

University of Wollongong

**Research Online**

---

Illawarra Historical Society Publications

Historical & Cultural Collections

---

1966

## **Earliest Illawarra by its explorers & pioneers**

W. G. McDonald

*Illawarra Historical Society*

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

---

### **Recommended Citation**

McDonald, W. G., (1966), Earliest Illawarra by its explorers & pioneers.  
<https://ro.uow.edu.au/ihspubs/17>

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

---

## Earliest Illawarra by its explorers & pioneers

### Description

W.G. McDonald (1966), Earliest Illawarra by its explorers & pioneers, Illawarra Historical Society, Wollongong, 1966, 64p.,



# EARLIEST ILLAWARRA

BY ITS EXPLORERS & PIONEERS

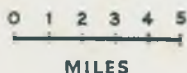


Shoals Haven (for boats)  
VIII  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rise 6 or 8 f.

SKETCH MAP 1

EARLY  
ILLAWARRA

- 1 "Exmouth"
- 2 "Athanlin"
- 3 "Marshall Mount"
- 4 "Macquarie Gift"
- 5 "Waterloo"





# EARLIEST ILLAWARRA

## BY ITS EXPLORERS AND PIONEERS

*Edited by*

W. G. McDONALD, B.A., LL.B.

*Past President, Illawarra Historical Society*



*Published by the*

ILLAWARRA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*to commemorate the Sesquicentenary of Settlement  
in Illawarra*

*2 December, 1966*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Illawarra Historical Society gratefully acknowledges permission for reproduction given by the following owners of copyright material.

Miss Ann Flinders Petrie: Extract from the MS. Journal of Matthew Flinders.

The Hon. Sir John Ferguson: Extract from the Paulsgrove Diary.

The Trustees of the Mitchell Library: Extracts from G. W. Evans's Journal and Macquarie's Journal; the "Topographical Plan" (Grimes & Flinders Map); Mitchell's Map of Illawarra; Hoddle's sketch of Pumpkin Cottage; four illustrations from Georgiana Lowe's "Album of Water Colours of New South Wales", and Mitchell's drawing of Wollongong.

The Archives Authority of New South Wales: Letter from the Colonial Secretary to Surveyor-General Oxley; and extract from the Colonial Secretary's instructions to Major D'Arcy (from the originals in the Archives Office of New South Wales).

The Council of the City of Greater Wollongong and the City Librarian: Portrait of Charles Throsby Smith (in the Public Library, Wollongong).

Mr. A. W. Weatherburn and the Royal Australian Historical Society: Map illustrating G. W. Evans's expedition (from R.A.H.S. Journal, Vol. 46 Part II).

Mr. Edgar Beale and the Royal Australian Historical Society: Sketches by Sidney Parkinson (from R.A.H.S. Journal, Vol. 50 Part III).

Mr. Edgar Beale: Town Plan of Wollongong.

The editor thanks Miss M. McDonald and Messrs. E. Beale and W. A. Bayley for their help throughout the preparation of this booklet; Mr. B. Jessop, who devoted much skill and effort to photographing original pictures and maps to make their reproduction as illustrations possible; Mr. A. W. R. Macdonald for the cover design and sketch-maps; Miss Joan Dawes for typing the copy; Mrs. W. G. McDonald and Miss N. McDonald for help in preparing the copy for the press; and the many members of the Illawarra Historical Society who assisted directly or indirectly in the annotation of the extracts, in particular Mr. C. W. Gardiner-Garden, without whose specialised knowledge, the result of many years' research, and enthusiastic collaboration the notes to Section II and Appendix could not have been written.

## NOTES & REFERENCES

In the notes limitations of space have as a rule precluded anything more than a reference to fairly readily accessible sources of further information. On certain aspects of the voyage of the "Tom Thumb" no such sources were found — hence the Appendix. Particularly on doubtful points, it is impracticable in a work of this size to list the numerous primary sources, but many of these are indicated in the publications cited.

The following abbreviations have been used in references:

Aust. Encyc.:	Australian Encyclopaedia (Angus & Robertson, 1958).
Dowd, Grantees:	B. T. Dowd, F.R.A.H.S., "The First Five Land Grantees and their Grants in Illawarra" (Illawarra Historical Society, 1960).
Flinders's Chart:	Chart of Terra Australis by M. Flinders, Commr. of H.M. Sloop Investigator, 1798-1803, East Coast Sheet I.
Garden, Observations:	C. W. Gardiner-Garden, "Observations on some of the Historical Aspects of the Prominent Geographical Features of Illawarra" (1959; 2nd ed. 1965. References are to second edition).
Grimes & Flinders Map (or G. & F. Map):	"A Topographical Plan of the Settlements of New South Wales . . . surveyed by Messrs Grimes and Flinders". (Map No. M3811.1/1815/1, Mitchell Library).
H.R.N.S.W.:	Historical Records of New South Wales.
King, O'Brien:	N. S. King, "Cornelius O'Brien, Pioneer of Bulli" (Illawarra Historical Society, 1965).
Marshall, Early Roads:	K. & M. Marshall, "Early Roads to Wollongong, 1815-1888" (Illawarra Historical Society, 1963).
R.A.H.S.:	Royal Australian Historical Society, Journal and Proceedings.
Secrets:	"The Secrets of Alexander Harris" (Angus & Robertson, 1961).
Tours:	"Lachlan Macquarie, Governor of New South Wales — Journals of his Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1810-1822". (Public Library of N.S.W., 1956).
Voyage:	Matthew Flinders, "A Voyage to Terra Australis".

## CONTENTS

I	The "Endeavour" off Illawarra (1770)	5
II	The Cruise of the "Tom Thumb" (1796)	7
III	The Coal Cliff (1797)	17
IV	By Whaleboat to Shoals Haven (1797)	19
V	A Hard Road to Appin (1812)	21
VI	The Stockman's Hut (1815-17)	27
VII	Macquarie in Illawarra (1822)	35
VIII	The Cedar-Getters (1819-30)	39
IX	Wollongong in Embryo (1826-30)	44
X	The Daily Round at Paulsgrove (1833-34)	49
XI	Major Mitchell Plans a Town (1834-36)	54
	Appendix — The Tracks of the Tom Thumb	59

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Charles Throsby Smith	29
The Illawarra Coastline, 1770	
Wollongong from Flagstaff Point, 1832	32-33
Brighton Beach from Smith's Hill	
Lake Illawarra from Berkeley	45
Mount Keira	
Convict Stockade in Illawarra	51
'Pumpkin Cottage', 1832	59

## MAPS & PLANS

Sketch Map 1 — Early Illawarra	<i>Inside Front Cover</i>
Illawarra, 1797	8
Route of G. W. Evans's Expedition, 1812	22-23
Sketch Plan for Town of Wollongong, 1834	56
Illawarra, 1834	57
Sketch Map 2 — Wollongong and District	<i>Inside Back Cover</i>



# THE "ENDEAVOUR" OFF ILLAWARRA

*From the Journal of Lieutenant (afterwards Captain)  
James Cook, R.N.<sup>1</sup>*

APRIL 1770

Wednesday 25th<sup>2</sup>— . . . At Noon we were about 3 or 4 Leagues from the land and in the Lat<sup>d</sup>e of  $34^{\circ}22'$  and Longitude  $208^{\circ}36'$  West. Course and distance Saild sence yesterday noon is NBE 49 Miles. In the Course of this days run we saw the smook of fire in sever<sup>l</sup> places near the sea beach. About 2 Leagues to the northward of Cape St George the Shore seems to form a bay<sup>3</sup> which appeared to be shelterd from the NE winds but as we had the wind it was not in my power to look into it and the appearance was not favourable enough to induce me to loose time in beating up to it. The north point of this bay on account of its figure I named Long Nose, Latitude  $35^{\circ}4'$ s. 8 Leagues to the northward of this is a point which I calld Red point, some part of the land about it appeared of that colour (Latitude  $34^{\circ}29'$  Long<sup>d</sup>e  $209^{\circ}49'$ ) a little way in land to the NW of this point is a round hill the top of which look'd like the Crown of a hatt<sup>4</sup>.

Thursday 26th — Clear Serene weather. In the PM had a slight breeze at NNW untill 5 oClock at which time it fell calm we being then about 3 or 4 Leags from the land and in 48 fathom water. Variation pr Azimuth  $8.48$  East, the extremes of the land from NEBN to SWBS. Saw several smooks along shore before dark and two or 3 times a fire in the night. We lay becalm'd driving in before the Sea until 1 oClock AM at which time we got a breeze from the land with which we steerd NE being then in 38 fathom water. At Noon it fell little wind and Veerd to NEBN, we being then in the Latitude of  $34^{\circ}10'$  and Longitude  $208^{\circ}27'$  W and about 5 Leags from the land which extended from  $s37^{\circ}$  W to  $N\frac{1}{2}E$ . In this Latitude are some white cliffs which rise perpendicularly from the sea to a moderate height.

Friday 27th — Variable light airs between the NE and NW and clear pleasant weather. In the PM stood off shore untill 2 oClock than tack'd and stood in until 6 at which time we tack'd and stood off being then in 54 fathoms water and about 4 or 5 Miles from the land, the extremes of which bore  $s28^{\circ}$  West to  $N 25^{\circ}$  East. At 12 oClock we tackd and stood in until 4 AM than made a trip off untill day light, after which we stood in for the

land; in all this time we lost ground owing a good deal to the Variableness of the winds, for at Noon we were by observation in the Latitude of 34°21', Red Point bearing s 27 W distant 3 Leagues. In this situation we were about 4 or 5 Miles from the land which extended from s 19°30' West to North 29° East.

Saturday 28th — In the PM hoisted out the Pinnace and yawl in order to attempt a landing but the Pinnace took in the water so fast that she was obliged to be hoisted in again to stop her leakes. At this time we saw several people a Shore four of whome were carrying a small boat or Canoe which we imagined they were going to put into the water in order to come off to us but in this we were mistaken. Being now not above two Miles from the Shore Mr. Banks Dr. Solander Tupia and my self put off in the yawl and pull'd in for the land to a place where we saw four or five of the natives who took to the woods as we approached the Shore, which disappointed us in the expectation we had of geting a near view of them if not to speak to them; but our disappointment was heighten'd when we found that we no where could effect a landing by reason of the great surff which beat every where upon the shore.<sup>5</sup> We saw hauld up upon the beach 3 or 4 small Canoes which to us appear'd not much unlike the small ones of New Zeland in the woods were several trees of the Palm kind and no under wood and this was all we were able to observe from the boat after which we returned to the Ship about 5 in the evening. At this time it fell calm and we were not above a mile and a half from shore in a 11 fathom water and within some breakers that lay to the southward of us, but luckily a light breeze came off from the land which carried us out of danger and with which we stood to the northward.

— NOTES —

1. Captain Cook's Journals, edited and annotated by Dr. J. C. Beaglehole, were reprinted by Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1955.
2. For the adjustment of dates in Cook's Journal, see Aust. Encyc. Vol. 3 p.41, s.v. "Cook", and Garden, Observations, p.1. For the afternoon, the date shown is correct by modern reckoning; for the forenoon it requires to be advanced by one day.
3. Jarvis Bay.
4. This hill was identified by Allan Cunningham in 1818 as Mount Keira, but its earlier identification by Flinders and Meehan as Mount Kembla is now more generally accepted. See Section II and Appendix, and Garden, Observations pp. 11-14, 16 and passim.
5. This attempt at landing was probably made near Collins Rock (Flat Rock), Woonona. See R.A.H.S. Vol. 50 pp. 191-204 (article by E. Beale) and Garden, Observations, pp. 4-5 and 15-16.

## THE CRUISE OF THE "TOM THUMB"

*From the manuscript Journal of Matthew Flinders<sup>1</sup>*

MARCH 1796

Friday 25<sup>2</sup>— . . . At sunset, the wind died away. Our distance from the shore being then about four miles, we pulled in for a bending in the coast and came to an anchor (with a large stone) about eight o'clock; having, by supposition, run at least fifteen miles since first steering in for the land. The great similitude which the south head of this bending in the coast, had to the roof of a barn, as well as we could distinguish by moon light, induced us to call it Barn Cove<sup>3</sup>; but it falls back so little from the general trending of the coast, that it scarcely deserves the name of a cove. It has a beach, but being open to the eastward, whence the wind had blown in the afternoon, there was too much surf upon it to attempt a landing; therefore, after making a miserable supper and drinking a melon, we prepared to pass the night as well as three people may be supposed to do in so small a space as the bottom of Tom Thumb.

Saturday 26— At day break, the weather was fine, and without wind, but landing in Barn Cove was still impracticable. To the northward, the land was high for many miles and afforded but little prospect of landing to procure fresh water, which was now become absolutely necessary; but to the southward<sup>4</sup> . . . was low near the coast, at a small dis . . . from us. The superior prospect of alleviating our . . . for fresh water, aided perhaps by a desire to . . . of novelty this low land might present determined us to proceed a little farther from home; and the sea breezes setting in from the north-north east, confirmed the resolution.

The coast for two-and-half miles from Barn Cove, was high and stony, but regular. Parts which had mouldered or fallen down towards the sea, formed regular slopes, and were now covered with vegetable earth, shrubs, and trees, and in some places were beautifully green. The low land then commences, and appeared to be mostly a sandy soil, thinly covered with small trees. The shore is alternately beaches and low stony heads. Off these latter, reefs usually run into the sea, to the length of a cable, upon which the sea broke with some violence.

At ten, we passed a reef which projected farther than usual, and to leeward of which was less surf. Hopes of procuring water persuaded us to attempt landing in this place<sup>5</sup>. We let go the anchor, and veered the boat in to the edge of the surf, when Mr. Bass threw the barica<sup>6</sup>







overboard, and leaping out after it, swam on shore. On hauling the boat out again, our anchor, or stone, not being sufficiently heavy, came home; and before we could get it up to pull farther out, a huge sea rose farther out than usual, took the boat on its back, and landed her on the beach, nearly full of water. There was no time to be lost. We ran her up beyond the reach of the sea by the assistance of the next surf, took out the provisions that would be first spoiled by the water; and in short, got everything out of the boat, and baled her dry. After viewing each other with some anxiety, we agreed it absolutely necessary to launch the boat again, immediately if possible, lest any number of natives should come down upon us in this unprepared state. There were smokes within three miles, which rendered this a matter of immediate consideration, and more especially, as the natives to the southward of Botany Bay were generally believed to be cannibals. Having, therefore, placed the boat stern on for the water, and put the most spoilable provisions on board, by watching a favourable opportunity, we launched her; and the boy and myself getting upon our oars, were safe without the verge of the surfs before any of the larger ones came, not having shipped above eight or ten buckets of water.

To get those things into the boat which had been left on shore, became now our employment, in doing which, the musquets were near being lost from the breaking of the lead line, the end of which Mr. Bass had swam through the surf with to the boat: but by lashing the heaviest articles to the oars and masts, every thing else came on board safe; and about half past three, we got under sail with a moderate breeze at north-north-east, as before.

Our condition was now as follows:- three days bread, entirely spoiled;- five days flour, not in the least wet:- tea and coffee, spoiled:- sugar, half wet:- a few cakes of portable soup, not much worse:- one piece and a half of salt beef and three of pork:- six pounds of rice and a little sago, good:- the guns, rusty and full of sand and salt water: the rods incapable of being drawn:- a barica of water, brackish:- our clothes completely soaked:- a watch and two pocket compasses, wet:- one horn of powder, dry; and two, wet:- and a small bundle of wet sticks.

In this miserable plight we stood towards some eminences of land, which proved to be islands<sup>7</sup>; and at sunset, passed one of them, a small rocky, barren, spot, lying about one mile from the coast; but the surf which broke all round, making it impossible to land, we continued to stand on. The other islet lies nearly east from this, about one

mile and a half distant, having the same appearance and magnitude. The coast continued to be low and sandy with rocky heads at intervals; but ended in a projecting point, upon which is four eminences, forming a kind of double saddle. This point bounded our view to the southward, though not above two miles distant. At a small distance off this Saddle Point<sup>8</sup>, lies another island much larger than the other two, and as such gave us greater hopes of shelter for night began now to make its appearance, with its usual concomitant, cold; which, in our wet condition, was a very unwelcome visitor.

In our attempts to land upon this larger island, in order to dry ourselves and get some provisions cooked, we were not more successful than at the small island, for the surf broke upon every part of it as far as could be discerned: we therefore pulled round Saddle Point, which, by falling back some distance, afforded shelter from the northerly breeze. The sound of breakers from every quarter, forbidding all prospects of landing for the night, we let go our anchor in six or seven fathoms, — fine sand; about one-third of a mile from the shore.

After making as good a meal as our uncomfortable situation would admit of, we attempted to sleep, but this was impossible for several causes: more especially for Mr. Bass, for in rafting off the things in the afternoon, he had been exposed near five hours naked, to the sun in the heat of the day, and was now almost one continued blister.

Sunday 27 — It was with no small degree of pleasure we saw the dawning which precedes the appearance of that luminary, whose warmth we were so much in need of; and not much less on hearing a voice call to us in the Port-Jackson dialect, offering us fresh water and fish. Our guns were still useless, but as there were only two natives, who had no other arms than fish gigs, we rowed towards them, and received a small quantity of water and two fish. In return, we gave them a few loose potatoes, which had been saved from the sea by sticking between the bottom boards of the boat, and two pocket handkerchiefs. Our Friends informed us that they were not natives of this place, but of Broken and Botany Bays; and from their having been at Port Jackson it was, that we understood some words of their language; but other natives soon came up, and increased the number beyond what was safe to risk ourselves amongst, we therefore put off without landing under pretence of returning to the northward, but with the intention to land in a shallow cove off the pitch of Saddle Point. The sea had broken across this small cove whilst the sea breeze blew, but was now smooth.

We here got some provisions cooked, most of our clothes dried, and everything put into some little order, but it was not long before the two natives came upon the point to look after us, and espying us thus busied close under them, came down.

As this cove would not be tenable when the sea breeze should set in, we inquired concerning the places of shelter in the neighbourhood, and learned, that at a small distance to the southward, was a fresh-water river. The imprudence of returning towards Port Jackson without having the barica filled with fresh water, together with the appearance of a northerly sea breeze, induced us to accept of the offer which the natives made of conducting us to the river.

The sea breeze freshened up from the northward, and we steered before it, according to the direction of our pilots; who amused us by the way with stories of some white men and two women being amongst them; who had indian corn and potatoes growing. The women, they said, they would bring to us, as well as plenty of black ones, and that we should get quantities of fish and ducks in the river.

About noon, we came off the entrance of the river<sup>9</sup>. It appeared to be a small stream which had made a passage through the beach; but we could not tell how it would be possible, even for our small boat, to enter it, as the surf was breaking nearly across, however, by following their directions, in going sometimes close to the surf, sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other, we got in with difficulty; and rowed about a mile up in little more water than the boat drew, against a very strong tide.

Our conductors had gone on shore immediately after we entered the river, and were now walking, with eight or ten strange natives, on the sand abreast of us.

The boat having touched the ground once or twice, and the rivulet still continuing shoal, we began to relinquish the hope of getting up it; and to consider, that there might not be water enough for the boat to go out again till the flood tide should make, which would leave us in the power of the natives, and even as it was, we were in their powers, for the water was scarcely higher than the knees, and our guns were still full of sand and rusty; fortunately the natives were unacquainted with this latter circumstance.

Being thus situated, it became necessary for us to get away from this place as soon as possible; and having agreed upon a plan of action, we went on shore to get more water, dry our powder, get the guns in order, and mend



one of the oars, which had been broken when the boat was thrown upon the beach. On asking the two natives for water, they told us we must go up to the lake for it, pointing to a large piece of water from which the rivulet seemed to take its rise, but on being told that we could not now go, and again desired to get us water, they found some within a few yards. This circumstance made us suspect, that they had a wish, if not an intention, of detaining us: and on reflection, their previous conversation in the boat evidently tended to the same purpose.

The number having increased to near twenty, and others still coming, we began to repair our deficiencies with as much expedition as possible. — But an employment more than we expected, now arose upon our hands. — the two friendly natives had gotten their hair cut, and beards clipped off, by us, when in the little cove at Saddle Point, and were now showing themselves to the others, and persuading them to follow their example. Whilst Mr. Bass, assisted by some of the natives, was mending the oar, and the powder was drying in the sun, I began, with a pair of scissors, to execute my new office upon the eldest of four or five chins presented up to me; and as great nicety was not required, got on with them to the number of eleven or twelve; which were the greatest part of our bearded company: many of the young men having not yet found the inconveniences of that part of nature's dress. Some of the more timid, were alarmed at a double-jawed instrument coming so near to their noses, and could scarcely be persuaded by their shaven friends to allow the operation to be finished but when their chins were held up a second time, their fear of the instrument, the wild stare of their eyes, — the smile which they forced:— formed a compound upon the rough, savage countenance, not unworthy the pencil of a Hogarth. I was almost tempted to try the effect of a snip on the nose; but our situation was too critical to admit of such experiments.

Having completed every thing, as far as circumstances would admit of, we got our things into the boat, and prepared to go out again. But to get away peaceably, we were obliged to use deceit; for they kept continually pointing to the lagoon, and desiring, or indeed almost insisting, that we should go up into it, and the two Port-Jackson natives seemed more violent than any others. We appeared to coincide with them, but deferred it till tomorrow; and pointed to a green bank near the entrance of the river, where we would sleep; then putting on a resolute face, we shoved off the boat. Most of them, followed us, the river being very shallow, and four jumped in. The rest took hold of the boat and dragged her along down the stream,



shouting and singing. We shouted and sung too, though our situation was far from being pleasant.

On coming to the green bank, they brought us to the shore, and those in the boat leaped out: one of them with a hat on, but which he returned on being asked. Some of them still kept hold to prevent us from going further; but as we had no real intention of sleeping anywhere within their reach, with a menacing countenance, we resolutely pushed away from them: one observing to the rest that we were angry, let go his hold; and the others immediately followed his example.

Whilst we got down to the entrance, as fast as possible, they stood looking at each other, as if doubtful whether to detain us by force; and there is much reason to think, that they suffered us to get away, only because they had not agreed upon any plan of action: assisted, perhaps, by the extreme fear they seemed to be under of our harmless fire-arms; though had they attempted anything, and our musquets been in order, we would have made little resistance to their numbers, when surrounded, as we constantly were, by them.

The sea breeze blew so strong, and the surf ran so high, that we could not possibly get out of the rivulet; and therefore came to an anchor just within the surf which broke upon the bar, and not fifteen yards from the shore on either side. The water was tolerably deep in this place, the stream from the lagoon ran very rapid, so that the natives would not venture in, to come to the boat, but three or four of them kept hovering upon the point to the southward of us, amongst whom was Dilba, one of the Port-Jackson men. This fellow<sup>10</sup> was constantly importuning us to return and go up to the lagoon. He was as constantly answered that "When the sun went down, if the wind and surf did not abate, we would". As the sun disappeared behind the hills, a party of five or six natives were coming towards us from the other side. At that juncture, we had gotten the guns in order; and having a little powder in one of them, I fired it off, on which the party stopped short, and soon walked away; those on the point too were all retired but Dilba, and he soon followed.

We slept by turns till ten o'clock, and the moon being then risen, — the weather calm, — and water smooth, we pulled out towards Saddle Point; not a little pleased to have escaped so well. Perhaps we were considerably indebted, for the fear they entertained of us, to an old red waistcoat which Mr. Bass wore, and from which they took us to be soldiers, whom the natives are particularly afraid of; and though we did not much admire our new name "Soja", yet thought it best not to deceive them.

Monday 28 — Having passed the point, we anchored about one in the morning, under the innermost of the northern islets, in about five fathoms, stony bottom. We called these Martins Isles after our young companion in the boat. The two northern ones seem to be the rocks under water marked in captain Cooks chart; and I suspect that the outer part of the island<sup>11</sup>, which lies off Saddle Point, is what the great navigator calls Red Point. Its latitude is the same, and its distance from the point too small for him to have distinguished its insulated form, when many miles off the coast. It will, however, remain a doubt, as there are isles in his chart not far to the south of Red Point<sup>12</sup>.

A fine morning presented itself to us, with a light air off the land. We got under weigh, and stood to the northward pulling and sailing, but the light air freshening to a breeze, and soon after blowing strong, we had a long and very laborious row to get in with the shore, which about noon we effected; and soon after, a light breeze set in from the sea.

Rowing close along the shore, at one in the afternoon, we came abreast of a small beach fronted by a reef of rocks. There was a narrow passage through these rocks, and the sea breeze having as yet made no impression on the water, it was without surf, and permitted us to get to the beach, and haul the boat up.

Till evening, we were employed in getting fresh water, which there was a good deal of trouble to find, and in cooking provisions for our present and future subsistence.

This night for the first time, we slept on shore; and perhaps the softest bed of down was never more enjoyed, than was the fine sand of the beach by us, at this time. The liberty of lying in any posture and stretching out our limbs, was an indulgence, which our little bark, with all her good qualities, could not afford: but I ought to have had a back covered with one continued blister, to describe the sensations of my companion.

Tuesday 29 — In the morning, we prepared to depart, having made a comfortable breakfast, and talked over our happiness in finding so friendly a little place, which had enabled us to lay in a stock of rest against a day of labour, as well as cook provisions for some time to come. At 7, we pulled to the northward<sup>13</sup>, the weather being calm; and passed Barn Cove; but the sea breeze again set in from the northward, and at noon freshened so much, that we could not make head against it. Being then near a high projecting head with a small reef running off it, we pulled in and anchored<sup>14</sup>.

The intermediate coast is high, with some small

beaches here and there, but they afforded no shelter. About seven miles from Barn Cove, there are two beaches which falling back a little within the coast line, served as a point of separation to our distances, under the name of Double Cove<sup>15</sup>.

From the ebbing of the water when we left the small beach near the coals, we expected to have the tide in our favour; but from all the observations we could make at this time, it is impossible to say which way the tide sets.

In the afternoon, the boy swam on shore, and found a small stream of water running into the sea at this place, but we were not now in want of that necessary article.

Towards evening, the sea breeze died away, and an air arose from the southward. We weighed immediately and proceeded to the northward along a high cliffy coast<sup>16</sup>.

From the entrance of Port Jackson to Point	
Solander	11 miles
Thence to entrance of Port Hacking	7½
to Watta Mowlee	3
to Double Cove	5¾
to Barn Cove	7
to where the boat was thrown	
ashore	4
to Saddle Point	5¾
<hr/>	
True bearing of the coast line is about SSW	44 40.6 lat.
Latitude of Port Jackson	33.49.5
of Saddle Pt.	34.30.1
From Saddle Pt. to Canoe River is	
about S.W. 4'	2.8
Latitude of Canoe River	34.33

Now the latitude of Hat Hill made in the ship was 34° 28' and it bears from Saddle Point west-north-west about some five miles, which shews the above calculation to be near the truth<sup>17</sup>.

#### NOTES

- 1 This journal, the property of Miss Ann Flinders Petrie, is in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Flinders also describes the cruise in *Voyage*, Introduction, pp.xcvii-ciii, but the *Journal* is much more detailed. From internal evidence the existing text must have been written up after the discovery of coal in 1797 (see Section III), possibly from earlier notes.
- 2 Bass, Flinders and the boy William Martin (said by K. M. Bowden in "George Bass", O.U.P. 1952, p.25, to be Bass's servant and assistant, "in the naval language of the day . . . known as a loblolly-boy") left Port Jackson early in the morning of 25 March to explore Port Hacking in the "Tom Thumb"—not the famous 8' x 5' boat of our school books, but a second and somewhat larger craft of the same name. (For data and deductions as to her dimensions, construction, etc., see Bowden, *op. cit.*, Appendix I, pp. 153-157). Owing to a southward current



- for which they had not allowed, they came in to the coast much further south than they had intended (Scott, "Life of Matthew Flinders", p.88), and they found themselves short of fresh water ("The water we had in the boat, having been by mistake put into a wine barica, was exceedingly bad; fortunately we had five water melons in the boat").
- 3 Probably either Bulli Beach or the next beach southward. See Appendix.
  - 4 At this point a corner of the page is torn off, so that a word or two is missing from each of four lines.
  - 5 Probably just south of Towradgi Point. See Appendix.
  - 6 Barica, anglicized as "Breaker" — a small keg or cask (Oxford English Dictionary).
  - 7 Now Flinders Islet (inner) and Bass Islet (outer), the two northernmost of the Five Islands (Garden, Observations, p. 18).
  - 8 Red Point, near Port Kembla. See Appendix.
  - 9 Called "Canoe River" in the table of distances at the end of this MS. In Voyage, Flinders says (at p.xcviii) that it "descended from a lagoon under Hat Hill", and (at p.ciii) refers to the lagoon as "Tom Thumb's Lagoon". Canoe River, Hat Hill and Tom Thumb's Lagoon are all marked on the G. & F. Map. The location of "river" and lagoon has been much disputed. Meehan in 1816 identified the lagoon with that just south of Wollongong, thereafter known as Tom Thumb Lagoon until its transformation into Port Kembla Inner Harbour. However, the Tom Thumb's Lagoon of Bass and Flinders was clearly south of Red Point. Lake Illawarra, Coomaditchy Lagoon and Little Lake have all been suggested. The editor's view is that the case for Lake Illawarra can be proved beyond reasonable doubt (see Appendix, and Garden, Observations, pp.16-17).
  - 10 "Dilba was the principal person concerned in spearing the chief mate and carpenter of the ship Sydney Cove, about twelve months afterwards, for which he was sought after to be shot by Mr. Bass and others" (Flinders's footnote — see Section III).
  - 11 "We have since learnt from Rogers, a fisherman, that this island is divided into two parts by a narrow channel but of tolerable depth" (Flinders's footnote). These "two parts" are now named Martin's Islet and Big Island. The latter itself from a distance presents the appearance of two islands. To make up the total of the Five Islands it is necessary to count as an island the rock shelf (Rocky Islet) in the channel between Big Island and the mainland (Garden, Observations, p.18).
  - 12 "Captain Cook's chart of the coast was not known to us till many months after this excursion" (Flinders's footnote).
  - 13 "The small place of shelter which we now left, is among the cliffy heads in which a stratum of coal was afterwards discovered. We had passed under the cliffs of this head in our search for water, and must have seen lumps of coal which had fallen down; but the weather and surf had so altered its appearance, that it remained unnoticed, and our pursuit was so different" (Flinders's footnote—see Section III). Notwithstanding this, it is submitted that this place of shelter was the small beach between Bellambi Point and the old Bellambi Jetty site. See Appendix.
  - 14 This anchorage, it is suggested, was the "place of shelter" among the "cliffy heads" where coal was discovered. See Appendix.
  - 15 Possibly Stanwell Park. See Appendix.
  - 16 On the return voyage the "Tom Thumb" was nearly wrecked in a storm, being saved by the discovery, just in time, of the sheltered Providential Cove (Wattamolla). When the storm abated, Bass and Flinders fulfilled their original purpose of exploring Port Hacking, and returned safely to Sydney on 2 April.
  - 17 See Appendix.



## THE COAL CLIFF

*From Flinders, "A Voyage to Terra Australis"*<sup>1</sup>

On the return of the *Reliance* to New South Wales, we found there the supra-cargo of the Sydney Cove, a ship from India commanded by Mr. G. A. Hamilton, which, having started a butt end, had been run on shore at Furneaux's Islands and wrecked<sup>2</sup>. Mr. Clarke had left the ship, with the chief mate and others, in the long boat, designing for Port Jackson, in order to procure means for transporting the officers and people, and such part of the cargo as had been saved, to the same place; but being overtaken by a heavy south-east gale, their boat had been thrown on shore near Cape Howe, three-hundred miles from the colony, and stove to pieces.

There was no other prospect of safety for Mr. Clarke and his companions, than to reach Port Jackson on foot; and they commenced their march along the sea shore, scantily furnished with ammunition, and with less provisions. Various tribes of natives were passed, some of whom were friendly; but the hostility of others, and excessive fatigue, daily lessened the number of these unfortunate people; and when the provisions and ammunition failed, the diminution became dreadfully rapid. Their last loss was of the chief mate and carpenter, who were killed by Dilba, and other savages near Hat Hill<sup>3</sup>; and Mr. Clarke, with a sailor and one lascar, alone remained when they reached Watta-Mowlee<sup>4</sup>. They were so exhausted, as to have scarcely strength enough to make themselves observed by a boat which was fishing off the cove; but were at length conveyed into her, and brought to Port Jackson.

Mr. Clarke gave the first information of the coal cliffs, near Hat Hill; and from him it was ascertained, that, besides the known bays, many small streams and inlets had interrupted his march along the shore, from Cape Howe to Watta-Mowlee; but that there were none which he had not been able to pass, either at the sea side, or by going a few miles round, into the country. . . .

The colonial schooner *Francis* had made one voyage to Furneaux's Islands, and brought from thence captain Hamilton, and part of his people and cargo.<sup>5</sup>

*From Report by George Bass to Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson*<sup>6</sup>

H.M.S. *Reliance*, Sydney Cove, 20th August, 1797.

This vein of coal . . . commences about 20 miles to the southward of Botany Bay. The land there is nearly

twice the height of the north head of Port Jackson, not a steep cliff like it, but has here and there small slopes and lodgments on which trees and shrubs grow. The sea washes up so close to the foot of it that it is no more than barely passable without some danger in blowing weather. About twenty feet above the surface of the sea, and within reach of your hand as you pass along, is a vein of coal of about six or seven feet in thickness; the rock below it is slaty, but above it is of the common rock stone of the country. The vein does not lay perfectly horizontal, but goes on declining as it advances to the southward, until at the end of about two miles it becomes level with the surface of the sea, and there the lowest rock you can see when the surf retires is all coal. Here the bold high land gradually retreats back, and leaves in its front a lower sloping land, which, keeping the line of the coast, meets the sea with sandy beaches and small bluff heads alternately. In the land at the back of the beaches and in the small bluff heads we traced for about six miles along the coast four strata of coal from fifteen inches to three feet in thickness, with intermediate spaces of slaty rock of a few inches in thickness . . . .

In pursuing the track home of our little boat, you will find it run upon the beach near two rocky heads about half way between Saddle Point and Providential Cove. That place is in about the middle of the two considered as one. You will perceive also in the sketch that the high mountainous land . . . falls back as I have already described. Of the nature of the coal you will best judge by the specimens, which was unavoidably taken from the outside, consequently is rather injured by the weather. Access to the veins is rather difficult; there is no landing within several miles of them, except upon the little beach between the two rocky heads, and even there no boat ought to lay except one that can be beached. In summer, however, when the sea and land breezes are regular, and gales of wind uncommon, a boat might lay there for several days together, and of course in that time load a large craft, which might stand off and on in the meantime. You will be surprized to see how different the vegetation is to that about Sydney, or any other place we have ever before seen. Upon the sloping land in front of the high bold [*sic*] I observed there several cabbage-trees nearly in resemblance of plantain but yet a true cabbage, and the fern which I can no otherwise describe than by calling it a cabbage tree fern, for it is to distant appearance a cabbage, but upon a close inspection the leaves are found to be fern, and beautiful fern. There were many trees that I am certain

have never before been known in this country ; one, the most remarkably new, was about twelve feet in height, its leaves large, broad and hairy, or rather woolly . . . and the smaller branches of it covered most thickly with long sharp prickles. Well I remember them, for in the blindness of my eyes I seized one of the branches and was handsomely repaid for my hasty curiosity by a handfull of thorns.

GEORGE BASS.

#### NOTES

- 1 Introduction, pp. civ-cv.
- 2 On 8 February 1797.
- 3 "This Dilba was one of the two Botany-Bay natives, who had been most strenuous for Tom Thumb to go up into the lagoon, which lies under the hill" (Flinders's footnote — see Section II, note 10).
- 4 Wattamolla.
- 5 Flinders himself went on this voyage (Scott, "Life of Matthew Flinders", p.125).
- 6 Reprinted in H.R.N.S.W. Vol. III pp. 289-290.

#### IV

### BY WHALEBOAT TO SHOALS HAVEN

*From the Journal of Surgeon George Bass*<sup>1</sup>

DECEMBER, 1797

Tuesday, 5th — P.M.: At 1 sailed with a fresh sea-breeze at N.E., and at sunset passed the five islands laying off Hat Hill. It was calm all night, but in the morning we stood along the land with a light air almost at east, which continued until noon, when our latitude was 34°36'.

Wednesday, 6th — P.M.: At 1 the air of wind freshened up into a breeze, and at the same time southerened so much that we could not lay along the land; we therefore went into a bight<sup>2</sup> and anchored.

The shore in this bight, and also for some distance on each side of it, bears evident marks of volcanic fire. Several of the little heads and points are of a basaltic nature; some irregular, others columnar basaltis. Upon landing, I perceived, near the extremity of one of the heads, the rocks laying scattered about in a very irregular manner, and upon examination it appeared that a volcanic eruption had formerly taken place there. The earth for a considerable distance round, in a form approaching to that of a circle seemed to have given way; it was now a green slope.

Towards the centre was a deep ragged hole of about 25 or 30 feet in diameter, and on one side of it the sea washed in through a subterraneous passage with a most tremendous noise<sup>3</sup>. The pieces of rock that lay scattered about had all been burnt, but some were in a state of scoria.

Nothing can be said as to the soil, for the easternmost



part of the Blue Mountains comes to the sea here<sup>4</sup>. At 10 p.m. the wind coming at east, we stood to the southward.

Thursday, 7th — P.M.: At 1 passed Long Nose Point<sup>5</sup> to the southward of which the coast bights backs considerably to the westward, and forms a long bay, whose southern extremity is terminated by Cape St. George.

At 5, seeing an opening in the bottom of the bay, we judged it to be an inlet, and ran down to it, but found it to be a shallow lagoon, with a bar breaking all across the mouth; we therefore rowed on along the bay for a rocky projecting point that promised fair for affording shelter, and at 6 came up with it, and found a small river, into which we went. This little place, which deserves no better a name than Shoals Haven<sup>6</sup>, for it is not properly a river is very narrow at the entrance, the south side of which is formed by the rocky point, and the north by a breaking spit of sand that runs out from a sandy point; within it widens, but the channel though deep, is very small, the greater part being filled up by shoals of mud and sand.

The country round it is in general low and swampy, and the soil for the most part is rich and good, but seemingly much subject to extensive inundations.

There are, however, at 6 or 8 miles back from the head of the west branch, many thousands of acres of open ground which never can be overflowed, whose soil is a rich vegetable mould.

These extensive openings must formerly have been swamps, but now filled up by repeated floodings and the annual decay of vegetable growth.

Patches and points of trees, the islands, and points of the former swamps still remain to shew what the country had once been. . . .

During my examination of the country back of Shoals Haven I fell in with an arm of water that, on tracing down to the sea, I found to be the main stream of the barred lagoon that we had in vain attempted to enter. It runs about 9 or 10 miles westward until it strikes upon the mountains laying S.W., and then enters them with high rocky banks similar to those of the Grose, Tench<sup>7</sup>, and Georges Rivers, on this side the mountains. The south bank of this arm is a slip of soil exactly resembling the banks of the Hawkesbury. At its back lie the extensive plains already spoken of.

However capable the soil of this country might, upon a more accurate investigation, be found to be of agricultural improvement, certain it is that the difficulty of shipping off the produce must ever remain a bar to its colonization. A nursery of cattle might perhaps be carried on here with advantage, and that sort of produce ships off itself.



## NOTES

- 1 Reprinted H.R.N.S.W. Vol. III pp. 313-315.
- 2 "The sheltered bay which became Kiama Harbour" (W. A. Bayley, F.R.A.H.S., "Blue Haven", p.15).
- 3 The Blowhole at Kiama.
- 4 Bass is apparently referring to the Saddleback Range, which is marked, but not named, on Flinders's Chart.
- 5 This seems to be the point (now Black Point) which Flinders marked as "Point Bass". Cf. Flinders's Chart and Bayley, op. cit., p.16. The modern Bass Point is several miles further north.
- 6 From this description and from Flinders's Chart, it seems clear that Bass's "Shoals Haven" is Crookhaven, and that the "shallow lagoon" previously mentioned is the mouth of the Shoalhaven River. Cf. R.A.H.S. Vol. 46, p.83 (article by A. K. Weatherburn, B.E., A.M.I.E.A.). Mr. Bayley came to the same conclusion ("Shoalhaven", p.18) but quære his obiter dictum, "the entrance of both appearing much the same".
- 7 "Now known as the Nepean River" (note in H.R.N.S.W., III, 315)



## A HARD ROAD TO APPIN (1812)

*From "Anonymous Journal of an Expedition overland from Jervis Bay to Mr. Broughton's farm near Appin, Mar. 25—Ap. 17 (1812)"<sup>1</sup>, attributed to G. W. Evans.*

Monday 6th [April, 1812]

It was dusk last evening before we crossed the River<sup>2</sup>. I ventured to Swim but felt the Cramp coming on I returned to the shore. Two of the men could not swim which Bundle conveyed over in the Canoe. I remained till last, fearful if I had used it first, my weight might swamp her, as it was very low and leaked much. I striped myself and sent my Cloaths over, it rained hard, and was in that situation nearly an hour, at last it came to my turn. I ventured into the Canoe and brought it down within two Inches of the Water. Thank God I landed safe, we were 6 Hours making this Bark and conveying ourselves and Baggage over. It continued wet the whole Night and we were very uncomfortable; this Morning was a thick mist and turned out very fine, at 7 o Clock started over a Rich flat, in which was a small lagoon, on its edge was 2 Cedars, soon after we were on rocky land very high. I could discern at a great distance, there is not the appearance of any mountains as far as I could see from the West to the South, the Weather had got quite clear. I traveled a north Course nearly 3 miles, the land exceeding bad, until we arrived at a run of Water from the Mountains<sup>3</sup>, on getting thro' the Brush on its Banks, there was the finest forrest land I yet have seen: I changed my direction to North East, as the north Course led me to a peaked Mountain which is their S.W. end, or termination. They then incline to the North of West, and to the S.E. to the Coast; at the



*Route of G. W. Evans's Expedition, 1812*

From a Map by A. K. Weatherburn.

*1. Shoalhaven to Lake Illawarra*







foot of them is good Forrest land well watered by many runs from their Cavities, I never saw such fine and lofty blue Gum Trees. I was in hopes to have been able to ascend the high hills this day but was obliged to come too, the People as well as myself were much fatagued.

#### Tuesday 7th

Began to ascend the Mountains abt 7 o Clock this Morning, it was  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 12 before we got at their summit abt. one Mile and a Quarter through the thickest Brush I ever saw: in some places we were under the necessity of creeping through the Vines; the largest timber I ever met with grows on their sides, they are Chiefly Gum, and a Tree with large Foliage, with a smooth Bark, Cedars & Iron Wood, the Ridges are also full of underwood: abt 5 o Clock came to a flat, in the highest part of the Mountain quite clean and full of swamps, from which was one of the finest Views I ever have seen, it would be impossible for a Painter to Beautify it. I took a sketch altho' I was so much tired in traveling 3 miles, from this situation I observe a very large sheet of Water<sup>4</sup> to the South of Jarvis Bay — we stoped here for the Night.

#### Wednesday 8th

This day has been so tiresome and very tedious in travelling that tomorrow I must make the Coast I am at loss for words to describe what we have gone through, we are all blood from the bites of Leiches, the Vines and Bous has almost striped us Naked, been obliged to Descend from Perpendicular cliffs on the Mountain 30 to 40 feet high, by Trees and lower our baggage down by the Chain with lines fastened to it. I did not think anything of what we go through, if I saw the least practicibility of making a strait course to the district of Appin tow of the men are very much bruised by their falls. The land we passed over is very poor, yet bears exceeding lofty Trees and Cedars; not a Blade of Grass is to be seen, the Brush prevents the rays of the Sun reaching the Ground, which is quite thick with Rotten leaves, sticks, and Trees quite decayed that causes a most disagreeable smell. I endeavoured to descend into a Run<sup>5</sup>, which I accomplished, down which I directed my Course over the stones, and lowering ourselves from one fall, to another, I was astonish'd to see, in small ponds on the Mountains, and in Wells formed among the falls a number of Fish, 6 or 7 Inches long, we did not procure any; it was sun set when I alted for the Night on a Point of Ground full of Cabbage Trees and free from underwood.

#### Thursday 9th

Continued my trace down the Run for about 1 Mile, on the Edge grows a great deal of Cedar. I then turned my

Course East through a Viney Brush for  $\frac{1}{2}$  Mile, when I came upon Forrest Ground and much better travelling until I again met the aforementioned stream of water, which I kept on my Right hand walking through excellent good Land, and crossed several Brooks of water. I at length came into a Brush, likewise excellent Soil, nearly  $\frac{1}{4}$  Mile through, a Number of Cedars grow therein; on the outside of the brush was Good Forrest Ground in Ridges, a red Loom Soil, for some distance on my Right hand in the Valley contains a great deal of fine Cedar.

These Valleys lead into a small river<sup>6</sup> which takes a North Course from the Main River of Shoals Haven, and runs through, as I observed from the Mountains, a most beautiful meadow, and looses itself in different branches, which are the Runs from the Mountains, and contain much fine Cedar; it is my opinion if the small river is navigable this part of the Country would make a Beautiful Settlement, being so near the Sea Coast must be a great Convenience. On the North side of the Large River, and on the East of the Small One, is a very handsome Mount<sup>7</sup> which I think would answer for the Town or Seat of Government.

It is only my opinion from appearance, first it would be necessary for a compleat Survey to be taken of the place, with the assistance of a Boat to traverse the Rivers & Creeks, but I can answer for the Land, I have walked over part of this day to be as good as the best in any part of Port Jackson and well watered.

#### Friday 10th

Travelled on very good Land for Nearly a Mile and half when I got on a stoney Ridge, after leaving it I passed through a thick Brush, and then a Swamp alternately, but was much disappointed to find a flat which I imagined to be a Meadow quite a swamp, and passed through part of it, and another Brush to a Lagoon which was Salt Water, the tide comes into it. I went round the piece of Water, and then was obliged to go over a fresh Water Bog for a Mile and a Quarter up to our Knees in wet, the Ground in some places shook under us; at last came to a Brush about 5 Chains through, to excellent Forrest Land ascending a hill, on coming to the top I was most agreeably surprised to see the finest track of cleared Land I ever beheld, situated most beautifully and well watered by a Run, the Ridges leading to higher land is also excellent, the track clear is about 200 Acres, the part I crossed measured 30 Chains, there may be about 10 Trees on the space with Grass up to our Middles, between the land and the Sea is a Brush likewise good soil; I could have no Idea of meeting with such a Country between the part we lately passed

and the Coast, it quite astonished me, not a situation in Port Jackson is half so handsome and good. Tomorrow I shall be able to speak of how it is between this and the Sea, which I think about a Mile off. I can see it through the Trees. I saw some natives to day who were quite pleased, and proud of two Tomahawks and some Tobacco I presented to them.

#### Saturday 11th

At 7 Chains from my last Station yesterday I came to a Brush & at 22 Chains on an East line met the Sea<sup>8</sup>, the Brush was on very good Land. I proceeded to trace the Coast and stoped within 5 Miles of the Five Islands Point, the underwood on the Ridges continuing to the Shore, and grows Cedar, and Sacifas, the vacant spaces between the Ridges and Brush are large salt water swamps, the surf breaks very heavy, it would be hardly possible for boats to venture to land on any part I have yet seen.

#### Sunday 12th

This evening I have travelled 5 Miles to the North of Red Point or 5 Islands, the land on my left very low and full of large salt Water Lagoons. This is our 10th day of being out, and shall tomorrow again endeavour to make the district of Appin. I think I might have made it had I proceeded up Shoals Haven a few miles farther as the Mountains fall off N W — we have been very unfortunate in procuring Game, and are on very short Allowance.

#### Monday 13th

I took my departure for Mr. Broughtons 6 Miles North of 5 Islands Point on a W 20° N Course, which is the bearing my Chart gives me<sup>9</sup>. I proceeded up a Ridge of very good Land better than a Mile when it became Stoney, and higher Ground. Ascended it was thick with Underwood, and very large Trees, continued so for a great distance over the Mountain, untill I met a steep Rock which we got over, afterwards the Land was rather high but extremely wet, low miserable Trees, and Prickly Brush; on leaving the Beach we had only a Quart of Rice and about a Pound of Biscuit, being in hopes of Reaching the district of Appin tomorrow Night<sup>10</sup>.

#### — NOTES —

- 1 No. C709, Mitchell Library. For the grounds of its ascription to Evans, see R.A.H.S. Vol. 46 pp. 89-90 (article by A. K. Weatherburn, B.E., A.M.I.E.A.) Pp. 88-97 deal with this expedition, and the identifications of places below are derived from Mr. Weatherburn's article and the accompanying map. See also the same author's "George William Evans, Explorer" (Angus & Robertson, 1966).
- 2 The Shoalhaven, at Cabbage Tree Flat, about 1½ miles west of Nowra. Evans's party had been landed at Jervis Bay by the brig "Lady Nelson", and after making a survey of the bay



shores (in the course of which he was bitten by a snake), Evans was trying to make his way overland to Appin, then the limit of settlement.

- 3 The Cambewarra Range.
- 4 St. George's Basin.
- 5 Bundewallah Creek, north-west of Berry.
- 6 Broughton Creek.
- 7 Coolangatta.
- 8 At a point about a mile north of Black Point.
- 9 Evans seems to have crossed the Illawarra Range a little to the north of Mount Keira.
- 10 This hope was not fulfilled. Evans's course took him too far to the south, and on the wrong side of the Cataract River. Ultimately he turned back north-east, and after great hardships the party reached Appin on 17 April.

## VI

### THE STOCKMAN'S HUT

*From Charles Throsby Smith's "Reminiscences of  
Forty-two Years' Residence in Illawarra"*<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1815, the County of Cumberland was suffering from the effects of a drought, very much like the one that afflicted us during the last year, and the cattle were dying daily for want of food and water. My late uncle, Dr. Throsby<sup>2</sup>, was then residing at a place called Glenfield, a few miles south of Liverpool, and, as he was of an enterprising disposition and fond of rambling, he, in one of his rambles about Liverpool met with some of the Aborigines who told him there was plenty of grass and water at the Five Islands; and from their representation of the coast, he at once made up his mind to proceed thither and see for himself, and so accompanied by a couple of men, and two native blacks, and a pack-horse carrying provisions he started on his journey. Having reached Appin the first night, the party resumed their journey on the following morning, proceeding in an easterly direction; and after four days of hard work in marking a track from Appin, they at length reached the top of the mountain range, and caught a glimpse of the ocean.

There they halted for the night, and on the following morning commenced cutting a track down the mountain near the place where Mr. Somerville now resides, at Bulli<sup>3</sup>. They found abundance of grass and water, and having found these, they lost no time in returning to Liverpool. Very soon afterwards they drove down a mob of cattle, and after considerable exertion succeeded in bringing them into Illawarra. This mob of cattle, the first that had ever visited Illawarra, spent their first night in the district near where Mr. Somerville's house now stands, on the

point. Afterwards they were driven on to Wollongong and a stockyard was erected for them near the site of the present Roman Catholic school-house<sup>4</sup>, while a hut was erected for the stockmen near the corner of Smith Street<sup>5</sup>.

In the year 1820 Mr. Throsby had his cattle removed to Bong Bong, and I assisted him in removing them.

*From the "Sydney Gazette"*

[18 March, 1815]

A considerable extent of fine grazing ground is described by late travellers to be about the Five Islands; to which, however, it would be thoroughly impracticable to convey cattle by land; and between Port Aiken<sup>6</sup> and the Five Islands a fine stratum of coal shews itself for the extent of several miles.

[9 December, 1815]

#### GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL ORDERS

Government House, Sydney,

Saturday, 9th December, 1815.

#### CIVIL DEPARTMENT

JOSEPH WILD<sup>7</sup> is appointed a Constable in the District of the Five Islands, and is to be obeyed as such accordingly.

By Command of His Excellency,

The Governor,

J. T. CAMPBELL, Secretary

[28 September 1816]

The natives of the new Stock Settlement at the Five Islands are described as being very amicably disposed towards us and the general mildness of their manners to differ considerably from the other tribes known to us. Several Gentlemen have removed their cattle thither, as the neighbourhood affords good pasturage; and it is to be anxiously hoped, that the stockmen in charge of their herds may be able to maintain the friendly footing that at present exists with them.

[16 November 1816]

#### GOVERNMENT PUBLIC NOTICE

Government House, Sydney,

16th November, 1816.

Those Gentlemen and Free Settlers who have lately obtained His Excellency the Governor's Promise of Grants of Land<sup>8</sup>, in the new District of Illawarra, or Five Islands, are hereby informed, that the Surveyor General and his Deputy have received His Excellency the Governor's Instructions to proceed thither in the Course of the ensuing Week, to make a regular Survey of the said District, and



*Charles Throsby Smith (1798-1876)*

The "father of Wollongong".



to locate the several promised Grants.

And in order that the Locations may be made accordingly, those Persons who have obtained Promises of Allotments are hereby required to avail themselves of the approaching Occasion of the Surveyors being on Duty in Illawarra, to get their Locations marked out to them; and for this Purpose they are required to meet the Surveyor General at the Hut of Mr. Throsby's Stockman, in Illawarra or the Five Islands District, at the Hour of Twelve at Noon, on Monday the 2d Day of December next; at which time he is to commence on the locating the Lands<sup>9</sup>, agreeably to the Instructions with which he will be officially furnished previous thereto.

By Command of His Excellency,  
J. T. CAMPBELL, Secretary

*Letter from the Colonial Secretary to Surveyor-General Oxley*

Secretary's Office,  
16th November, 1816.

Sir,

The Governor being informed by several persons who have lately visited that New Region or Tract of Country called commonly the Five Islands, but by the Natives in their own Language *Illawarra* near the Sea Coast where Five Islands are seen, that a very considerable quantity of Good Land for Pasturage and Cultivation is to be found there, and that this Tract of Country namely Illawarra is Connected to the Southward with a Tract of Country also of good quality extending as far Southward as Shoal-haven, and His Excellency being desirous of rendering this New Country subservient to the general purposes of the Colony desires that you proceed thither, in the Course of the next week or as soon as you shall have completed your present Survey, Accompanied by the Deputy Surveyor<sup>10</sup>, and Commence a general survey of the whole of that Region of Country situated between the Southern extremity of the District of Appin and Shoal-haven, and between the Sea on the East and the great range of Mountains to the Westward, in order to the Connecting this New Country in a Geographical way with the already known and surveyed parts of the Colony. In the course of this Survey, it is the Governor's desire that you note down most accurately all Harbours, Havens, Creeks, Lagoons and Rivers which you may fall in with and that you distinguish particularly all Lakes, Ponds or Lagoons of Fresh Water from those of Salt Water.

In this Survey and the location of Lands, which is to follow it, you are Carefully to reserve for the use of

the Crown exclusively all Lands situated at or near to the entrance of All Harbours, Creeks, Bays or Rivers, and also all Lands which may appear well situated for Townships or Fortifications.

Those Gentlemen and other Free Settlers who have lately obtained promises of land from the Governor may now get them located to them in this New District of Illawarra, and with this View a Notice has been issued under the present Date in the Sydney Gazette, that such of them as wish to get their Lands in this District are to repair thither on Monday the 2nd of the ensuing month of December and to meet you on that day at the Hut of Mr. Throsby's Stockman, and that you will locate their respective Allotments accordingly agreeably to the Lists with which you have been already furnished. In making these Locations you are to be strictly Governed by the Kings Instructions and Regulations thereon, — Namely that each Grantee shall have a proportionable quantity of good and bad Land. — that the breadth of each Location shall be only One third of its Length, and that on no occasion the Length shall extend along the Banks of any Bay, Creek, Lagoon or River, but into the Main Land, the object of which is that each Grantee may have a convenient proportionable share of the advantage arising from such Bays, Creeks, Harbours, or Rivers and that the Navigation of the same may not be obstructed by any Individual whatever.

The Governor has no objection to Mr. Depy. Cy. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Allen<sup>11</sup> receiving an exact equivalent in Illawarra for those Lands he now possesses in Upper Minto, or Airds<sup>12</sup> (2200 Acres) or to his getting them located to him in the situation He is desirous of obtaining them in provided it does not interfere with the rights or Convenience of other persons wishing to have Lands in the same Neighbourhood and that it does not militate with the Kings instructions, and Regulations on that Head.

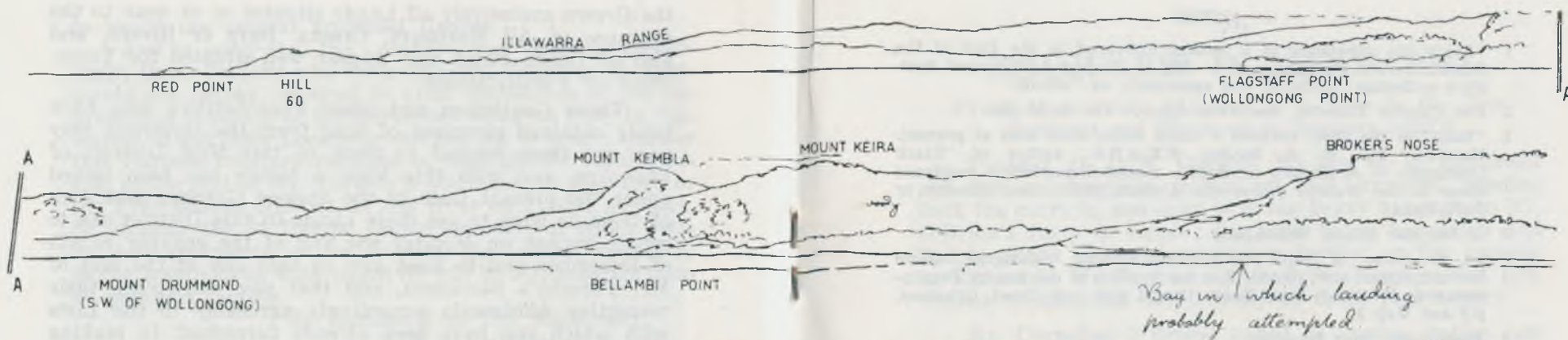
On similar terms and under the like restrictions the Governor has no objection to the Lands promised to George Johnston Esqre, Senr<sup>13</sup>, being located for him at or near to the Macquarie River<sup>14</sup> on its Western side in the said District of Illawarra.

I have the honor to be  
Sir

Your Obt. Hble. Servt.  
Jno Thos Campbell

John Oxley Esqre.  
Surveyor General  
Sydney.

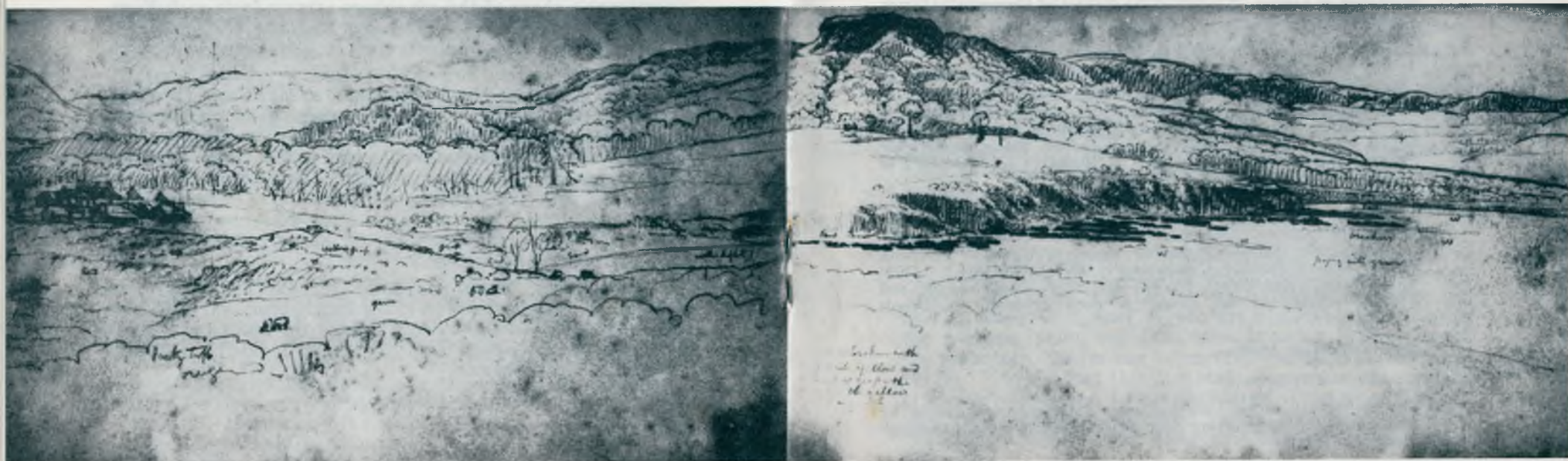




VIEW OF PART OF THE EASTERN COAST OF NEW HOLLAND, LAT. 35 .

*The Illawarra Coastline*

From sketches by Sidney Parkinson, artist on H.M.S. Endeavour, 1770.  
(Features identified by Edgar Beale).



*Wollongong from Flagstaff Point, 1832*

From a sketch by Major Mitchell.



— NOTES —

- 1 "Being the substance of a lecture delivered in the Hall of the School of Arts, Wollongong" — MS in Illawarra Historical Society's collection; undated, but apparently ca. 1863-65.
- 2 For Charles Throsby, see Aust. Encyc. Vol. 8, p. 495.
- 3 "Bulli" in the 1860s covered a much wider area than at present. However, Mr. W. A. Bayley, F.R.A.H.S., author of "Black Diamonds — A History of Bulli", places Somerville's residence close to the present Somerville Avenue, Bulli, near Sandon or Bulli Point.
- 4 In Harbour Street, Wollongong.
- 5 i.e. the corner of Smith and Harbour Streets, Wollongong, where the monument now stands. For the location of the hut by Deputy-Surveyor Meehan's Field Book 119 and plan, see Dowd, Grantees, p.2 and Map 2.
- 6 Presumably Port Hacking.
- 7 For Joseph Wild, see Aust. Encyc. Vol. 9 p. 302. He was an ex-convict who had been servant to Robert Brown the botanist, who is said (e.g. by McCaffrey, "History of Illawarra" p. 76) to have visited Illawarra at some very early period (1806, McCaffrey's date, is impossible, Brown having returned to England in 1805 [Aust. Encyc. Vol. 2 p. 165]; the visit itself must be regarded as not proven). In 1815 Wild was in the service of Charles Throsby, and may have been one of the men who accompanied him to Illawarra. In his old age he enjoyed the reputation of having "discovered the district of Illawarra" (James Backhouse, "A Visit to the Australian Colonies", pp. 437-8). He is buried in the churchyard at Bong Bong, where his tombstone describes him as "Authorised Explorer".
- 8 "An abstract of lands promised to various persons in the settled districts had been prepared, and it was found that there was a deficiency of nearly 5000 acres in the quantity promised and that available. A note in Macquarie's writing runs thus: 'N.B. Lands must be located at the Five Islands to make up the deficiency.'" — R.A.H.S. Vol. 28 p. 77. ("Illawarra — A Century of History", by James Jervis, F.R.A.H.S.)
- 9 The first grantees whose lands were marked by Deputy-Surveyor Meehan in accordance with this notice were Richard Brooks ("Exmouth", Dapto), George Johnston senior ("Macquarie Gift" on Macquarie Rivulet), Andrew Allan ("Waterloo", Albion Park), Robert Jenkins ("Berkeley"), and David Allan ("Illawarra Farm", Red Point). For full particulars of each grant, and a brief account of the career of each grantee, see Dowd, Grantees.
- 10 Deputy-Surveyor Meehan.
- 11 David Allan. See note 9.
- 12 The district in which Campbelltown is situated, so named by Macquarie "in honor of my dear good Elizabeth's family estate" (Tours, p. 17).
- 13 Lieut.-Colonel (cashiered); the former Major Johnston of Rum Rebellion notoriety. See note 9.
- 14 Now called Macquarie Rivulet.

## MACQUARIE IN ILLAWARRA

*From Macquarie's "Journal of a Tour to the Cow  
Pastures and Illawarra in January 1822"*<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 15 Jany. [1822]<sup>2</sup>. We got up at day-break and had our baggage packed up and arranged, sending back the curricie, and dray with the heavy baggage, to Mr. O'Brien's farm in Appin; the road being too rough and bad to admit of their proceeding farther on the journey to Illawarra. We therefore put all the baggage and provisions required for our journey on three pack horses.

Mr. Cornelius O'Brien<sup>3</sup> joined us at this station just as we were ready to set out. At 10 mins. past 6 a.m. we set forward on our journey; and after passing over some very bad road, and crossing the Cataract River<sup>4</sup> near it's source, we arrived at the summit of the great mountain that contains the pass to the low country of Illawarra, the top of this mountain being three miles from our last station. On our arrival on the summit of the mountain, we were gratified with a very grand magnificent bird's eye view of the ocean, the 5 Islands, and of the greater part of the low country of Illawarra as far as Red Point. After feasting our eyes with this grand prospect, we commenced descending the mountain at 20 mins. after 8 O'clock. The descent was very rugged, rocky, and slippery, and so many obstacles opposed themselves to our progress, that it was with great difficulty that the packhorses could get down this horrid steep descent. At length we effected it, but it took us an hour to descend altho' the descent is only one mile & a half long. The whole face of this mountain is clothed with the largest and finest forest trees I have ever seen in the colony. They consist chiefly of the black-buttèd gum, stringy bark, turpentine, mountain ash, fig, pepperment, box-wood, sassafrass, and red cedar; but the latter is now very scarce, most of it having been already cut down and carried away to Sydney. There are also vast quantities of the cabbage, palm, and fern trees growing in the face of the mountain, the former being very beautiful and of great height. Finding that this mountain has never yet received any particular name, I have christened it the Regent Mountain, as it was first descended by Mr. Throsby in the year 1815, when our present King was Regent of the United Kingdom<sup>5</sup>.

We arrived at a creek containing a very pretty stream of fresh running water about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the foot of the mountain at a qr. past 9 o'clock, and here we halted

to breakfast and to refresh our men and cattle. I have named this stream of fresh water Throsby's Creek, in honor of Mr. Throsby who first crossed it on his descending the Regent Mountain.

Having breakfasted we pursued our journey at 11 a.m. along the sea shore towards Mr. Allan's farm<sup>6</sup> at Red Point, riding chiefly on a soft beach for 12 miles, and through very barren unprofitable land. We crossed the entrance of Tom Thumb's Lagoon<sup>7</sup> which was at this time dry, and soon afterwards arrived at Mr. Allan's lands, meeting there with about 100 natives, who had assembled at this place to meet and welcome me to Illawarra. They were of various tribes, and some of them had come all the way from Jervis's Bay, and they appeared to be very intimate with Mr. O'Brien. They all knew who I was, and most of them pronounced my name (Govr. Macquarie) very distinctly. They were very civil, and I regretted exceedingly that I had no tobacco for them.

Having remained with them for about ten minutes, we resumed our journey to Mr. Allan's establishment. It is a pretty enough farm, and a good deal of it is cultivated, but it is too near the sea, and falls far short of the fine description I have heard the proprietor and others give of it. We ascended a hill at the eastern extremity of this farm, from whence we had a very fine view of the coast to the southward as far as Basse's Head, as well as of the grand sheet of inland water or lake called Allowrie or Illawarra, which is about 20 miles in circumference, and has a communication with the sea by a very narrow channel.

From Mr. Allan's farm we proceeded on to Mr. Jenkins's<sup>6</sup>, and thence through Mr. Brooks's<sup>6</sup>, to Mr. Brown's establishment<sup>8</sup> situated on the western bank of the lake. Here we arrived at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 o'clock, and took up our station for the night. Our baggage however did not come up till 8 o'clock, altho' it came by a shorter route than we took, which was circuitous. The lands we travelled over from Mr. Allan's to Mr. Brown's were chiefly open forest land of good quality and well wooded and watered. We have travelled this day at least 30 miles from David's Valley to Mr. Brown's establishment. We had rather a late dinner today, not having dined till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 o'clock, and soon afterwards we went to bed.

Wednesday 16 Jany. We set out from Mr. Brown's at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 o'clock to explore the country to the southward and westward; having first seen off our servants and baggage towards the mountain over which the new road from Illawarra to Appin has recently been made by Mr. O'Brien. We proceeded through a very rich country in a southerly direction for two miles till we arrived on the left bank of



the Macquarie River<sup>9</sup>, a very pretty stream of fresh water about 20 yards in breadth, which falls into the lake, and is full of fish, with cedar and other good timber growing on its banks. From the Macquarie River we travelled on in a westerly direction to Col. Johnston's farm<sup>6</sup> near the foot of the mountains. This farm is a very fine one, well watered, and contains some very extensive beautiful meadows bordering on the lake and river. We continued our journey still in a westerly direction to Mount Throsby<sup>10</sup>, which we ascended for the purpose of having a view of those parts of Illawarra which I had not time to visit. On our arrival on the summit of this hill, we had a most extensive fine view of all the low country to the southward and eastward of us, including the sea, the lake, and the river. At 12 at noon we descended Mount Throsby, and then directed our course backwards through a fine open forest, towards Mr. O'Brien's new road<sup>11</sup>, which we arrived at at 2 p.m. Having rested ourselves and horses at a fresh water creek at the foot of the mountain we were to ascend, for half an hour, we commenced ascending the first range at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2; and at 4 p.m. we arrived on the top of the mountain; which having obtained no particular name before, I have christened it Mount Brisbane<sup>12</sup> in honor of the new Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane. I rode up the whole of the mountain, which is about two miles long exclusive of the ranges leading to the foot of it, which are at least two miles more in length. The road is perfectly safe and passable for cattle and is what may be termed a good bridle road; and it might be made a good cart road with very little more trouble. In ascending a very steep part of the mountain, through some carelessness in the driver, one of our pack horses with his load, slipped and tumbled over three several times till he was stopped by a large tree. We all concluded he was killed, but the load preserved him, and after being disengaged from it, he got upon his legs again without being in the least hurt or wounded. We came up with, or rather overtook the baggage about half way up the pass, which was fortunate, as we were thus enabled to afford the people in charge of it our assistance. With exception of this accident we all got up Mount Brisbane perfectly safe and with great ease to ourselves.

The face of this mountain is also studded with very large fine timber of the same description as that on the Regent Mountain, but there are more cedar trees on the former than on the latter. I had one noble cedar (red) tree measured on this mountain which measured 21 feet in diameter and 120 feet in height; the size of it being greater, and the tree itself a finer one than I had ever seen before.

The part of it which measured 21 feet in circumference was ten feet from the root of it, and continued to be of the same size for 60 feet above the ground. I also saw here the largest and finest box trees I had ever seen in the colony.

We had a noble extensive view of the ocean and part of Illawarra from the summit of Mount Brisbane. We rested a few minutes on the top of the mountain, and then pursued our journey towards Appin at 20 minutes past 4 o'clock, over a very good bridle road, tho' a little rough and stony.

#### — NOTES —

- 1 Mitchell Library No. A786. Reprinted in Tours, pp. 235-244.
- 2 Macquarie and his party, after travelling from Campbelltown via Appin and King's Falls, had camped the previous night at a spot he named "David's Valley" in honour of David Johnston. Mr. B. T. Dowd, F.R.A.H.S., places this at the Loddon River near the present bridge on the Bulli Pass-Appin Road (Map in Illawarra Historical Society's collection).
- 3 Cornelius O'Brien, afterwards a pioneer settler at Bulli and Yass, was at this time managing "Athanlin", the property of his uncle, William Browne, at Yallah (King, O'Brien, p.3; Tours, p.260, note 59).
- 4 This must have been the Loddon River, a tributary of the Cataract.
- 5 This point where this first "road" into Illawarra (which is generally assumed to have followed Throsby's track) descended the range is not conclusively established (see Marshall, Early Roads, pp. 1-2). For the case for its having descended at or near Denmark Street, Coledale, see Garden, Observations, pp. 10-11 and 19-20. Mr. Dowd, however, takes the view that it reached the coast in the neighbourhood of Sandon Point, Bulli. Cf. C. T. Smith's statement (Section VI, and note 3 thereon). The identification of Regent Mountain and Throsby's Creek would depend on the solution of this question.
- 6 See note 9 to Section VI.
- 7 As wrongly identified by Meehan. See note 9 to Section II.
- 8 "Athanlin", Yallah (portion 15, Parish of Calderwood), the property of William Browne, known as "Merchant Browne". See Tours, Note 16, p. 256, and R.A.H.S. Vol. 28 pp. 148-9 (article by J. Jervis).
- 9 Now called Macquarie Rivulet.
- 10 Mr. Dowd thinks this was probably Marshall Mount (Tours, Note 56, p. 260).
- 11 For O'Brien's Road, see Marshall, Early Roads, pp. 2-3, King, O'Brien, pp. 3-4, R.A.H.S. Vol. 28 pp. 299-300. It climbed Mount Nebo, reached the top of the range at O'Brien's Gap, and continued to Appin by way of Jordan's Pass over the Cataract River.
- 12 Presumably the high part of the Illawarra Range between O'Brien's Gap and Mount Keira.

# VIII

## THE CEDAR - GETTERS'

*From the "Sydney Gazette"*

[14 August 1819]

### GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL ORDERS

Government House, Sydney,  
14th August, 1819

It being officially notified to His Excellency the Governor, that several Persons, both Free Men and Convicts, have been for some Time past illegally residing in the Districts of Appin and Illawarra, and there cutting down, sawing and clandestinely transmitting from thence large Quantities of Cedar and other Timber, the Property of the Crown; and this Practice being in direct Violation of the Colonial Regulations, to the Prejudice of the Revenue, and to the manifest Encouragement of Desertion from the Public Service, and promoting in no small Degree the Destruction of the Government Cattle in those Neighbourhoods:— It is hereby notified, that any Person or Persons who shall after Monday, the 23d Instant, be found in Possession of, cutting, sawing, or removing Cedar or other Timber, either in Logs, Planks, or Boards, from the said Districts of Appin or Illawarra, will be prosecuted accordingly for Felony.

The Magistrates and Peace Officers throughout the Colony, and those particularly within the Districts of Liverpool, Bringelly, Airds<sup>2</sup>, and Appin, are hereby called on and enjoined to cause this Order to be most vigilantly and strictly enforced, and to apprehend and commit for Trial, all Persons who shall be found offending herein.

By His Excellency the Governor's Command,

J. T. CAMPBELL, Secretary

\*

\*

\*

*From the Colonial Secretary's instructions to  
Major D'Arcy, Magistrate at Illawarra<sup>3</sup>*

The population of the district consists with some exceptions of settlers of an inferior order — their servants and men who are employed in procuring Cedar, and I am desired by his Exy to request that your particular attention may be directed to the preservation of order amongst the latter who in general are of a very disorderly character.

As there is reason to suppose that many Prisoners of the Crown occasionally resort to the District and remain



at large either cutting Cedar, or under pretence of being so employed, exist entirely by deprecations committed on the inhabitants, I am directed to request that your best exertions may be used for the protection of the latter against such men and for discovering and returning them to Government, taking care however not to interfere unnecessarily with those engaged with free persons in procuring Cedar on the Crown Land under permission granted from this Office, of which you will invariably be apprised, or with free men and their servants employed on Private Property.

\*

\*

\*

*From Barron Field, "Geographical Memoirs on  
New South Wales"*<sup>4</sup>

At the foot of this range of mountains is scattered the red cedar tree, of which the colonists make their furniture, and with which they fit up the insides of their houses. It is a genius of cedreleae, allied to flindersia, according to Mr. Cunningham. The procuring of this timber occupies many sawyers and boatmen from Port Jackson. The cedar planks, as they are formed by sawyers at the pit, are carried on men's backs up to the mountain summit, whence carts (approaching by a narrow road cut through the forest on the ridge) convey the planks to all parts of the colony, or they are carted to the shores of Illawarra, and navigated to Port Jackson in large open boats. The government has not (by reason of its ample supply from Hunter's River and Port Macquarie) secured any portion of these cedar grounds to itself, simply compelling each person to take out a permit from the colonial secretary's office, which must specify the number of feet of timber required, and without which protection, the horse and cart, or boat, and the cedar, are liable to seizure by any constable. In a new run in the wild forest, the sawyers have to perform the preparatory labour of clearing their path, and a fall for the trees, which would otherwise be prevented from reaching the ground by amazingly strong vines (scandent or volubilous plants). They then pit the stem, cut into short cylinders of from eight to twelve feet in length, and saw them into planks of one or two inches thick. For these they receive of the cartmen 22s. for every 100 feet, from which sum is to be deducted 6s. per 100, paid to the carrier from the pit to the cart, leaving 16s. to be divided between the pair of sawyers. The cartmen, after carrying an average load of 300 feet in the plank upwards of 60 miles to Parramatta, over a road, in part very rocky and difficult, obtain 45s. or 50s. per 100 feet, from builders, carpenters, &c.

[Harris, about to take up the post of magistrate's clerk at Wollongong<sup>6</sup>, is being briefed by his predecessor]:

"About fifty miles from here, travelling south, you reach the brink of the coast mountain, and the district lies all along the seaside then for many miles. It is covered both among the mountain-side and on the lowlands of the coast with the most dense woods met with in the country. The cedar brushes are the most distinguishing feature. In one of them there are at this time about two hundred pairs of whip-sawyers planking down the trees into great junks of from a hundred to a thousand feet. These fellows are just as wild a set as is anywhere to be met with among white men. Almost every pair has one or two bushrangers<sup>7</sup> working for them".

I remarked that I should have thought the police would have taken them.

"They can't take them," said he. "They are all leagued together, and no sooner is a constable or a soldier seen on the skirts of the Long Brush, than crack! crack! crack! goes a gun three times in succession, as quickly as it can be loaded and fired. Then, as soon as this is heard, the gang in all directions repeat the signal, till the whole woods are ringing and the hills echoing for miles with the clatter of musketry. Whenever this happens all the bushrangers hasten away from the huts and off the roads and 'plant' in places where a regiment would not find them till the interloper has been watched away. There are a few agricultural settlers in the district, but, for the most part, where the country is occupied by open forest stock-stations prevail."

---

I soon after this had to undertake a journey, on the business of the court, into the midst of the nest of lumbermen who had been described to me by the former clerk as such a set of banditti.

It appeared, however, that my character had reached them before me. They had been led to conclude that I would not interfere beyond what I was bound in honour to consider my unquestionable duty. As that related solely to a question whether some of them had made a false affidavit and sworn a quantity of cedar cut on government land to have come off a private estate, to save the payment of duty (which was nearly two cents per foot) and, as that had nothing to do with the bushrangers that were among them, they concluded, correctly enough, that I should make no attempt to know who were bushrangers and who were not. I was consequently well received.

I could no longer wonder at the successlessness of the military in their endeavours to hunt out the outlaws. The "Long Brush", where the cedar grew in such quantities, was a forest so dense overhead that there must have been miles where no sunbeam had penetrated for ages; for in Australia, where all the trees are evergreens, the woods are as leafy in winter as in summer. The underwood and vines, matted together, rendered it impossible to travel without first making an opening with the axe. The roads were sloughs of thick mud, through which four, five and even six yoke of oxen could scarcely draw a single dray with its load of cedar plank.

Some of these junks of cedar, which was one of the most valuable red species, were curiosities. There were plenty of stumps ten feet in diameter, and trees lying felled ready for cutting down into logs, of seventy and ninety feet barrel without a limb, and so symmetrical that they might have been imagined columns preparing for some gigantic temple. Many of them were of such large diameter that the logs had to be halved by splitting before they could be sawed with the whipsaw. The sawyers were directed by the Sydney merchants to get the planks out as large as possible for speed in shipping. I saw one only ten feet long containing a thousand feet.

But the most extraordinary circumstance was the amount of money some of these men were earning. The cedar was so soft that, to use their own phrase, they could cut as much of it as they liked, and they got from eight to twelve cents a foot for it. A party of three or four would come down from Sydney four or five hundred dollars in debt to some publican where they had been boarding while they had a spree, work for six months, and go back with their debt cleared off and from a thousand to fifteen hundred dollars to take. But their earnings, like those of the laboring class at large in the colony, did them no good.

After all, it was not in the woods, where they lay scattered, that this rude and lawless community could be seen in all its lawlessness. The huts were generally from three to ten miles back from the boat harbour of Kiama, where the cedar was embarked. When a fair wind from Sydney was observed to be blowing, away would go the whole community to the beach. As there were quite a number of little vessels in the trade, there was always sure to be one or more come in with every fair wind. And the first business of every boat was to send ashore the five, ten, fifteen gallon kegs of rum which had been ordered by various parties. Sometimes there were seven, eight or ten of these kegs. And, no matter who ordered them, they were common property as soon as they touched the shore.



If the owner was not there, when he came back he was told he ought to have been there; people couldn't wait for him.

At the head of the little bay where the boats anchored there were a couple of acres of rich greensward, girdled around by the close dark forest, save on the side next the sea. On this spot the kegs were set down on one end, and the other presently driven with an axe. The drinking vessel was a tin pint passed from hand to hand.

The scene which ensued onward through the day and night, and often for three or four days and nights in succession, might have furnished a painter with hints for a pirates' isle. Many of the men had with them convict women, who had served their sentences and were free, or had absconded from private service before coming free, and made their way down into these woods. And oftentimes, as the night wore on, and the fierce revelry progressed by the blaze of the wind-tossed fire, the sea breaking with harsh, monotonous roar along the pebbly beach, the boats heaving and setting as they rode at anchor within stone's throw, fighting going on at some fires, singing at others, women dancing with their hair streaming in the wind, or lying stretched on the grass in the stupor of intoxication — altogether a scene was presented such as, happily, human society seldom furnishes.

— NOTES —

- 1 The cedar-getters preceded permanent settlement along practically the whole length of Illawarra. The first two extracts, typical of many which could be quoted, exemplify the official attitude to them. Alexander Harris sufficiently explains why, in the eyes of Authority, cedar-getting was a squalid nuisance, a constant inducement to convicts to abscond, and generally prejudicial to good order and discipline. However, it continued until practically all the accessible red cedar had been cut out, although even now in the Illawarra and Cambewarra ranges the red cedars are by no means as rare as commonly supposed.
- 2 See note 12 to Section VI.
- 3 3 June, 1828.
- 4 For Barron Field, judge and poetaster, see Aust. Encyc. Vol. 4 p. 56. He visited Illawarra in 1823.
- 5 For Alexander Harris's life and writings, see *Secrets*, Introduction and Preface. "Religio Christi" (1858), an autobiography with a strongly religious flavour, was published in the "Saturday Evening Post" while Harris was living in Canada. It is reprinted, with the exception of passages of "largely repetitive and tedious moralizing" in *Secrets*, pp. 51-226. Harris also described early Illawarra in Chapters III, IV and V of the semi-fictional "Settlers and Convicts, by An Emigrant Mechanic" (1847, reprinted Melbourne University Press, 1953).
- 6 In 1830 (*Secrets*, p. 38).
- 7 "Bushranger" at this period was applied to any runaway convict who took to the bush. There was no necessary implication of robbery under arms in the Ben Hall or Ned Kelly style.

## IX WOLLONGONG IN EMBRYO

*From Charles Throsby Smith's "Reminiscences of  
Forty-two Years' Residence in Illawarra"*<sup>1</sup>

About this time<sup>2</sup> I made up my mind to remain in the colony, and become a settler. Accordingly I obtained permission from Governor Macquarie to remain in the colony and selected this place<sup>3</sup> as my future residence, being induced to do so by the fact that there was a good boat harbour here, and by the numerous other advantages of the place.

In those days men acted on the principle of free selection before survey, and accordingly, in the year 1823, about forty years since, I located myself hereabouts with my wife, and four Government men, commenced clearing the land, in defiance of the blacks, who at times, were disposed to be very troublesome. I always however, treated them with great kindness, and we soon became great friends.

I must here pass over the events that occurred within the compass of a few years, in order that I may say something about the introduction of the military. At the request of Messrs. Oxley and Allen, the government sent down about thirty soldiers, with a Major<sup>4</sup> Bishop of the 40th Regiment, as commandant. The Major and his men were stationed at the Five Islands, on Red Point, but at that time, owing to the season being a wet one, the troops often experienced great difficulty in obtaining their rations from me. As the Tom Thumb Lagoon was then difficult to cross, the troops were obliged to cross the Berkeley estate in order to reach Wollongong. They also, at times, exposed themselves to considerable risk in crossing the Fig-tree Creek or Charcoal Creek<sup>5</sup> as it was called in those days. This fact being represented to the Government by Major Bishop, the troops were soon afterwards stationed on the site of the present gaol and court-house<sup>6</sup>. They lived in tents at that period. Major Bishop was relieved by a Mr. Butler<sup>7</sup>, when a number of convicts were sent down to build barracks and a house for the Commandant.

\*

\*

\*

*From the "Sydney Gazette"*

[5 July 1826]

Australia is still extending, and even advancing, and nothing so much tends to strengthen our energies, and urge us forward in promoting the welfare and prosperity of the Country, than in witnessing the formation, and hearing of the establishment, of new settlements, or little



*Top: Brighton Beach and Smith's Hill, Wollongong*  
 ("Bustle Hall" in centre background.)

*Bottom: Lake Illawarra from Berkeley*  
 From Water-colours by Georgiana Lowe, afterwards Lady Sherbrooke.  
 (Painted between 1842 and 1850.)



Colonies. Illawarra, alias the Five Islands, is to become the seat of an armed force, and a settlement is to be immediately formed, under the careful and diligent command of that active Officer of the 40th, Captain Bishop, the Ex-Commandant of Moreton-bay. We are as much gratified as the Gentlemen, possessing large estates in that part of the Country, can possibly be, because it will not only increase the value of Colonial possessions, but also tend to the preservation of good order, and render that part somewhat more peaceable than it has been since gangs of sawyers have been in the habit of frequenting those regions, and disseminating drunkenness, and every other misery far and wide — even adding to the contamination of the degraded aborigine. We have not yet heard the name that is to be given to the new and first settlement that has ever been founded to the Southward of the Colony.

[19 July 1826]

#### GOVERNMENT NOTICE

Colonial Secretary's Office, July 18, 1826

Captain Bishop, of the 40th Regiment, who is a Magistrate of the Colony, being now stationed in the District of Illawarra, with a Detachment of Troops, for the Preservation of Order, Notice is hereby given, that all Communications respecting the Police of the said District, are to be made to that Officer.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor,  
ALEXANDER McLEAY

\* \* \*  
*From "Reminiscences of Early Illawarra"*  
*by Alexander Stewart*<sup>8</sup>

In 1828 when I came to Wollongong there was only one house in what is now the borough or town of Wollongong. That was situated . . . at the corner of Harbour and Smith Streets, about 50 yards to the north of the present convent on the western side of Harbour Street. It was the residence of Mr. C. T. Smith. This homestead was not a very imposing structure<sup>9</sup> . . . Harbour Street was then a bush track and not a very good one.

[The Crown Settlement in Harbour Street when the permanent buildings had been erected] was on the eastern side of Harbour Street and extended from its abutment on to the street to the beach eastwards. On the south, or upper side, it is bounded by a 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<sup>10</sup>. Where the Gaol and Customs House now stand

was the police paddock. The Crown Settlement proper stood between the fence at the southern end of the police paddock 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 . . . The Crown settlement 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 Harbour Street. It is painted red and is of a plain old English style. Immediately behind it was the watch house or lock-up. It was a small wooden building consisting of three rooms or compartments. The middle compartment was where the lock-up-keeper stayed, and the compartments on each side of his were for confining prisoners not tried. One of the compartments was for males and the other for females . . . 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 . . . 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 . . . At the front of it was a nice little flower garden, fenced round with a picket fence . . . East of the commandant's residence . . . was the soldier's barracks . . . right up on the sand bank, was a stable for the horses of the mounted police, and also the tradesmen's huts . . . In the south-west corner of the allotment, and abutting on Harbour 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 while 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 . . . The old red court house, the third in Wollongong, is now used as a barracks for 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, as 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 soldiers when they came down, dug a well on the north side of where the town lagoon, beside the convent, now is<sup>11</sup>. The deep well was east of the convent. It was about nine or ten feet deep, and there were steps going down into it. The spring was a very poor one, and the 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 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. . . .

The small vessels that came from Sydney discharged their cargoes on the beach at the bottom of the track that is now Harbour 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<sup>12</sup>.

#### — NOTES —

1 See note 1 to Section VI.

2 1820.

3 C. T. Smith's grant (Portion 10, Parish of Wollongong) comprised 300 acres extending from Crown Street, Wollongong, north to Fairy Creek.

4 At that time (1826) Captain — see following extracts.

5 Presumably Allan's Creek.

6 The court-house referred to was later the Customs House, and is now the drill hall at the corner of Cliff Road and Harbour Street, Wollongong. The gaol immediately adjoined it on the eastern side. The military post is believed to have been transferred from Red Point to Wollongong in 1829.

7 Captain Bishop's immediate successor was Lieut. Fitzgerald, who was magistrate in 1827. He was succeeded in 1828 by Major D'Arcy, who was followed in turn by Lieut. Butler, Lieut. Slesman (1830) and Capt. Allman (1832).

8 Published in the "Illawarra Mercury" in 1894, and reprinted in the same paper in 1934.

9 C. T. Smith later built a larger house ("Bustle Farm" or "Bustle Hall") on the highest part of Smith's Hill, approximately



in the present position of Nos. 28 and 30, Church Street, Wollongong. "Bustle Cottage", the present No. 24 Church Street, was the home of his son Charles Frederick Smith.

- 10 See note 6. Mr. Traveller's house was in Harbour Street, opposite the end of Smith Street.
- 11 The town lagoon was filled in as relief work during the depression of the early 1930's. Its site now forms part of Lang Park.
- 12 For the successive stages of the harbour works and the development of Wollongong as a port, see C. W. Gardiner-Garden, "The Port of Wollongong".

X

## THE DAILY ROUND AT PAULSGROVE

*From the Paulsgrove Diary*<sup>1</sup>

1833

Sunday, 2 June: A whale came on shore at Palamba<sup>2</sup>. Mr. Jones and Mr. Bennett dined at Paulsgrove, and returned home to tea; a rum way of visiting.

Monday, 3 [June]: Mr. Spearing went to see about the whale; finished sowing peas. Mr. Johnstone called.

Tuesday, 4 [June]: Sent two drays to Palamba for blubber from the whale<sup>3</sup>.

Wednesday, 5 [June]: Received cows from Five Islands.

Friday, 7 [June]: Sow'd 5½ of wheat in the field near Emery's<sup>4</sup>.

Monday, 7 October: Went to Wollongong with Mr. Spearing and Marcus<sup>5</sup> to the Court of Requests<sup>6</sup>, Commissioner Terry. 81 cases, being 11 more than last year. All the district there; it would have been a hard job to find an honest man amongst the set.

(NO DATES)

Went to Woolongong to put a letter in the post for my sister Ann. The men were grinding wheat.

— — — — —  
Already the Australian native was learning that the boomerang and the spear were no match for "old Brown Bess"<sup>7</sup>, the age of iron had come into conflict with the age of stone.

— — — — —  
Went to Woolongong Church<sup>8</sup>. Mr. Wilkinson preached a capital sermon on scandalising, slandering, and interfering with our neighbours' affairs. Very suitable to the Illawarra gentry.

— — — — —  
This day twelve months ago was at new church to the funeral sermon on poor mother; there respectable congregation and a large church, here convicts and a barn.

Sunday, 12 [January]: No church, Mr. Wilkinson being gone to Shoal haven. The peaches stolen suppos'd by the blacks.

Saturday, 18 [January]: Captain Waldron's servant girls were brought to the court for thrashing their master<sup>9</sup>.

Saturday, 25 [January]: Weather very fine. Three teams plough at work, farther part of Emery's. Burges pulling out the stumps. Mr. Spearing took T. Hughes to the court, having found some beef on him that he could not account for; most likely stole from the meat-house with the connivance of some one. Sentenced to receive fifty lashes<sup>10</sup>.

Wednesday, 26 [February]: Sown about three acres of turnips. This day the two consign'd servant girls of the late Capt. Waldron was hung at Sydney for the murder of their master<sup>11</sup>. The cattle came home from five islands.

[No date]: Walked to Wollongon for the papers, and heard [of] the servants of Captain Waldron being pardoned by the Governor and the supreme counsel.

Saturday, 1 March: Mr. Spearing took Clarke, the tailor, to Court for roping the garden; sentenc'd twenty-five lashes, but beg'd him off — also Teasdale for not doing as much work as he ought to have done; but was let off. Mr. S. returned in devil's own humour from the Court<sup>12</sup>.

[Sunday, 2 March]: Just 32 degrees lower than yesterday.

Monday, 3 [March]: Mr. Marcus went to Sydney in the Bee<sup>13</sup> with some wheat.

Saturday, [8 March?]: Mr. Spearing took Ryan to the Court for refusing to thrash, sentenced 25 lashes.

Sunday, 9 [March]: Walk'd to Wollongon Church in morning; a large congregation. A. Osborne<sup>14</sup> returned with Mr. Spearing to dine. Walk'd again to the beach to see if any boats in. Saw one in offing. Met old Harris<sup>15</sup> and had a story with him; the only man I have had a chat with off the farm this last month. Got home to the damned hole again a little after dark; sleepless night.

[Monday, 10 March]: [Two letters from England] one from Charles, dated Oct. 6, and the other from Mr. T. Harvey, Sept. 30, by the Fairlie.



*Top: Mount Keira*

(The building in the left foreground seems to be approximately on the site of Mr. Justice Therry's house, which still stands in Bukari Street, West Wollongong; in which case the buildings in the distance would be those of "Mount Keira Estate", formerly "Paulsgrove").

*Bottom: Convict Stockade in Illawarra*

From water-colours by Georgiana Lowe, afterwards Lady Sherbrooke.  
(Painted between 1842 and 1850.)



Thursday, 13 [March]: Harry half-a-crown for bringing things from Sydney.

Sunday, 16 [March]: After dinner walked to the beach, had a glass of grog with Mr. Brown at the ship<sup>16</sup>, and sent Phillip the black to get some birds.

Tuesday, 18 [March]. Sam received his ticket.

Friday, 21 [March]: Shot the white-faced cow.

Sunday, 23 [March]: Mr. A. Osborne drank tea at Paulsgrove, and brought some Portsmouth papers, which were very acceptable in this dreary hole.

27 [March?]: Received a pound of tobacco from Sydney by the Bee.

[?March]: The heaviest rain since I have been in the colony. All the lower part of the farm is flooded.

Saturday, 5 [April]: Heard of the postman's body being found<sup>17</sup>; Hunt got 50 lashes for getting drunk and kicking up a row at Brown's.

Wednesday, 9 [April]: Had the deuce of a breeze with Spearing, determined to leave, went to the beach with an intention of getting my boxes on board, but could get no communication owing to so heavy a surf running on the beach<sup>18</sup>.

Saturday, 12 [April]: To the beach and back before breakfast at 11, left Paulsgrove with my boxes with regret that I ever went near the place. Dined and slept at Brown's; drank some of the colonial rum; dreadful headache.

Tuesday, 15 [April]: Beating up Port Jackson against the wind.

Thursday, 24 [April]: Went shooting on Woolomollo<sup>19</sup>; but had no luck.

#### — NOTES —

- 1 The manuscript diary known as the Paulsgrove Diary was kept between June 1833 and April 1834 by a free man employed on James Stares Spearing's Paulsgrove estate near Wollongong. The diarist's name is not given. "Mrs. Waldron of Wollongong, who, some years ago, gave it to Mr. E. J. Brady, says the author was a Mr. Webster, who, several years later, was drowned near Tumut" (Cousins pp. 86-87).

The Illawarra Historical Society and the editor deeply regret that owing to circumstances beyond their control the original manuscript diary has been unavailable during the preparation of this booklet. This section has been pieced together from extracts already published, principally in the article in the "Sydney Morning Herald" of 12 November 1910 by "E.J.B." — no doubt E. J. Brady, to whom Mrs. Waldron had given the diary. For many extracts the date is incomplete or missing; sometimes it can be determined or conjectured, sometimes not. The extracts are probably not all in proper sequence, and the authenticity of the text cannot be guaranteed.

With all these defects, these fragments still seemed worth publishing. We hope that we may yet have an opportunity to publish a full and authentic text of what is undoubtedly a most interesting and valuable document.

Spearing held 2000 acres at West Wollongong, promised to him by Governor Brisbane in 1825. Harriet Overington, who became his wife, had been promised a further 1920 acres at Bellambi, and Spearing worked this property also. The Spearings' house was near the present site of the Mormon Church in Yellagong Street, West Wollongong. On the Spearings, see Lindsay, "Early Land Settlement in Illawarra", pp. 29-31; R.A.H.S. Vol. 28 pp. 85-86; Cousins pp. 47-48, 80-81, 86-89; and "A True Narrative of a . . . Murder done at Hell Hole in Illawarra, A.D. 1826 . . ." (Illawarra Historical Society, 1966. Murderer and victim were two of Spearing's assigned servants).

- 'The Spearings' properties in Illawarra were sold late in 1835 to Colonel John Thomas Leahy, who changed the name from "Paulsgrove" to "Mount Keira Estate". The grants were finally issued in 1841 to Robert and Charles Campbell.
- 2 Bellambi.
- 3 This involved Spearing in a dispute with the Crown Law authorities, who claimed the whale as Fish Royal.
- 4 Wheat was extensively grown in Illawarra in the early days, and there were numerous flour mills. Rust and other diseases led to the general abandonment of wheatgrowing in the fifties and sixties (Cousins pp. 96-97, 107; R.A.H.S. Vol. 28 pp. 275-276—article by J. Jervis).
- 5 Marcus, who is mentioned several times in these extracts, sometimes as "Mr. Marcus", may have been a relative of J. S. Spearing, who later assigned his interest in a property in Pitt Street, Sydney, to Marcus Spearing. (Deed registered No. 31 Book L.)
- 6 The Court of Requests was a predecessor of the Small Debts Court, having jurisdiction in minor civil cases.
- 7 The British Army musket of the period
- 8 "The Rev. F. Wilkinson, M.A. was appointed [Anglican] Chaplain on 30th September [1833] . . . Both church and school were held in Mr. Throsby Smith's barn, which was rented and specially fitted up as a school and a church" (Cousins, p. 36).
- 9 Captain Waldron (of "Spring Hill", Wollongong) died on 28 January. The two women convicts who had assaulted him were tried for murder and convicted on 22 February, but the death sentence was commuted to three years' hard labour — a remarkably light sentence for a crime so grave and prima facie aggravated (it would only a few years earlier have been classed as petty treason). See Cousins p. 48, and Governor Bourke's despatch in H.R.N.S.W. Series I Vol. XVII p. 379.
- 10 "E.J.B." waxed indignant not only over the flogging, but over the iniquity of the law in 1833, which punished a man for having in his possession beef "most likely stole". In contrasting it with the enlightenment of 1910, he overlooked Section 27 of the Police Offences Act. In 1910 (and 1966) it remained an offence to fail to account satisfactorily for one's possession of goods reasonably suspected of having been stolen or unlawfully obtained.
- 11 "Consigned" — sc. "assigned". The execution of course had not taken place. In the next entry "of" must have been omitted after "heard". The Governor and "supreme counsel" would not have been in Wollongong.
- 12 Cf. Alexander Harris (Secrets, pp. 155-158) on master and servant cases in the Wollongong Court about this time. His account may, however, be coloured by the wish to depict himself as a champion of the oppressed. Spearing probably never forgot that an earlier magistrate's refusal to act on a complaint against one of his assigned servants was at least partly responsible for the Hell

- Hole murder's going undiscovered for several months, during which he and his wife had a particularly brutal murderer on the premises.
- 13 The Bee was a sailing vessel of 14 tons, apparently owned by Spearing, which traded between Wollongong and Sydney (Cousins p.88).
  - 14 Alick Osborne and his two brothers John and Henry were prominent early settlers in Illawarra, owners respectively of "Daisy bank" at Dapto, "Glen Glosh" at Wollongong, and "Marshall Mount". See R.A.H.S. Vol. 28 pp. 149-150 (article by J. Jervis), Lindsay op. cit. pp. 26, 31-35, Cousins pp. 53-54, McCaffrey, "History of Illawarra" pp. 116, 121-122, and "South Coast Times", 21 November 1959 (article by D. L. Denniss).
  - 15 This probably refers not to Alexander Harris, who was only 29, but to the old soldier named Harris for whom Major Mitchell extorted compensation from C. T. Smith, when the site of Harris's hut was required for Harbour Street ("Reminiscences of Early Illawarra", by Alexander Stewart, No. XIII — Illawarra Mercury 15 June, 1934).
  - 16 George Brown in 1830 built an inn named the Ship at Wollongong (R.A.H.S. Vol. 28 p. 143). It stood in the present McCabe Park. In 1834 he transferred the licence to a new inn, also the Ship, at Mullet Creek. It became the nucleus of the township of Dapto (now Brownsville).
  - 17 During the flood of March 1834 "the postman was drowned, his horse coming home without saddle, bridle or rider" (Cousins, p. 89).
  - 18 There was no harbour at Wollongong at this time. Cf. final paragraph of Section IX.
  - 19 Woolloomooloo.

## XI

### MAJOR MITCHELL PLANS A TOWN

*From "Reminiscences of Early Illawarra",  
by Alexander Stewart*<sup>1</sup>

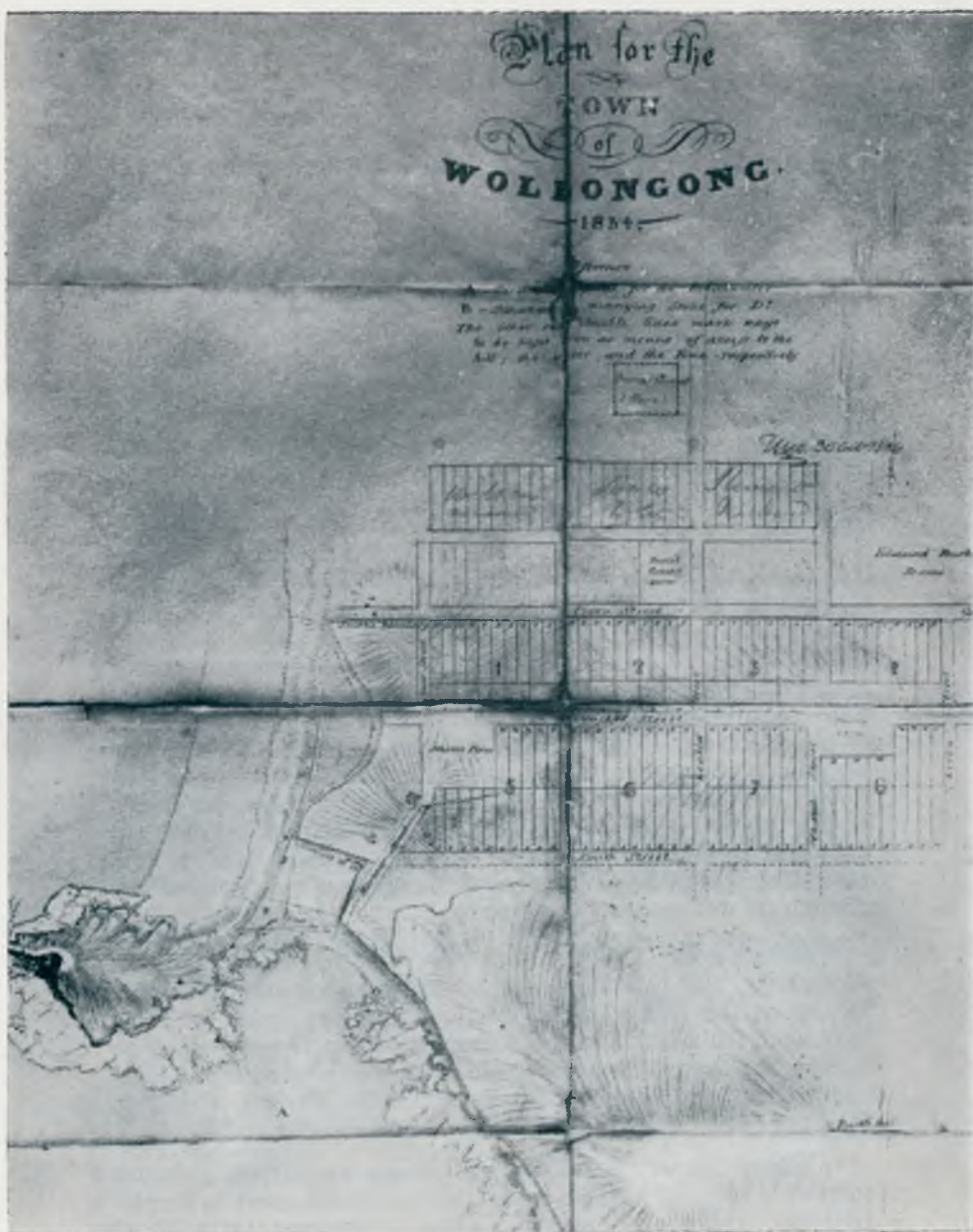
Mr. C. T. Smith applied<sup>2</sup> to the Government for a portion of his property to be surveyed and laid out in township allotments, and in July, 1834, Major Mitchell, the Surveyor-General, arrived here from Sydney to effect the survey of Smith's township. The township laid out consisted of the oblong block extending from Crown Street to Smith Street, and from Keira Street to Harbour Street. Keira, Smith and Harbour 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, the lane running from Crown Street to Market Street, with the Salvation Army Barracks at one end and the Congregational Church at the other. Mr. Smith 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 of 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 that caused Major Mitchell a good deal of mental 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 or 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 endeavouring to solve the problem. He had a man assisting him, but this man stood at a distance from him and only went to him when called. The man would not let anyone go near Major Mitchell when he was viewing and scratching his head on the 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. . . .

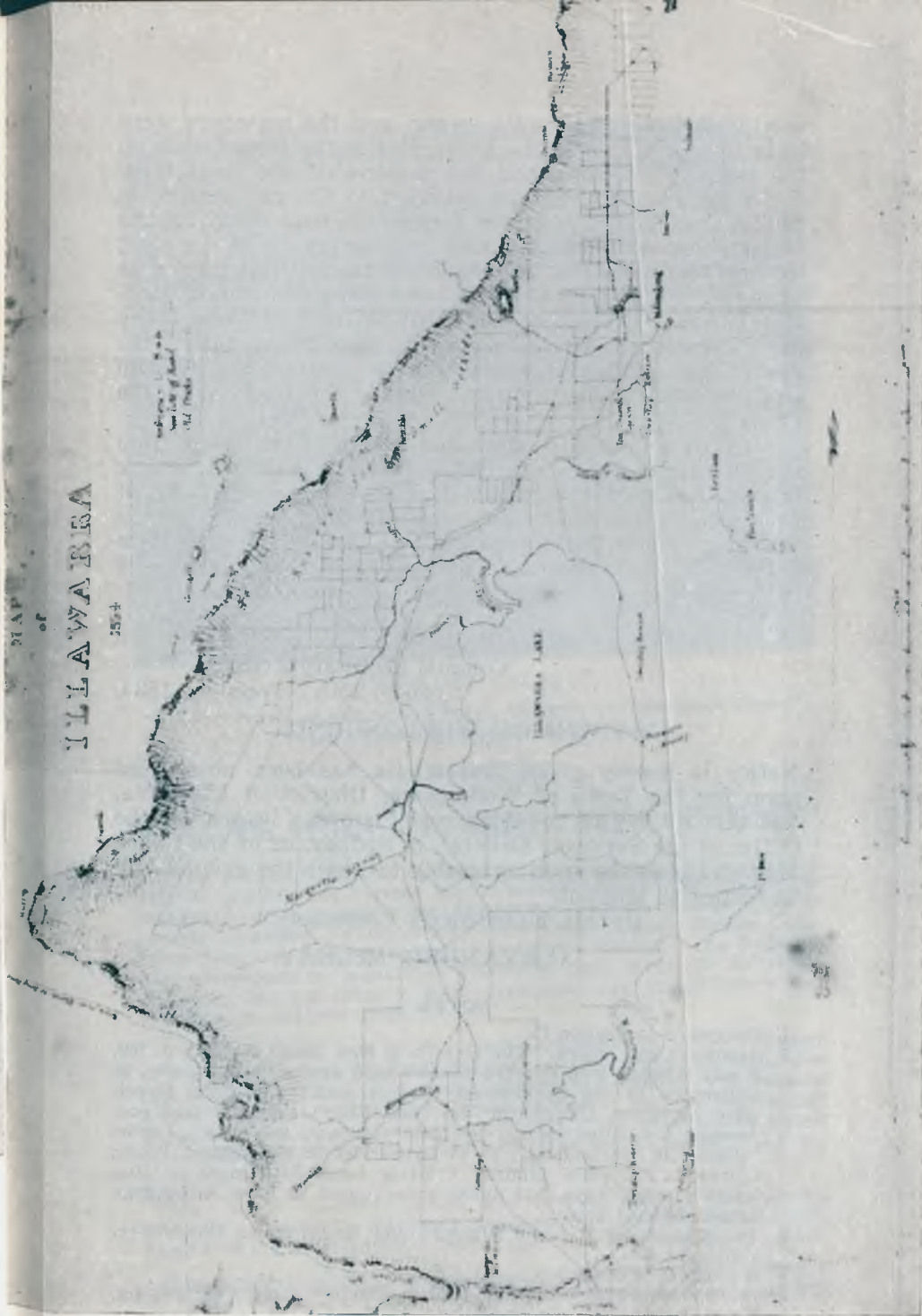
As soon as Mr. C. T. Smith had begun to sell his allotments, the Government thought they would sell some too, so at the latter end of 1835 or the beginning of 1836 they sent Gilbert Elliott, a surveyor, down from Sydney to survey the Government township. This extended from Harbour Street to Church Street, and from Crown Street to Stewart Street. . . .

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<sup>3</sup>) . . . . 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 Lieut. Otway. The soldiers in Wollongong were a detachment of the 80th Regiment. There



*Sketch plan for Town of Wollongong, prepared by the Survey Department of New South Wales*

(The points of the compass reverse the modern convention — south is uppermost. Major Mitchell's initials "T.L.M." and the date "30 Oct. 1834" appear below and to the right of the legend. The buildings of the military settlement described by Alexander Stewart can be seen in the enclosure to the left of Harbour Street. "Bustle Hall", C. T. Smith's house, is marked in the lower right-hand part of the map.)



*Illawarra, 1834*

From Major T. L. Mitchell's map in "Report on Roads in New South Wales, 1827-55".



was a stockade at Geard's corner, and the prisoners were locked up in boxes 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<sup>4</sup>, 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. . . .

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<sup>5</sup>. 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<sup>6</sup> . . . They also made a rough temporary bridge over the creek. Beyond that there was only a track to Bulli.

\*

\*

\*

*From the "Sydney Gazette"*

Colonial Secretary's Office,

Sydney, 28th November, 1834.

## TOWN OF WOLLONGONG

Notice is hereby given that a site has been now fixed upon for the Town of Wollongong, District of Illawarra, and that a Copy of the Approved Plan may be seen at the Office of the Surveyor General, in Sydney, or of the Police Magistrate on the spot, agreeably to which the ground will be forthwith laid out.

By his Excellency's Command,

ALEXANDER McLEAY.

## — NOTES —

1 See note 8 to Section IX.

2 According to Cousins, "The Garden of New South Wales", p. 189, it was Mitchell who selected Smith's land as the township site, in preference to the government reserve south of Crown Street, after Surveyors Govett (in 1829) and Elliott (in 1832) had condemned the latter as too low and swampy. See also Jervis, "History of Wollongong", p. 13 (typescript in Wollongong Public Library). Benjamin Lindsay ("Early Land Settlement in Illawarra", p. 27) says that Smith endeavoured to have Wollongong named "Bustle Town".

3 The junction of Prince's Highway and Mount Keira Road, West Wollongong.

4 See note 1 to Section X.

5 i.e. the Albert Memorial Hospital in Flinders Street, Wollongong.

6 Fairy Creek, North Wollongong.



*"Pumpkin Cottage"*

The first home of Henry and Sarah Osborne of "Marshall Mount".  
From a sketch by Robert Hoddle (1832).

## APPENDIX

### THE TRACKS OF THE "TOM THUMB"

The precise distances given in Flinders's table should make it easy to identify the various places mentioned; but they cannot be reconciled with modern maps. Measuring from one known place to another (ignoring for the moment the unascertained Double Cove, Barn Cove and "where the boat was thrown ashore"), one finds not only discrepancies, sometimes relatively very large, in individual distances, but too small a total, even assuming that Flinders was reckoning in nautical miles.\*

Flinders being "one of the great cartographers and discoverers of the world" (Aust. Encyc.), this may at first seem surprising. But this was almost his first venture; Midshipman Flinders was perhaps a less expert navigator than Captain Flinders; and he had on this expedition "no other means of ascertaining the situations of places than by pocket-compass bearings and computed distances" (Voyage, p. ciii).

Mr. C. W. Gardiner-Garden and I, after various unsuccessful attempts to reconcile Flinders's distances with the Admiralty chart, found that the chart distance from Sydney Heads to Red Point (Saddle

\* Geographical, geometrical, maritime, nautical miles: One minute of a great circle of the earth. The British Admiralty fixes it at 6080 feet. (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "mile").

Point) was just 44 nautical miles in a straight line; and that marking the stated distances along this line, and drawing lines at right angles to it to intersect the coast, gave reasonable approximations to "Point Solander" (Cape Solander) and "Watta Mowlee" (Wattamolla), though Port Hacking remained several miles out. Marking the unascertained places in the same way, and applying the same process to the Grimes & Flinders map (on which the scale is in "geographical miles"\*), gave the following results (confirming, if any confirmation were needed, that the northbound and southbound tracks on the map are those of the Tom Thumb):

Distance from Port Jackson (nautical mls.)	Places named by Flinders	Place where coast intersected	
		(1) on Admiralty Chart	(2) on G. & F. Map
11	Point Solander	Between Inscription Pt. and Cape Solander	Slightly south of Botany Bay entrance
18½	Port Hacking entrance	About 2½ m. south of entrance, and about ½ m. north of Marley Beach	Port Hacking entrance
21½	Watta Mowlee	About 1m. south of Wattamolla	Providential Cove
27½	Double Cove	½ mile north of "Stanfield B." (Stanwell Park)	About 1 mile south of point marked "Coals discovered"
34½	Barn Cove	About 1m. north of Sandon Point (i.e. towards north end of Thirroul Bch.)	Where southbound track first comes close to coast
38½	"Where boat was thrown ashore"	Towradgi Point	Reef, with track running inshore on its southern side
44	Saddle Point	Red Point	"Sandy Point"
<b>Distance from Saddle Point</b>			
4 miles S.W.	Canoe River	Lake Illawarra Entrance	Canoe River
5 mls W.N.W.	Hat Hill	About 1.4m. E.S.E. of Mount Kembla. (Summit of Mount Kembla is almost exactly W.N.W. & distant 6.4 nautical miles from Red Point)	Hat Hill

\* See last footnote.



(The latitudes and longitudes given in "Voyage to Terra Australis" are of little or no help, except for Red Point and Canoe River, the other Illawarra references being to places not recognisably referred to in the MS. Journal.)

By map scale **Barn Cove** is between one and two miles north of the northernmost and farthest-projecting of several reefs or groups of rocks marked on this part of the coast. This appears to represent **Bellambi Point**. If so, **Barn Cove** is in the region of **Bulli**. Of the beaches thereabouts, **Bulli Beach** and the next beach southward (between **Waniora Point** and **Collins Rock**) are "bendings in the coast" which, though they "scarcely deserve the name of a cove", might pass as such. The natural shape of the latter's southern head has been obliterated by bulldozing. From **Sandon Point**, **Waniora Point** might be thought to look somewhat like the roof of a barn. The resemblance is not striking, but might be more apparent from a small boat at sea.

In the third paragraph of the text **Flinders** distinguishes between "coast" and "shore". The former appears to mean the land generally, and the description "high and stony but regular" to apply to its dominant feature, the **Illawarra Range**, which on the map is drawn parallel and close to the shoreline to a projection rather over two miles further south than **Barn Cove**; after which it makes an exaggerated bend inland. The projection seems to be **Broker's Nose**, which is in fact roughly two nautical miles further south than **Bulli Beach**.

**Barn Cove**, I think, is almost certainly either **Bulli Beach** or the next beach southward, with a slight balance of probability in favour of the former.

The place "where the boat was thrown ashore" was identified by the late **Mr. T. D. Mutch** as about the mouth of the **Towradgi Lagoon**. But **Mr. Mutch** probably made this suggestion, as **Mr. Gardiner-Garden** adopted it in the first edition of his *Observations*, without having had the advantage of reading the MS. Journal. It is submitted, with respect, that, while the boat was thrown ashore at **Towradgi**, it was south rather than north of **Towradgi Point**. If the northernmost reef marked is **Bellambi Point**, the next but one southward should be **Towradgi Point**. The **Tom Thumb** went in on the lee side (i.e., the wind being N.N.E., the southern side) of the reef and the map shows the track running in just south of the third reef.

**Saddle Point** is **Red Point**. This is self-evident from the description of point and islands; **Flinders** in the text tentatively identifies an island with **Captain Cook's Red Point**, and in the **Flinders Chart** actually uses the name.

**Hat Hill** must then be **Mount Kembla**. The bearing from **Red Point** (W.N.W.) rules out **Mount Keira**.

**Canoe River** and **Tom Thumb's Lagoon** can only be the entrance to **Lake Illawarra** and **Lake Illawarra** itself. Neither distance nor bearing from **Red Point** is consistent with either **Coomaditchy** or **Little Lake**, and the map clearly indicates a far larger body of water than either.

In "A Voyage to Terra Australis" **Flinders** gives latitudes and longitudes for **Red Point** ( $34^{\circ}29.5'S.$ ,  $151^{\circ}1'E.$ ) and the entrance to **Tom Thumb's Lagoon** ( $34^{\circ}33.0'S.$ ,  $150^{\circ}56.7'E.$ ), in each case by the Admiralty chart the latitude is almost precisely correct, the longitude slightly overstated. There is still no other conclusion possible than that **Tom Thumb's Lagoon** is **Lake Illawarra**, and its entrance was in its present position, probably always determined by **Windang Island's** breaking the force of the waves. The channel is so drawn on the map as to suggest that it left the lake further north and west than at present. The dunes and sand-

banks may well have shifted; but obviously Flinders was in no position to observe the channel very precisely.

It is odd that he does not mention Windang Island, which contrasts so sharply with the miles of sand to north and south. Nevertheless, the hammer-headed peninsula shown on the G. & F. map just south of "Canoe River" may represent Windang Island, joined (as it sometimes is) to the mainland by a sandbank.

The map shows the northbound track coming in almost at right angles to the coast a little south of Bellambi Point. This must be where they rowed in about noon on March 28. An hour or so later they found the spot where they camped that afternoon and night. Between the point and the old colliery jetty site is a small beach (which fishing boats still find a friendly little spot) fronted with rocks, with a channel through them distinguished by navigation markers. Nothing could fit Flinders's description better, but for his footnote, which points to Coal Cliff. (Coal seams are visible as far south as Austinmer, but the headlands there could not be called high.) But the Tom Thumb could hardly have sailed with a beam wind, and been pulled against a head wind, from Flinders Islet to Coal Cliff in a morning; and it could not possibly have been rowed against the wind from south of Bellambi Point to Coal Cliff in an hour. In any case, the camping place was south of Barn Cove (see entry for 29 March).

The solution may be that, when Flinders came to write his footnote (well over a year after the voyage, and not having himself taken part in the investigation of the Coal Cliffs), lapse of memory, misunderstanding of what Bass told him, or both, led him to confuse the camping-place of 28 March with the anchorage of the following afternoon. The latter may have been one of the partly-sheltered channels between the rock shelves projecting from the base of the great promontory between Coal Cliff and Clifton.

Measurement on the G. & F. map places Double Cove south of "Coals discovered", measurement on the Admiralty chart places it north of Stanwell Park, and the text, which here seems to depart from chronological sequence, is inconclusive. Stanwell Park Beach, backed by two lagoons with a small headland between them, would from a small boat a little way out appear as a double cove, and seems to answer the description better than anywhere else thereabouts.

For the more important of these identifications I do not claim any particular originality. Others have worked on this voyage before, especially Mr. J. S. G. Worland, Mr. Gardiner-Garden and other members of the Illawarra Historical Society who in its early years devoted much attention to these questions. In the main these findings merely confirm and elaborate theirs. They had far less to work on, and the extent to which each piece of additional evidence as it has come to light has confirmed their deductions is a tribute to the soundness of their work.

W.G.M.

# INDEX

Aborigines	6, 10-13, 27, 36, 44	Clarke, — (supercargo	
Aiken, Port	28	"Sydney Cove")	17
Albion Park	34	Clifton	62
Allan, Andrew	34	Coal Cliff	17-19, 62
Allan, David	31, 34, 36	Coledale (Denmark St.)	38
Allan's Creek	48	Collins Rock, Woonona	6, 61
Allen, —	44	Cook, Capt. James 5-6, 14, 16, 61	
Allowrie (Lake Illawarra)	36	Coolangatta	27
Appin		Coomaditchy Lagoon	16, 61
21, 26, 27, 30, 35, 37, 38, 39		Corrigan, —	47
"Athanlin", Yallah	38	Crookhaven (See also	
Banks, (Sir) Joseph	6	Shoals Haven)	21
Barn Cove		Cunningham, Allan	6, 40
7, 14, 15, 16, 59, 60, 61, 62		"Daisybank", Dapto	54
Bass, George	7-16, 17-21, 62	Dapto	34, 54
Bass Point	21	road to	55, 58
Basse's Head	36	D'Arcy, Major	39, 48
Bee (sailing vessel)	50, 52, 54	David's Valley	36, 38
Bellambi Point	16, 49, 61, 62	Dilba (aborigine)	13, 16, 17, 19
Bennett, —	47, 49	Double Cove	15, 59, 60, 62
"Berkeley"	34, 44	Elliott, Gilbert	55, 58
Bishop, Captain P.	44, 46, 48	"Emery's"	49
Black Point	21, 27	Endeavour, H.M.S.	5-6
Blowhole, Kiama	21	Evans, George William	21-27
Bong Bong	28	"Exmouth", Dapto	34
Bourke, Sir Richard	53	Fairy Creek (Para Creek)	48, 58
Brisbane, Mount	37, 38	Fig-tree Creek	44
Brisbane, Sir Thomas	37	Fitzgerald, Lieut.	48
Broker's Nose	61	Five Islands	9-10, 14, 26, 30, 35
Brooks, Richard	34, 36	Bass Islet 16	Big Island 16
Broughton, William, his		Flinders' Islet 16, 62	Martin's Islet 16
farm at Appin	21, 26	Rocky Islet 16	
Broughton Creek	27	Five Islands district	
Brown, John	52, 54	27, 28, 30, 34, 44, 46, 49	
Brown, Robert	34	Flat Rock, Woonona	6
Browne (or Brown), William		Flinders, Matthew	
("Merchant")	36, 38	6, 7-16, 19, 59-62	
Brownsville	54	Francis (schooner)	17
Bulli	27, 34, 38	"Glen Glesh"	54
beach	16, 61	Govett, William Romaine	58
road to	58	Hamilton, Capt. Guy	17
Somerville Ave	34	Harris, Alexander	41-43, 53, 54
Bundewallah Creek	27	Harris, —	50, 54
Bundle (member of Evans's		Hat Hill	6, 15, 16, 17, 60, 61
party)	21	Hell Hole	53, 54
"Bustle Cottage"	49	"Illawarra Farm"	34, 36
"Bustle Farm" (or		Illawarra, Lake	16, 36, 61
"Bustle Hall")	48	Illawarra Range	27, 43, 61
Bushrangers	41, 43	Jenkins, Robert	34, 36
Butler, Lieut. James		Jervis Bay	6, 21, 24, 26, 36
Fitzgerald	44, 47, 48	Johnston, David	38
Cabbage Tree Flat	26	Johnston, Lt. Col.   George	
Cambewarra Range	27, 43	31, 34, 37	
Campbell, Robert & Charles	53	Jordan's Pass	38
Canoe River	15, 16, 60, 61, 62	Keira, Mount	6, 27, 38, 58, 61
Cataract River	27, 35, 38	Kembla, Mount	6, 60, 61
Charcoal Creek	44	Kiama	21, 42-43



Leahy, Colonel John Thomas	53, 58	Smith, Charles Throsby	27-28, 44, 46, 47, 48, 53, 54, 55, 58
Little Lake, Warilla	16, 61	Solander, Dr.	6
Loddon River	38	Somerville, —	27, 34
Long Brush	41, 42	Spearing, Harriet	53
Long Nose Point		Spearing, James Stares	49-54
(Black Point)	20, 21	Spearing, Marcus (See	
(Jervis Bay)	5	also Marcus)	53
"Macquarie Gift"	34	Stanfield Bay (See Stanwell	
Macquarie, Maj.-Gen.		Park)	
Lachlan	34, 35-38, 44	Stanwell Park	16, 60, 62
Macquarie River (Rivulet)	31, 34, 37, 38	"Sydney Cove" (ship)	16, 17
"Marcus" (Spearing?)	49, 50	Terry, Commissioner	49
Marshall Mount	38, 54	Throsby, Charles	
Martin, William ("Boy")	9, 14, 15	27, 28, 34, 35, 36, 38	
Martin's Isles	14	his stockman's hut	30, 31
Martin's Islet	16	Throsby, Mount	37, 38
Meehan, James	6, 16, 34	Throsby's Creek	36, 38
Mitchell, Major (Sir)		Throsby Smith, Charles	
Thomas Livingstone	54-58	(See Smith)	
Mount Keira Estate		Tom Thumb (boat)	7-16, 19, 59-62
(See Paulsgrove)		Tom Thumb Lagoon	
Mount Keira Road	58	(Wollongong)	16, 36, 44
Mullet Creek	54, 58	Tom Thumb's Lagoon (named	
Nebo, Mount	38	by Bass and Flinders)	16, 61
Nowra	26	Towradgi	16, 60, 61
O'Brien, — (settler at Appin)	35	Traveller, Mrs.	46, 47, 49
O'Brien, Cornelius	35, 36, 38	Tupia	6
O'Brien's Gap	38	Waniora Point	61
O'Brien's Road	37, 38	Waldron, Captain	50, 53
Osborne, Alick	50, 52, 54	"Waterloo", Albion Park	34
Osborne, Henry	54, 59	Wattamolla (Watta-Mowlee	
Osborne, John	55	or Providential Cove)	
Otway, Lieut.		15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 60	
Overington, Harriett		Webster, —	52
(See Spearing, Harriet)		Wild, Joseph	28, 34
Oxley, John	30, 31, 44	Wilkinson, Rev. F.	49, 50, 53
Palamba (See Bellambi)		Windang Island	61, 62
Para Creek (See Fairy Creek)		Wollongong	
"Paulsgrove"	49, 54	41, 44-49, 50, 52, 53, 54-56, 58	
Port Hacking	15, 16, 34, 60	Church Hill	55
Port Kembla		Cross Roads	55, 58
(See also Red Point)	16	Flagstaff Hill	47
Providential Cove (See		Geard's Corner	55, 58
Wattamolla)		Hospital, Albert Memorial	58
Red Point (Saddle Point)		Lang Park	49
9-10, 13-16, 18, 26, 34, 35, 36		Signal Hill	47
44, 48, 59-61		Smith's Hill	48
Regent Mountain	35, 36, 37, 38	Streets: Church St.	49, 55;
Reliance, H.M.S.	17	Cliff Rd.	48; Coomb St.
Rogers (a fisherman)	16	54; Crown St.	47, 48, 54, 55; Flin-
Saddle Point (See Red Point)		ders St.	58; Harbour St.
Saddleback Range	21	46, 47, 48, 54, 55; Keira St.	54, 58; Market St.
Sandon Point	34, 38, 60, 61	54; Smith	St. 28, 34, 46, 49, 54, 58;
Shoalhaven River		Stewart St.	55.
20, 21, 25, 26, 30		Woonona	6
Shoals Haven	20, 21	Yallah	38
Smith, Charles Frederick	49		

# SKETCH MAP 2

## WOLLONGONG AND DISTRICT

- A** Military Post
- B** Albert Memorial Hospital
- C** Site for Church of England. (Now St. Michael's)

