government held a sale of the allotments by auction at the Treasury in Sydney, and the people from here who attended the sales bid against one another and ran up the prices of some of the allotments. Allotment No. 8 of Section 9 was bought by Corrigan, the chief constable, for about £8. I think that was the very highest price paid for any of the Government allotments in Crown-Street. I bought that allotment afterwards, and Mrs. Beatson has it now.

One of the conditions of purchase of these Crown allotments was that every purchaser should build a tenement worth £20 on his allotment within 2 years from date of purchase. That was in all the Government deeds, and the object of it evidently was to populate the township. All the Government allotments were sold within a short time of survey. I think they were all sold in 1836. Mr. Smith's allotments, at £15 and £19 each, were not all sold till long after the Government one had been purchased. Only six allotments of Section 10 (Makin's corner to Town Hall) were sold. The first four of these from Makin's corner were bought by Hugh Kennedy, the publican who bought the allotments in Market-street opposite Market Square.

The upper four allotments (from the Town Hall corner downwards) were reserved by the Government for a burying ground now between McInnes' shop and Mr. T.J. Earl's residence two bodies were buried. One body, that of Mrs. (Dr.) Grover was afterwards taken up and reburied in the Kembla-Street Cemetery. The other body still remains there.

This Crown-Street Cemetery was soon condemned, and then J.H. Plunkett, the Attorney-General, got the Government to grant the ground for a National School. A school building was erected on the ground in 1839, and many at present in the town remember attending lessons in the old school house. It was the second National School built in the colony, the first being at Liverpool. They were, in fact, both granted about the same time.

A.B. Sparke bought the whole of the section from Harbor-Street to Corrimal-Street, between Stewart and Barella-Streets, and three allotments in the section to the west of that.

No. XVI

[14th June 1894]

Mr. Stewart, continuing his account of the origin of the town of Wollongong, said: - "There is one allotment in the lower part of Crown-Street, on the south side, which has such a singular history that it may be worth relating. Allotment 9 of Section 9 - the allotment between that on which Roxby's Hotel [the Cricketer's Arms,
at the southeast corner of Crown and Corrimal-Street's] now stands and Corrigan's allotment - was bought in
the first place by one John Kennedy, who also bought the allotment on which Roxby's Hotel stands.

Kennedy then sold his two allotments - the one adjoining Corrigan's allotment to Corrigan for £50, and
Roxby's corner allotment to one Small. Small afterwards built a cottage on his land (allotment 10), and John
Cunningham, the boat builder, of whom I have spoken previously, lived in it when he was compelled to remove
from the beach.

Corrigan then had allotments 8 and 9, and on allotment 9 he built a skillion, which leaned against his own
house on allotment 8. He built this skillion to save the allotment, as he was compelled under the Government
conditions to put up on it a tenement do the value of £20. He afterwards sold that allotment, with the skillion
on it, to me for £70.

Dr. Bland, a surgeon in the Royal Navy, who came out with emigrants in 1840, bought it from me in 1840
for £200. He gave me £50 down, and got me to promise in writing that I would transfer the property to him, or
to whomsoever he desired, at any time he wished. He did this, I think, to save the cost of a double transfer. Then
he went up to Sydney and paid the balance, £150, to me through the bank. When he paid the balance he did not
ask me to convey the property legally to him, but he asked me to hand over all the papers I had in connection
with the land to Captain Shannon, who was in charge of the Mount Keira estate, for him. Dr. Bland then made
one John Pierce, a butcher who lived in this town, and who was well known here, his agent.

Then Dr. Bland went to England, and two years later he came back with more emigrants. He wrote to
Pierce asking him if there had been any proceeds (rent) from the skillion, and whether the land had risen in
value. Pierce wrote back that there were no proceeds, owing to the great depression prevailing, and that he
could not then get his own money for the land. 1842 and 1843 were years of great depression in the colony. Dr.
Bland then wrote to Pierce to keep looking after the property till he should hear from him again. He never did
from him after that. Pierce allowed a shoemaker named Thomas Connor to live in the skillion.

Sandy McPherson was the pilot here then, and the first pilot who was ever here. He lived in a house near
where the tramline now is at the back of the Brighton Hotel. Pierce lived with Sandy, and one day he was found
dead in the paddock near Sandy's house. McPherson found amongst Pierce's papers the letter from Dr. Bland
to keep looking after the property until he should hear from him again. Sandy took this letter down to Thomas
Connor, who was in possession of the skillion, and bartered it with him for a pair of boots.

Connor afterwards died, and his widow sold the letter to a man called Johnston Hemphill for £8. Hemphill
appointed an agent in Sydney to look after the property, and then went to England, I never heard of this
Hemphill again.

This agent in Sydney appointed a sub-agent in the district here, a Mr. Innis, who let the allotment to Mr.
[George] Organ (Organ having in the meantime purchased Roxby's corner allotment), who built a ball alley on
it. Mr. Organ had possession of it for 25 years, but at the end of that time Mr. F. Waldron offered more rent to
the agent for it than Organ was paying. The agent then let the allotment to Waldron at higher rent, and gave
notice to Organ to quit, but he wold not. A case was then tried in the police court, but was dismissed, the
magistrates saying they had no jurisdiction because the title to the property was disputed.

Afterwards Mr. Organ fell ill, and whilst he was confined to his bed F. Waldron cultivated the allotment. When Organ got better Waldron was in possession, and would not give up the allotment to Organ. Organ could
not go to law, because he had nothing to show, and it would be a case again of disputed property. The allotment
now remains in Waldron's possession, and on it a fine house has been built, either by Frank Waldron or his
father, or by both. I don't know whether I shall ever be called upon by Dr. Bland, or his heirs or executors, to
sign a conveyance of this allotment, but if I am it will be adding another chapter to a curious bit of local history."

[See Section 2, Letter No. 6 for a rebuttal of Stewart's account of the incident by a member of the Waldron
family.]

No. XVII

[23rd June 1894]

Mr. Brown: "I suppose you remember how the old road from Wollongong to Dapto ran?"
Mr. Stewart: "Yes. It started at the Brighton Hotel, came on to the angle of the convent, then ran almost diagonally through the present Market Square, past where the Harbor Trust offices now are, and at the back of Mr. Herd's residence, where some bushes still stand indicating where the road went. Then the road struck across Crown-Street to Makin's corner, and kept bearing away to the right till it came to near Mr. George Brown's Hotel in Baxter's paddock, on the flat south of Cochrane's Hotel.

From there it ran through the Glebe, which was then Government land, and on through the new Roman Catholic burying ground, till it came out across the Blind Creek, now called Mount St Thomas. Then it crossed over Spring Hill, through Tate's flats, and came out near Heron farm, where it crossed Allan's Creek.

From there it went on to near the coke works at Unanderra, where it ran to the right of Charcoal Creek (the present railway line being on the right of the old road), through the Berkeley estate, and across the Charcoal Creek near Unanderra railway station. Then it went at the back of Mr. George Lindsay's store, and joined the new road (afterwards) to the south-west of the Farmers Arms, or on the slope of the hill going down to Kembla Grange.

It then ran through Wyllie's flats till it crossed Mullet Creek by a ford near the present show ground. From Mullet Creek to the Macquarie River the old track and the present Main South Coast Road are practically the same, the duck holes that were there then being there still. The West Dapto Road branched off the old Dapto Road where Kembla Grange station now stands, and ran through the veterans grants. The present West Dapto Road is practically the same. The old Dapto Road was the first road that went out of Wollongong, and the only one when I came here."

Mr. Brown: "I presume you will remember the making of the new road to Dapto?"

Mr. Stewart: "Yes. When Major Mitchell was down surveying Smith's township in 1834 he also laid out the present road to Dapto.

In 1835, whilst one gang of Crown prisoners, stationed on the point, were making the dam and the streets of Wollongong, another gang was brought down and stationed at what became Geard's corner (the Cross Roads), where Mr. Chippindall now resides. There were a good many men in this second gang, and some 10 or 12 soldiers, who were a detachment of the 50th regiment, in charge of Lieutenant Otway. The soldiers in Wollongong were a detachment of the 80th Regiment.

There was a stockade at Geard's corner, and the prisoners were locked up in boxes there for the night, just as the others were on the point. This gang had the making of the road from Geard's corner, which then belonged to Colonel Leahy, to Mullet Creek. They only just formed the road. They cut the watertables and threw the dirt into the middle of the road, to raise it there. They also made the bridges, but they were very rough ones, the decking being slabs and rough sleepers. The rails were the only sawn portions of them. They did not cut down the hills, nor did they put metal on the road. This gang also made the road up to Keira from Geard's corner. The town gang made the road up to the Cross Roads.

These roads and the streets in the town were in a terrible state when it rained until the councils were formed and took them in hand. No metal was put on the roads till the corporations did it. The Central Illawarra Council cut down Cobbler's Hill. In wet weather the bullock teams and drays bringing coal from Keira were often bogged and stuck up in Crown-street.

In 1836, when the second gang had been down here nearly a year, and whilst the stockade was at Geard's corner, Lieutenant Otway went up to Keira one night to dine with Colonel Leahy, and he probably drank too much wine there. When he returned to the stockade the sentry challenged him, but, instead of replying, and giving the pass word, he seized the sentry and attempted to take his musket from him. The sentry then allowed Lieutenant Otway to pass to his quarters inside the camp, but afterwards reported the occurrence to the sergeant who relieved him. The sergeant then reported the matter to head quarters, and as soon as Lieutenant Otway learned that he had been reported at head quarters he shot himself dead in the camp [on 10 August 1836], for he knew what the consequences of his being found out would be.

His body was buried in the Protestant burying ground in the sand bank in Wollongong, and it lies there still. Another body was also buried there, but it was afterwards taken up. I was told the other day by a townsman that he had seen some human bones there recently, and these must be Lieutenant Otway's for his was the only body that remained there.

Lieutenant Sheaffe, who was afterwards, whilst here, promoted to be Captain, was appointed to command in his place.
When the road had been made from the Cross Roads to Figtree the stockade was removed to Ryan's paddock at Figtree, and located on the flat opposite the old post office there, between Hickman's Hotel and the creek below.

Whilst the camp was at Figtree the gang, though they were supposed to be locked up at night, used to get out and go robbing.

In the beginning of 1837 a man named Green had a clearing lease from Colonel Leahy, his place being close to the camp. Three of the prisoners went out one night [8 October 1837] to rob him. Green and his wife, who were both aged people heard them whispering outside, and they got up. One of the prisoners, named Blackall, after trying to force the door, and failing, attempted to get down the chimney, which was an old fashioned wooden one.

Whilst the man was in the chimney, and trying to force himself down, Mrs. Green told her husband to fire at him, but Green was timid and would not. Mrs. Green then took the musket from her husband and fired up the chimney. She blew off a part of Blackall's face. He did not die, but he was very badly injured. The constables the next day tracked him by the blood that had dropped from his face all the way from Green's into the camp. When Blackall got out of the chimney all the three prisoners rushed back to the camp. where they were challenged by the sentry, who reported them.

They were all three given in charge and tried. Blackall pleaded guilty and got life. The other two were acquitted because the sentry could not prove that they were out with Blackall.21

There were a good many robberies whilst the stockade was at Figtree. Settlers' drays, when they were going home, used to be robbed by these prisoners, and the fact that they were often not locked up at night, though they were all supposed to be at sundown, showed that the soldiers were in collusion with them and conniving at their depredations.

The detachment of the 50th Regiment was afterwards relieved at Figtree by a detachment of the 99th Regiment, under Colonel McPherson, and these remained at Figtree till 1843 or 1844, when transportation ceased. They were then ordered to proceed to New Zealand, to fight Honi Heke, the Maori warrior chief. By this time the new Dapto Road was formed all the way to Dapto.22

No. XVIII

[5th July 1894]

Mr. Brown: "I suppose you remember something about the origin of the Bulli road?"

Mr. Stewart: "Yes. In 1834 Major Mitchell laid out the Bulli Road from the intersection of Keira-Street and Smith-Street, where it goes down to the hospital.23

The Wollongong gang of prisoners, when they were making the streets of the township, made the road as far as the bridge over Para Creek, just on the town side of Bode's. They also made a rough, temporary bridge over the creek. Beyond that there was only a track to Bulli up to 1846-47.

In 1846, a meeting of Fairy Meadow settlers was called to elect trustees under the Parish Roads Act, in order to form the Bulli Road. The meeting was held in Wollongong, and was largely attended by settlers along the route who were liable to be rated under the Act mentioned. The trustees elected were Captain Plunkett, Dr. Cox, and George Anderson.

Captain Plunkett had been Police Magistrate here, but was retired. He still lived in Wollongong, and was a J.P. here. He had the farm that Mr. MacCabe now has at Plunkett's Hill, through which the south Bulli colliery tramway now runs. Dr. Cox had a farm at Cox's Hill, adjoining Plunkett's on the south. George Anderson had a farm of 200 acres at Fairy Meadow, part of which is now Stuart Park and part of Bode's running grounds. These men were appointed trustees to form and open the road.

Major Mitchell had laid out the road all the way to Bulli along the section line, but there was a good deal of opposition to this route. Captain Westmacott, who had bought Cornelias O'Brien's property at Bulli through which the Old Bulli Coal Co.'s tramway now runs to the Bulli Point, strongly opposed the surveyed route, and he was supported in his opposition by many others.24 They wanted the road to bear away to the right, or
beachwards, so that it would be made on the flat land right through. Had they succeeded in their efforts, the road would have run pretty much where the railway now runs.

But Plunkett and Cox had land abutting on the section line, and they wanted the road to run past their places. They succeeded in getting the majority of the settlers to adhere to the road as laid out by Major Mitchell, and that is why we now have it running over Cox's Hill and Plunkett's Hill. If Captain Westmacott had been appointed the road would have traversed the flat ground somewhere about where Corrimal and Bellambi railway stations now stand, and in that case Dr. Cox and Captain Plunkett would have had to make by roads from their properties to get on to it.

The trustees, as soon as they had passed Plunkett's boundary, shied off beachwards in order to avoid as much as possible the big hill in front of them, which they would have had to scale nearer the mountains had they kept to the section line. But here, to do away with the climb to a great height, they went partly round the hill. Then they turned off to the left again, and came back to the section line. That accounts for the bend in the road from where the old tollbar stood to Cawley's Hill. When they came to the next hill they likewise went round it on the right, again leaving the boundary line of the left.

When the trustees were making this road they were assisted by a surveyor named Cole, who suggested those deviations from Mitchell's road. In order to make these deviations the trustees took pieces of land belonging to Cawley, P. Farraher, and Collaery's properties. As it was, they only cut small corners off their properties. The trustees offered to give these three land owners the abandoned pieces of road included in Major Mitchell's survey in lieu of those taken.

These three land owners, however, protested, and sued the trustees in the small Debts Court in Wollongong for compensation. The magistrates on the bench at the hearing of the case were Dr. Alick Osborne and his nephew, Mr. Archibald Osborne. They gave a verdict against the trustees for £10 damages in each case.

Dr. Cox was intimate with a barrister in Sydney named Holroyd, and he wrote asking him his opinion about the matter. Holroyd replied that the magistrates in petty sessions had no jurisdiction, that their decisions were illegal, and that most probably no further action would be taken in the matter, or, if any was taken, that those who took it would find themselves in the wrong box.

I, being the collector for the trustees, and the keeper of all papers relating to the road, that letter from Holroyd was handed over to me by the trustees. These three land owners, having found out what the trustees had done - in fact, I told them when I was collecting - never attempted to take any further action in the way of recovering the damage."

No. XIX

[19th July 1894]

Mr. Stewart, continuing his account of the origin of the Bulli road, said: - "The section line ran from the Tom Thumb Lagoon along the western fence of the Glebe, past Mr. Woodward's residence, down about Young-street, past the hospital, and right up to O'Brien's south-west corner pin at the bottom of the mountain where they used to begin to ascend the Bulli Pass.

O'Brien's corner pin would be about a mile below the Big Tree, due east of it, and beside the little stream that runs at the bottom of the mountain. The road ended at about Mr. Fry's. The road from there towards Thirroul and the present road up to the Pass were not made till afterwards.

The present [Bulli] Pass is Captain Westmacott's Pass, but the old Bulli Pass was more to the south, and was reached by a track which went up from about where the Bulli company's tramway now is to the Big Tree. 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.

The tramline is on Captain Westmacott's estate, but almost divides it from Bowman's grant of 300 acres.

Captain Westmacott's estate, which he had bought from Cornelius O'Brien, runs to the north of the tramline, towards Thirroul, and Bulli township now stands on Bowman's grant, which came south as far as Mr. McGitten's Creek - the creek running between Mr. G. Henderson's residence and the Woonona post office.

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The road ran about right through the middle of Bowman's estate, and not along the section line, which was a good deal to the left. In fact, from the old tollbar at the foot of Plunkett's Hill on the north to the foot of the Pass the road was made to run to the east, more or less, of the section line, the topping of the last three hills having caused this diversion.

When the road was formed it was not metalled. The watertables were made, and the dirt from them was thrown into the middle of the road. Plunkett's Hill was not cut down then, nor was Cox's Hill. The North Illawarra Council cut down those hills a good many years afterwards, but before they were cut down they were very steep, especially Plunkett's, and vehicles had great difficulty in getting over them. Had the trustees kept to the section line the other hills near Bulli would have been far worse. In fact, no vehicles could have got over them.

I do not know what made Major Mitchell lay out the road along the section line. It is a puzzle to me why he did it. I suppose he just took a map of the district and laid it out from that, without going to look what the country was like. He could have laid out a fine level road if he had gone to the right, and so could the trustees if they had cared to. The settlers voted the three trustees in before they knew where they were going to make the road, and when they had elected them they found that they could not displace them. I think the majority of the settlers would have preferred the road to go through the flats, but it was too late when they had chosen the trustees, who could do as they pleased, and they pleased to make the road pass their own farms a their own doors. The great bobbery that Captain Westmacott made at the meeting about the road going over the hills was of no avail.

The first rate the trustees struck was in 1846, and was 4d per acre, to be levied, in the words of the Act, "on all land within three miles of the road, or usually approached by that road." In 1847, they struck a rate of 4 1/2 d per acre, having found that 4d was not sufficient. They were allowed by the Act to strike a rate up to 6d per acre.

In 1846, at the commencement, the trustees appointed me their collector. I held the position that year and the following one. The trustees drew out a demand note for me to demand the rate with, and the settlers were to pay the rate within 14 days of the demand note being served upon them. I collected from Captain Westmacott's to Mr. C.T. Smith's in Wollongong.

I think Mr. Smith was rated for 200 of his 300 acres, he being allowed 100 acres exempt for the township. I cannot say what the income was the first year, but it was pretty big.

At the end of the second year I resigned the position of collector and settled up with the trustees. I am not certain as to what occurred afterwards, but I think fresh trustees were appointed, though I cannot say whether more than once. I believe that on one or more occasions the trustees levied a rate of 6d per acre.

I do not think there were any bridges over the creeks in 1846 and 1847 from Bode's to the end of the road at Bulli. All the creeks were forded. When Mr. Foster was member for the district he got money from the Government to make Angel's Creek bridge. In dry weather the road was pretty fair, but in wet weather it was anything but good. Angel's Creek was a very deep place, and it was difficult to ford the creek, the slopes going down and up being very steep.

I do not think much work of a permanent character was done to the road till the North Illawarra Council took it over from Para Creek to the foot of Plunkett's hill, where the old tollbar used to stand. The council put the tollbar there because it was their boundary, and the people on the Bulli side would not form themselves into a municipality, and yet they were using the road to the south of the tollbar. The council were entitled under the Act to put up the tollbar, and to make charges for vehicles and animals passing through, but this tollbar, which stood where the South Bulli tramline crosses the road, has since disappeared."

No. XX

[24th July 1894]

Mr. Brown: "Do you remember anything about the blacks here in the early days?"

Mr. Stewart: "Yes. When I first came down here, in 1828, I resided for three months at Spring Hill, not far from the old Dapto road, Where I carried on my business of bootmaking. The blacks were very numerous in the district at that time, especially about the Tom Thumb Lagoon, Mullet Creek, and the Lake, for they lived mostly upon fish."
Whilst residing at Spring Hill about 100 Blacks, including gins and their children, assembled one afternoon in front of my house, and not far distant. This gathering from different parts of the district, but were only portions of those in the different parts.

They assemble to punish one of their number, a blackfellow, for taking away another man's gin. They were all painted, after the fashion of savage warriors, with pipeclay, and they wore feathers and other things to give them a warlike look. On inquiry I found from the most intelligible of them that the culprit was to stand a certain number of spears being thrown at him. This was his punishment. The man whose gin had been taken was the man who threw the spears. The culprit was allowed a shield behind which he could nearly hide himself.

The thrower had his spears - about a dozen - slung on his back. They were a sort of reed, pointed with a stone or iron.

The crowd formed into two wings, the two principals being between, one at each end. The man with the spears often pretended to throw to see if he could catch his opponent unaware, and the culprit would dodge and crouch down behind his shield. Some of the spears went over his head and some were broken on the shield. The blacks were good marksmen, being very quick in the eye, and they were just as quick in using the shield. The thrower did a good deal of 'yabbering', But what it was all about I could not tell.

When all the spears had been thrown the man who had been the target walked away unhurt. As he was safe and sound he was considered victorious. It then began to get dark, and the gins lit the fires. They stripped the bark off trees, and lay down upon it besides the fires. When the darkness came on they held a corroboree. The gins played upon sticks and sang, and the blackfellows danced. The culprit was taken back into the fold and welcomed by his fellows with open arms. The corroboree was kept up till 9 or 10 o'clock, and when it was over they all lay down, and remained there till next morning, when they dispersed to their respective localities.

Samuel Foley, the only blacksmith here at the time, and the first in the Illawarra, with his family, witnessed the event as well as myself, but no other white people saw it. Foley's house was beside where I was living."

MR. Brown: "I suppose you could tell us something about the hotels of Wollongong and the district?"

Mr. Stewart: "Yes. There was no hotel on the South Coast when I came here.

George Tate, sen., had the first hotel on the coast. Spring Hill House, where Mr. Alfred Waldron now lives, was the hotel. Mr. Tate got his license in 1829, and held it for about two years. He then gave up the license, and Spring Hill House ceased to be a hotel. Whilst it was a hotel it was frequented mostly by sawyers.

When Mr. Tate gave up the business Mr. George Brown started the second on the coast, and the first in Wollongong. This was situated down in Baxter's paddock, south of Mr. G. Cochrane's.

Mr. Brown got his license, I think, in 1832, and kept the hotel till 1836 or 1837. He then have up his license for this house, which ceased to be a hotel, and went to Dapto - now Brownsville - where he started another. The hotel Mr. Brown started at Brownsville may still be seen. It is opposite the creamery, and forms part of the Lake Illawarra Hotel. It is the low building situated between the fine brick structure in which Mr. Carter is mostly to be seen and the two-storey building on the north in which meetings and concerts are sometimes held. Looking at it from the main road, it forms the middle portion of the buildings which are under the regime of Mr. Carter, and seems as if it were being kept warm and sheltered from the winds by the higher additions which are contiguous on the south and north.

The next hotel in Wollongong was started by Alexander Elliott in 1833. This was situated where the convent now stands - just at the present angle of it. It was a small, low, weather board building. I think it was called "The Travellers' Home." Elliott had it about two years, and then gave it up, having, in 1835 built 'The Wollongong Hotel' - the building in which Mr. Duncan McRae now lives (and owns) in Market-Street. After Elliott left The Travellers' Home a man named Samuel Coulson was the occupier. He kept the hotel until Elliott gave up the Wollongong Hotel, and then he went over there and became the licensee of the Wollongong Hotel.

In 1835 Hugh Kennedy built a hotel in Market-Street opposite the Market Place - a little to the east of the present Queen's Hotel. Kennedy opened his hotel about the same time as Elliott did the Wollongong. Kennedy kept his hotel a good many years, and then it was let as a boarding house, which was called "The Sea View Boarding House." It was recently taken down.
The next hotel was "The Royal Oak", in Corrimal-Street, where Mr. Collins now lives. This was built in the latter end of 1835 and licensed in 1836. Mossop, who was drowned in the Swan, commenced the building of it, and his son-in-law, Henry Bate, finished it, and then let it to one Taylor, who, I think, kept it for about two years."

No. XXI

[4th August 1894]

Mr. Stewart, continuing his account of the hotels of Wollongong, said; - "The Royal Oak Hotel, in Corrimal-Street, was opened on the 1st of July, 1836, and at the opening there was a bit of a fuss made. On the 2nd of July a woman was found dead on the premises. There was a little stack of hay in the yard lately occupied by Mr. J Hendry, monumental mason, and she was found dead beside this stack.

There was a heavy frost that night, and she perished with the cold. It was the severest night I ever experienced in the colony. The ground was so frozen that I could hear it cracking under my feet as I walked along the next morning.

The woman was a Jewess, and was the wife of Samuel Habberfeld, who was known as Sam the Plasterer. Two men were apprehended on a charge of causing her death, she having been seen in their company on the previous night. One of these men was a freeman, a blacksmith, and the other a bondman named Fox. They were tried in Sydney on a charge of murder and acquitted. Fox was afterwards found dead, hanging by a rope in a house which he was building on the Keelogues Estate.

On the night of the opening of this same public house a man called Black Frank, but not an aboriginal, was going home from the hotel, where he had been helping to keep up the opening of it. He was driving a team old bullocks, and when he got on the new Dapto road, opposite where O'Hara formerly resided, and where Mr. H.O. MacCabe now lives, he went into the hollow on the right hand side of the road. He must have seen a fire there, for there were some logs burning in the hollow. He left his team of bullocks out on the road. The next morning, the 2nd of July, he was found there burnt to death. It was suppose that he had crept in to the fire to keep himself warm, the night being such a very cold one.

The next hotel was in Corrimal-Street. A small house, I think a four roomed cottage, stood on the site of the old Harp Inn when Bernard McCauley, the father of Mrs. Beatson, came to Wollongong. He bought the place from Robert Osborne, and added to it at each end. He also put up some outbuildings in the backyard. He then got a license for the place, and opened it as the Harp Inn in July, 1839. Mr. McCauley held the license for two years, and then went to reside at Broulee, near the Moruya River, having let the Harp Inn to Mr. John Musgrove sen., the father of Mrs. George Osborne.

Mr. Musgrove kept the Harp Inn for two years, and then built the Commercial Hotel (Mr. George Cochrane's), for which he got a license. Since those days great additions have been made to the Commercial Hotel.

After spending three years at Broulee, Mr. McCauley came back to Wollongong, and kept the Harp Inn for many years. At last he gave the business over to his daughter and son-in-law, Mrs. and Mr. Davis. When Mr. McCauley died he bequeathed the said hotel to his two daughters, Mrs. Beatson and Mrs. Davis. Mrs. Beatson afterwards bought her sister out, and subsequently put up on the site the present magnificent Harp on Erin Hotel.

In 1839 Alexander Elliott, who owned the Wollongong Hotel in Market-Street, built Elliott's Family Hotel in Lower Crown-Street. This hotel is now owned by Mr. Joseph Makin, who recently added a storey to it. I cannot with certainty give the dates or order in which the remaining hotels in the town came into existence, but I will mention them.

Parson Mears built a residence for himself in the angle of the nameless street running west and north of the Market Square.

When Mr. Mears left the town his residence was bought by Robert Osborne, who fitted it up as a public-house, and it became the Freemasons' Hotel.

Mr. Hosking's shop and residence in Crown-Street were a hotel. The residence was the hotel proper, and the chemist's shop was the bar. O'Brien's hotel at the corner of Crown and Keira-Streets, was built by John Osborne. It has since been greatly improved, a storey having been added.
The Freemasons' Hotel, at the opposite corner of Crown and Keira- Streets, was built for a shop, and was afterwards turned into a hotel by George Osborne,

The wooden building recently occupied by Mr. Budge in Upper Crown-Street was once upon a time a hotel, and was called, "The Cottage of Content." This hotel was kept by one Scott, and afterwards by one Thackeray, who married Scott's widow.

Where the present Terminus Hotel (Gammell's) stands near the railway bridge there used to be a public house that was built by old William Murphy. I forget the name of the old hotel.

Another public house stood on the top of what is now the railway cutting, just on the station side of the Jubilee Bridge, between Mr. Spence's residence and that of the late Paul Andrews. I forget the name of this hotel. It was built by one Larkin, and afterwards licensed as a public house. It was afterwards bought by an old gentleman called, I think, Dacon, to whom the Government paid the money awarded by the arbitrators.

There have been in all from the beginning 18 licensed houses in Wollongong. Thirteen of these were in existence at one time. Nine of them are in existence now. A number of the old hotels have been demolished. The complete list of the hotels is as follows:

Spring Hill House (George Tate's)
George Brown's (Baxter's Paddock)
The Traveller's Home (A. Elliot's, Harbor-Street)
Royal Oak (Corrimal-Street)
Freemason's (Market Square)
Brighton Hotel (Galvin's)
Harp Inn (B. McCauley's)
George Organ's (Roxby's), [or The Cricketers Arms]
Elliott's Family Hotel (Makin's)
J.W. Hosking's house and shop in Crown-Street
Commercial Hotel (John Musgrave's)
O'Brien's (John Osborne's)
Freemason's (Keira-Street, George Osborne's)
Cottage of Content (recently Budge's)
Terminus Hotel (Gammell's, which was built for a store)
and the hotel preceding it on the same site
the hotel over the railway cutting (Larkin's)."

No. XXII

[9th August 1894]

Mr. Brown: "Could you give us an account of the churches that have existed and the ministers who have been in Wollongong?"

Mr. Stewart: "Yes, as far as my memory serves me. When I arrived in Wollongong, in 1828, there was neither church nor minister here.

The Rev. Mr. Reddall, a Church of England clergyman, stationed at Campbelltown, and whom I had known there, used to come to Wollongong occasionally. He was coming from the time I arrived here, but whether he had been in the habit of visiting the settlement previously I cannot say. He held his services in Mr. C.T. Smith's barn.

Those who attended his services were mostly assigned servants there being only two or three free men here then. The masters, when they knew that Mr. Reddall was coming, sent their men from the country to the services. Sometimes he would have about twenty persons a service, and sometimes fewer. Mr. Spearing had a number of men working for him, and so had Mr. C.T. Smith and these were sent to the services.

Not very long after I came here Mr. Smith built Bustle Cottage (now Buona Vista) - the house on the hill in which Mr. Franklin now resides. As soon as it was finished Mr. Smith went to live in it.
A Mr. Layton, a catechist, was then appointed by the Anglican Church to take the place in Wollongong of the Reverend Mr. Reddall. Mr. Layton resided here permanently, and rented Mr. Smith's late residence at the corner of Smith and Harbor streets. Mr. Layton resided in this cottage. He also rented the old barn from Mr. Smith, and got it done up so that its interior looked not altogether unlike the inside of some of our bush churches. He had seats, forms, pulpit, altar, etc., put into it. The Reverend Mr. Reddall did not rent the barn, and therefore no seats were put in it by or for him. It was only just cleaned out for him whilst he preached there.

About the same number of persons attended Mr. Layton's services as went to hear Mr. Reddall. Mr. Layton resided in Mr. Smith's cottage till the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson was appointed as the regular clergyman.

Mr. Wilkinson came here, I think, about 1832. Mr. Layton was then removed. Mr. Wilkinson, like his predecessors, preached in the old barn. As soon as Mr. Wilkinson came here he bought 4 acres of land from Mr. Smith. It lay between the Harbor Street track and the sand-bank, adjoined the Crown settlement, and extended towards where the convent now stands.

On his ground, facing Harbor Street, and close to the settlement, he built a residence, which still stands there, and which strikes passers-by by its quaint and tropical appearance. Mr. William Hayles used to reside in it, and I believe Mr. Traveller occupies it at present. Mr. Wilkinson built that residence, I think, in 1832. At all events, it was built before the township was laid out.

Mr. Wilkinson lived in his new cottage as soon as it was built, and continued to hold service in the barn. In the week time the barn was now occupied as a Church of England day school. A Mr. Davis was appointed school master, and many of the present old residents of the district went to that school.

In 1837 Mr. Wilkinson left Wollongong and went to England. He sold his cottage and land to Mr. Wilson, who purchased the Balgownie estate. The Rev. M.D. Mears [Reverend Matthew Devenish Mears] was living here in 1837, and he was appointed parish clergyman in the stead of Mr. Wilkinson.

In 1837, Mr. Mears built his residence in the Market Square - the one that was afterwards turned into a publichouse. When Mr. Mears sold that residence he bought two or three allotments at the corner of Corrimal and Smith Streets, and on these he built a second residence. This dwelling was subsequently sold by auction, and afterwards demolished. The allotments on which it stood now belong to H.G. Smith's Estate.

In 1839 the Anglican Church in Sydney got an allotment of ground in Market Street, just to the east of H.G. Smith's iron cottages. I think Mr. Smith gave the Church this land. On it, in 1839, they erected a brick building, which was used as a church, and also as an Anglican sunday-school and day school. This building stands there still, and is used by the Church of England as their Sunday-school. They also use it occasionally as a meeting house, and it is still utilised as a day school.

This building was used as the church and Sunday school until Mr. H.G. Smith built, at his own expense, a very nice little stone church in Corrimal Street, on the eastern side, between Market Street and Smith Street. This stone church stood down in the far corner of the allotment, somewhat to the south of Mr. Mears' last-built residence. This church was a nicely finished place, and had trees planted all around.

Mr. Dingwell had the contract for building this church, and Mr. Mears found fault with him for not striking the joints inside the building. Mr. Dingwell was a very blunt old fellow, and he said to Mr. Mears,

"I have often heard it said that fools and children should not see half-done work."

"And pray," said Mr. Mears,"which do you consider I am?"

"I consider," said Mr. Dingwell,"that you know nothing at all about it."

Mr. Mears did not come to look at the building afterwards whilst Mr. Dingwell was there.

Mr. John Garret, the father of Mr. Tom Garrett, who started the Mercury [in October 1855], had the contract for the plumbing and glazing at this church. He had resided in Sydney previously, but this job brought him to Wollongong, where he afterwards remained.

That job also brought Tom Garrett, the son, to Wollongong. He afterwards represented Camden in Parliament, and his father, John Garrett, the plumber, ie. presented Shoalhaven in Parliament for some time. They were both very clever men.
When Mr. C.T. Smith laid out the town he gave the piece of land on Church Hill, according to promise, as a site for an Anglican Church. Subsequently the foundation of a church was laid there, and it remained there in the ground for years without any superstructure being placed upon it.

Ultimately the contract was let to Mr. P. Lahiff to build the new church on the hill. In the meantime the plans for the church had been altered, and Mr. Lahiff had to take up the old foundation and lay a new one. In order to get material for the new church he bought the stone in the little church in Corrimal street.

The contract was let to Mr. Lahiff about 1859, and he was building the church in 1860. Most of the stone from the Corrimal Street church he rebuilt into the new church, it being considered that some of the material of obsolete churches should find a place in their successors.

The church on the hill was opened about 1862. I think the Reverend Mr. Ewing was the clergyman when it was opened, but I am not quite sure.

Whilst the new church was being built and the old one in Corrimal Street demolished, services were again held in the old brick church and schoolroom in Market Street. When Davies, the schoolmaster, left (he went to Brisbane Water) the old barn ceased to be a church and schoolhouse, and was demolished, so was Mr. Smith’s old house in the opposite corner of the said paddock.

When Mr. Davies left here one Gregory, the father of the famous cricketers, and a noted cricketer himself, was appointed schoolmaster for the church here, and he taught in the brick schoolhouse in Market Street. I think he came here about 1840. He remained in Wollongong for a long time.

The Reverend F. Elder, the present incumbent, who came here of late years, succeeded the Reverend Mr. Ewing when the latter resigned.

Mr. Mears was the clergyman in Wollongong for many years. He was a very austere man. Mr. Ewing was just the opposite, he being a very mild man, and as genial and affable as the present incumbent.

No. XXIII

[14th August 1894]

Mr. Stewart, continuing his account of the churches of Wollongong, said: "When I came here in 1828 Father Therry, the only Roman Catholic clergy-man in the colony at the time, used to come down here from Sydney occasionally, not regularly, and celebrate mass in Mr. Smith's barn - he being allowed the use of it at the time, as well as the Rev. Mr. Reddall, the Anglican clergy-man.

When he was down here Father Therry also solemnised any marriages that were desired and christened any children that were brought to him. He was a fine old gentleman.

When Mr. Layton, the Anglican catechist, rented the barn, and turned it into a regular place of worship, Father Therry could not, of course, get the use of it. He was then allowed the use of the soldiers' barracks in the Crown settlement to hold services, and he continued holding them there till 1836 or 1837, when Father Rigney was appointed as parish priest of Wollongong.

As I stated previously, Mr. C.T. Smith, in 1834, when the township was laid out, gave two acres of ground at the corner of Crown and Harbor Streets to his brother-in-law, Cornelius O'Brien, of Bulli, for Catholic Church purposes. Mr. O'Brien accordingly gave the ground to the Catholic Church, and in 1836 the Church built the wooden chapel that stands there still between the present fine church and the presbytery. The chapel was used as a day school as well.

The first schoolmaster who was there, as far as I remember, was Mr. Michael O'Donnell, the father of the Messrs O'Donnell of Five Islands. He was schoolmaster there for a long time.

I painted the wooden chapel for them, because there was no painter here then.

Father Therry was visiting here when the chapel was being built, and he held mass in it when it was finished.
Some little while afterwards Father Rigney, a young man, who had just come out from the old country, was appointed parish priest. That gentleman remained in Wollongong a good many years, and built the big church that is at present used for services. I cannot say exactly when this church was built, but I think it was begun after 1840 and finished about 1845.

Father Rigney was a very nimble and athletic man. In crossing the Market Place he would never take down a panel. He always vaulted over fences that came in his way no matter how high they were. I think this was his first charge. He was a very popular man.

Somewhere about 1840, I think, he started a great teetotal movement here, somewhat similar to that of Father Matthew in Ireland. Those who joined in the movement were known as Father Rigney’s Teetotal Band. A great number joined, not only of his own congregation, but of other denominations in the place. The band was composed mostly of young men and young women and boys and girls, nearly all the younger folks in and about the town being in it. They used to wear regalia and walk the streets in procession. They also held dances, plays, and festivities in the east wing of the schoolhouse that stood on the site where the Town Hall now stands. The processions were mixed ones, anyone who liked to take the pledge being allowed to join them.

A son of Dr. Alick Osborne, of Daisy Bank, Dapto, died, and out of respect for him, Father Rigney's Teetotal Band went down there in procession, decorated with their regalia, and headed the funeral. I believe this band lasted up to the time Father Rigney left Wollongong. It then gradually broke up, for the Priest who followed him did not push the thing on.

Father Rigney went to Parramatta from here, and I believe he is there still. He was made a dean sometime after leaving here.

Father Young, who, I think, was a French priest, succeeded Father Rigney in Wollongong. He came here before 1850, and stayed here for some time.

Father Summers came after him. Father Murray, I think, followed him. He died here, and was buried in the Catholic Church yard. There is a tablet, I think, in the church to his memory, and also a monument outside in commemoration of him.

Afterwards, I think, Dean O'Connell, who was stationed at Appin, had charge of this parish for a time, for I remember being at a christening in the church after Father Murray's death and Dean O'Connell was there.

I think Father Johnston came next. He remained here a good while. Then Dean Flannagan was appointed, and he remained here for a good number of years. Then, for a time, till Father Ryan was appointed, several priests used to come and officiate, but I do not think they were parish priests. Father Ryan died here three or four years ago, and his remains were interred in the churchyard, where a monument has been erected to his memory. Following him Dr Barry officiated here for a time. Then Father Byrne, the present parish priest, was appointed.

Father Rigney, when he was appointed, had the whole of the South Coast to attend to, there being no other priest on the coast from Sydney southwards.

The present main body of the convent, a two-storey brick building, was built by Mr. H.G. Smith, and was known originally as The Marine Hotel. It displaced The Travellers' Home.

In 1873 Mr. F.C. Smith, of the Savings Bank, who was the agent for Mr. H.G. Smith, sold the old Marine Hotel to the Catholic Church for £1,000. The building then became the convent. Nuns came here immediately afterwards, and sisters have been here ever since.

The northern end of the convent has been built since 1880, but I cannot give the year, for I was in Sydney when it was erected. The wooden schoolhouse (the primary school) that now stands at the southern end of the convent was removed to where it now is from the church grounds. It used to stand at the angle of Crown and Harbor Streets, between the big church and Crown Street, close to the street. It was removed some few years ago - I think in Dean Flannagan's time. Before its removal the children used to attend school in it at the corner of the church allotment, where it was used as a schoolhouse for a great many years.

The old chapel, between the church and the presbytery, had, I think, been turned into a dwelling for the schoolmaster.
In 1841 I was poundkeeper here, and in September of that year I resigned the position to go down to McCauley's place at Broulee.

Mr. M O'Donnell afterwards resigned as school master and poundkeeper, and went to the Five Islands Estate, which he rented along with a Mr. Rigney, who was a brother, I think, of the priest. I believe they remained in partnership for a long time, but when their first lease expired I think Mr. O'Donnell got a fresh one for a good many years. The partnership had then terminated, Mr. Rigney having retired from it."

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No. XXIV

[18th August 1894]

Mr. Stewart, continuing his account of the churches of Wollongong, said: - "The first Presbyterian minister in Wollongong was the Rev. John Tate. He came here in 1838, and I think he had then only just arrived in the colony from the old country. As there was no Presbyterian Church here, he asked Captain Plunkett to allow him to hold service in the courthouse (the red courthouse in Harbor Street). Captain Plunkett granted the request, and he used to hold service there every Sunday afternoon.

There were very few Presbyterians in the town at the time. There were perhaps 10 or 12 on an average attended Mr. Tate's afternoon service. Mr. Robert Longmore, a well-known resident here, used to lead the singing.

In 1839 Mr. Tate got a present from Mr. C.T. Smith of a quarter of an acre of ground - the site on which the Presbyterian Church now stands at the corner of Crown and Church Streets. Mr. Tate then obtained subscriptions and got the present church built, less the perch and spire. The church was finished at the end of 1839. Tenders were called in the Sydney newspapers for the building of it, and one Bloomfield, known as Evangelist Bloomfield, got the contract for the brick work. He afterwards resided here for many years.

When the church was opened Mr. Tate had a pretty fair congregation, for people then came from the country. Hitherto he had only been on trial, but now his congregation gave him a call, and he was chosen as their regular minister. He was a very nice man.

He bought an allotment of ground at the corner of Smith and Church Streets, at the corner oposite to that on which the public school stands, from Mr. C.T. Smith. He built the cottage on it that stands there now, and lived in it during the remainder of his time in Wollongong. When he left he sold it. Mr. Daniel Griffin, sen., now lives in it, and I think he bought it from Mr. Tate. I think Mr. Tate went from here in 1843. He then left Parramatta, having been there a very short time, and joined the Free Church party in Melbourne.

Mr. Atchison stayed here for 24 or 25 years. Like Mr. Tate before him, he had to do duty all along the South Coast from Sydney. Mr. Atchison was not very well liked, and many of his congregation left him when a Free Church minister, the Rev. John McKie used to hold service in a little chapel called the Baptist Chapel(it having been built by Baptists) in Kembla Street. It stood on the east side of Kembla Street, between Market Street and Smith Street, and would hold perhaps 30 or 40 persons.

Mr. McKie was a very good preacher, and was very much liked. He differed so much in many respects from Mr. Atchison that he got most of his congregation. Most of those who left Mr. Atchison's church never went back, and there are still some residing in the town who have not gone back.

Ultimately Mr. McKie went back to Melbourne, where I think he came from, and another Free Church minister, the Rev. Mr. McKail, came here in his place. The latter was a very nice man, too, and was very popular. Like Mr. McKie, he did not stay long here. At his farewell sermon the eyes of many of his congregation were filled with tears. His departure finished up the Free Church here.

When he went away a Rev. Mr. Charter, a Congregational minister, came here, and occupied the little Baptist Church for a time - till the present Congregational Church was built. Then the little Baptist Church was taken down. Some of those who had attended the Presbyterian Free Church went over to Mr. Charter's church, but very few ever went back to the Presbyterian Established Church here. A few did, but I cannot say for certain whether they did in Mr. Atchison's time.

Mr. Atchison thought he would like to have a spire to his church, and he managed to get built the square porch, or tower, and the octagon spire above it. This was considered by many a waste of money, and the spire consequently became generally known as 'Atchinson's Folly.' At no time in the course of his stay here had Mr.
Atchison a large congregation, his mannerisms being anything but pleasing to many who heard and saw him. When he left here he went to North Shore, and has since died.

Mr. Lang, of Sydney, many years ago brought 7 or 8 clergymen out from Scotland. Mr. Atchison was one of them, and the late Rev. Mr. Ewing, of Wollongong, was another. These were two of the ministers who received endowment from the Government under an old Act. Under another Act, when those in receipt of the endowment under the old Act died out endowment ceased. Mr. Ewing left the Presbyterian Church after coming to the colony, and joined the Church of England.

The next Presbyterian minister here was the Rev. Mr. Mitchell. He died here, and was buried in the Presbyterian cemetery. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Chancer, who was a somewhat eccentric man. He had none of the appearance of a minister.

He went about wearing a long billy hat, from which hung down at the back a long piece of stuff like that which an undertaker wears hanging down from his hat when attending a funeral, but Mr. Chancer’s pennant was white instead of black. On account of this peculiarity the people made fun of him. He did not stay long in Wollongong, for his wife cut her throat here.

The Rev. Roger McKinnon succeeded Mr. Chancer, and was pretty well liked. He got the congregation together again a bit, but he did not remain long. Having got a call from Hill End, he went there. He revisited the church a few Sundays ago, and preached in it. A considerable number of his old congregation were present. He then said it was 25 years since he first preached in the pulpit.

The Rev. Mr. Stuart succeeded Mr. McKinnon in Wollongong, and was here for some time. When he left there was a vacancy for a long time, and whilst there was no minister Mr. John Richardson, one of the elders, used to attend on Sunday and pray and read a sermon to them to keep the congregation together. A good while elapsed before they got a minister.

Finally the Rev. Mr. Waugh, of Kiama, preached here. He pleased the congregation, and they gave him a call. He was only a young man, and this was his first charge. He pleased them to the finish, and they were very sorry when he went away. He got a good congregation together, and was well liked by all. He is now at Neutral Bay, Sydney.

The Rev. S. Millar, the present minister, succeeded Mr. Waugh. Mr. Millar was chosen out of 5 or 6. He is a good preacher, a good man, and well liked by his congregation.

When the church was first built the congregation sat in boxes which resembled pigstyes. The boxes were square, and had a seat on each of the four sides, so that some of those sitting in them had their backs to the preacher, whilst others sat with their sides to him. These boxes were called pews, and each had a door to shut the people in or out. I do not know who had these pews altered, but they were altered into proper seats. The platform on which the minister stands now used to have a sort of canopy over it, and the pulpit was an old fashioned one. The canopy has been done away with, and the pulpit has been altered to what it is now just a plain desk on a raised platform.

The manse site in Keira Street was the site of the first Wesleyan Church here, which was an old slab building. The Wesleyans sold it to Dr Marshall, who had it pulled down, and who put up in its place the present manse, which he used himself as a residence. When he was leaving Wollongong the Presbyterian Church bought his residence and land from him. The residence then became the minister’s manse, and has been ever since.

Addendum 7

[18th August 1894]

In Part 22 it was stated that the old wooden schoolhouse stood in the Roman Catholic ground at the corner of Crown and Harbor Streets. It should have read that it stood in that ground, next to Crown Street, but at the corner nearest to Corrimal Street.

In Part 21 a bit of a "tiff" occurred between the Rev. Mr. Mears and Mr. Dingwell, the contractor for the stone church in Corrimal Street.

35
When Mr. Dingwell told Mr. Mears that "children and fools should not see half-done work," Mr. Mears said "Both your remarks are uncalled for and very unkind." This reply of Mr. Mears was omitted, owing to an oversight, in the previous account.

In connection with the Catholic Church an omission was that Dr Sheahy was the parish priest here between Father Flanagan and Father Ryan.
LETTERS IN REPLY

The following letters were addressed to the Editor of the Illawarra Mercury and were published in that newspaper alongside the "Reminiscences" during 1894.

They question various points raised by Mr. Stewart, to which he sometimes replies within the body of the "Reminiscences". They also add new information to topics discussed by Stewart.

For these reasons the Letters form an important adjunct to the "Reminiscences" and are therefore included.
Letter No. 1

[26th April 1894]

(To the Editor)

Sir. - I wish to correct some errors Mr. Alexander Stewart has made in his "Reminiscences of Illawarra" which are very important.

He states that "Allen's Creek was called after a man named Allen, who had a garden on Spring Hill estate." This garden was on the Berkeley estate, and the man Allen rented it from my late father, William Warren-Jenkins for many years. It was a portion of the first grant received by my grandfather Robert Jenkins, from His Excellency Sir Lachlan Macquarie, in 1817, and which is situated on the east side of Berkeley.

Neither Captain Waldron nor any of his sons ever disputed my father's right to this nine acres on the bend of Allan's Creek; but to convince the late Mrs. Waldron, sen., of her ridiculous claim to it, my father obtained a tracing of the original plan of the grant from the Surveyor General's office, which proved incontestably that the boundary of the grant was a straight line from the shores of the Lake to what is now Mr. Fuller's property, near Mt. St. Thomas.

The garden was an orangery, orchard, and vegetable garden, which was leased by several tenants from my father at different times, Allen being the last gardener, whom my father assisted to leave for Goulburn, I think, about five and twenty years ago. Allan's Creek was called after the owner of the adjoining property, whose name on the deed of grant is spelt Allan.

I have written these few corrections to uphold my father's honorable reputation, and shall be much obliged by your inserting them in an early issue of your paper.

M.J. Warren-Jenkins

April 23

Letter No.2

[12th May 1894]

(To the Editor)

Sir,- In a letter signed "M. J. Warren-Jenkins," which appeared in your issue of the 26th April [Letter No. 1], the writer states that Captain Waldron made no claim to a portion of land now known as Allen's Garden.

Perhaps the writer is not aware that the then owner of the Berkeley Estate made no claim to the nine acres of which the garden consists till about five years after Captain Waldron's death.

Mrs. Waldron, his widow, founded her claim on the fact (which "M. J. Warren-Jenkins" calls "ridiculous") that her husband purchased the land in question from a Mr. Tait, who received it a grant from the Crown in 1824, the western boundary being the creek called Allen's Creek; and, knowing that where natural boundaries exist they are seldom crossed for a matter of nine acres, she considered she had a right to what she paid for. Being a widow with a large family, however, and in rather straitened circumstances, she had to submit to the high-handed proceedings.

Mrs. Waldron's character needs no remark of mine, for she was well known during a long life in Illawarra as an upright and honorable woman who never took or claimed anything from any one but what she honestly believed she had a right to. By inserting these few lines you will much oblige.

H.A.F. Waldron

Spring Hill, May 10th.
Letter No. 3

[17th May 1894]

Sir, - Only a sense of duty impels me to reply in defence of my father to Mr. H.A.F. Waldron's statements regarding his mother's claim to a portion of the Berkeley Estate. I am well aware that my father never thought of asserting his right to these nine acres until Mrs. Waldron claimed them after the death of her husband, as he inherited from his father (who had undoubted possession if it from the Crown in 1817). My father's ownership was never before disputed.

If these nine acres, at the bend of "the creek," had ever been purchased by Captain Waldron, why did not his widow produce the deeds and prove her legal claim to it during my father's lifetime? I have frequently heard him speak of the subject, and have a perfect recollection of the facts, therefore shall now relate them to the best of my ability.

The boundaries of Berkeley were formed and settled years before my father came into possession of it, and he could not alter them, nor would Mrs. Waldron or her descendants have ever allowed him to annex nine acres of their small property if they could have proved that they had a legitimate claim to it.

I recollect my father, upon receipt of a letter on the subject from Mrs. Waldron, sending for one of her elder sons for the purpose of showing him the plan of Berkeley and correct boundaries from a tracing he obtained of the original grant from the Surveyor-General's office, of that portion of the estate in dispute, and proving to him that his mother's claim was unjustifiable, after which he heard nothing more of the matter. The subject was mentioned to a good authority in the person of Mr. William Pitt Faithful, of Goulburn, who managed the cattle run on Berkeley for my grandmother, years before my father came to reside on the property. He knew all the boundaries well, and laughed at the absurdity of the claim.

As I made a slight mistake in my former letter in saying that the boundary of the eastern grant was "a straight line from the shores of the Lake to what is known as Mr. Fuller's property," I think it necessary to explain that there is a deviation only of about a quarter of a mile along the banks of Allan's Creek to the bend, known in recent years as "Allen's Garden."

No doubt the late Mrs. Waldron was much respected during her residence in Illawarra. My father felt keenly her unjust accusation against his honor. He was not the man to oppress the widow, nor had he any desire or occasion to covet a few acres of his neighbor's property. His character for benevolence and strict integrity of conduct was too well established to be impeached for any unrighteous deed. The "high-handed proceedings" existed elsewhere - perhaps amongst Mrs. Waldron's ill-advisers, whoever they may have been. By inserting this you will greatly oblige.

M.J. Warren-Jenkins.

Rose Bay, May 14th, 1894.

Letter No.4

[2nd June 1894]

(To the Editor)

Sir, - Will you, through your paper, allow me to state that the account of Captain Waldron's death in "Reminiscences of Illawarra" [Part 9] are for the most part incorrect.

The writer states what he was told. I, who witnessed the sad occurrence, assert that all the minor details are untrue. The author's informant, whoever he was, showed his evident sympathy with the murderers by the unfeeling and evidently biased manner in which he narrated to your contributor a most tragic occurrence. He also showed the ignorance and vulgarity of one unaware of the manners of a gentleman, or even of common decency.

The unfortunate circumstances concerning my father's death may be seen in the records of the colony by any who may feel an interest in them. His acts of bravery on the field of battle may also be seen in the pages of history.

H.A.F. Waldron.
Letter No. 5
[16th June 1894]
(To the Editor)

Sir, - In my letter to you which appeared in your issue of 2nd June [see Letter No. 4] in reference to my father's death, I mentioned that the minor details given by your correspondent were incorrect, but the hideous atrocity that your contributor credits me with suppressing and has put into circulation through the press - for what purpose he only knows - I solemnly assert I never heard till I read it in the Illawarra Mercury.

The utter falsity of it may be proved, as even now there is another living witness who was old enough at the time to remember all the facts better than I can.

The inaccuracies are as follows: - My father did not smoke and therefore did not commit the indecencies alluded to. He was not thrown off a verandah, but on a large stone at the kitchen door. He died three days after the attack by the women. He was not buried at Mount St Thomas then, as that property did not belong to him, but afterwards, when his widow purchased the property.

All these are minor details in my opinion. I did not think I had an enemy in all Illawarra, or that there was one man who would accuse me of such a thing as your contributor has circulated. I should have noticed this matter before, but have been from home and ill.

H.A.F. Waldron

Spring Hill, June 15.

Letter No. 6
[26th June 1894]
(To the Editor)

Sir, - Will you kindly allow me, through the columns of your paper, to contradict or refute a certain statement made in "Reminiscences of Illawarra" which appeared in one [Part 16] of your recent issues?

Your informant stated that Mr. C.F. Waldron jumped a piece of land in Wollongong on which a house is erected and occupied by his widow, Mrs. Jane Waldron. Now, I flatly contradict such a wilful or erroneous statement.

I may state that the land was rented by the late Mr. George Organ for about 20 or 25 years at a rental of Is 6d per week, and when he (Mr. Organ) received notice to give up possession he refused to do so, as he stated to the then owner (Mr. J. Turner, of Sydney), that he (Mr. Organ) should have had the first offer of the place, having rented it for such a length of time. However, the place was then under offer to the late Mr. C.F. Waldron, who became the purchaser at a sum equal to its value, and was not "jumped" as stated.

I now caution "Reminiscences" or any other person who may wish to contribute information to any paper for the edification of the residents of Illawarra to be more guarded in the future, as it may be the means of saving litigation and this would be not very palatable to him. The late Mr. C.F. Waldron's person and character was as far above reproach as that of any lord or duke under the sun, and he was never in his lifetime guilty of any paltry or petty action by wronging any living being out of as much as a threepenny piece, but always upheld the principle of doing unto others as he would they should do unto him.

Frank Waldron
ENDNOTES


2. For a description of the experiences and conditions of Illawarra cedar-getters about this time see Harris, A.; "Settlers and Convicts". Melbourne University Press, 1952. Harris relates the experiences and living conditions of sawyers working in the forests west of Kiama.


6. For a detailed account of the early history of the Bulli district, including the area from Corrimal in the south to Helensburgh in the north, see Bayley, W.A.: "Black Diamonds", Austral Publications, 1975.

7. Lieutenant Butler was stationed at Illawarra from 1 January 1829 to 4 February 1830, when he was replaced by Lieutenant Sleeman.

8. These barracks at Wollongong were begun in August 1829, and officially opened on 27 July 1830. See Sydney Gazette, 10 August 1830, for a report of the official opening ceremonies.

9. H.A.B.Bennett was appointed on 11 November 1832. For an account of Wollongong around this time see Harris, A.; "The Secret's of Alexander Harris". Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1961. From a reading of this book there is the suggestion that Harris is in actual fact Bennett, or a very close acquaintance.

10. James Gerraty died at Liverpool Hospital on 13 March 1830, after accidentally shooting himself at Woonona a few days earlier.

11. Pulpit Roc is located on the eastern edge of Wollongong Point. For a contemporary view see the pencil sketch by Conrad Martens titled "Wollongong Point, looking north, July 8th 1835." Mitchell Library, ZPX*307/1 f.5.

12. For a contemporary view of this locality see the watercolour "View from the Stockade, 20th April 1840", attributed to Robert Marsh Westmacott, in the Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia. This view looks south-west from Flagstaff Hill towards the Government establishment at Wollongong Harbour.


14. A letter from Thomas O'Brien, dated "Woolungong, 6th September 1829", to his son Edward in Sydney, notes that he had "...arrived here on Sunday night at about 12 o'clock the 4th instant", and took possession of his grant the following day. See Illawarra Branches, Number 7, June 1986, pp4-6 for further letters of Thomas O'Brien regarding his arrival in, and experiences at, Illawarra as one of the veteran grantees.

15. Martin Lynch - who arrived in Illawarra in 1827 as a young boy and settled in the Fairy Meadow area - had some of his reminiscences recorded by Archibald Campbell in 1898. These reminiscences also refers to "Burke the Bushranger". See Illawarra Historical Society Collection, Wollongong Public Library.

16. For a complete account of the death of Captain Waldron and the fate of the two women convicts accused of his murder, see McDonald, W.G.; "In the Matter of Captain Waldron Deceased". Illawarra Historical Society, Wollongong. 1972.

18. For a fuller listing of steamships serving the South Coast in the nineteenth century, see Andrew, G.; "South Coast Steamers." Marine History Publications. Epping, [1976].


21. See Sydney Morning Herald, 12 February 1838, for a report of this incident and the subsequent trial, in Sydney, of these men.

22. Refers to the Albert Memorial Hospital, formerly located on the site of the present Collegians Football Club car park.

23. A number of reports and letters between the Trustees and Captain Westmacott concerning the Bulli Road Trust scandal were printed in the Sydney Morning Herald of 1846, viz 2 April, 18 September, 6 October and 16 October.

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Compiled by Michael Organ and Kerrie Alexander

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