THE PAULSGROVE DIARY

Illawarra 1833-1834



Introduction and notes by W. G. McDonald

Illawarra Historical Society

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Illustrations by Annette Macarthur-Onslow

and from the original diary

Illawarra Historical Society
1988



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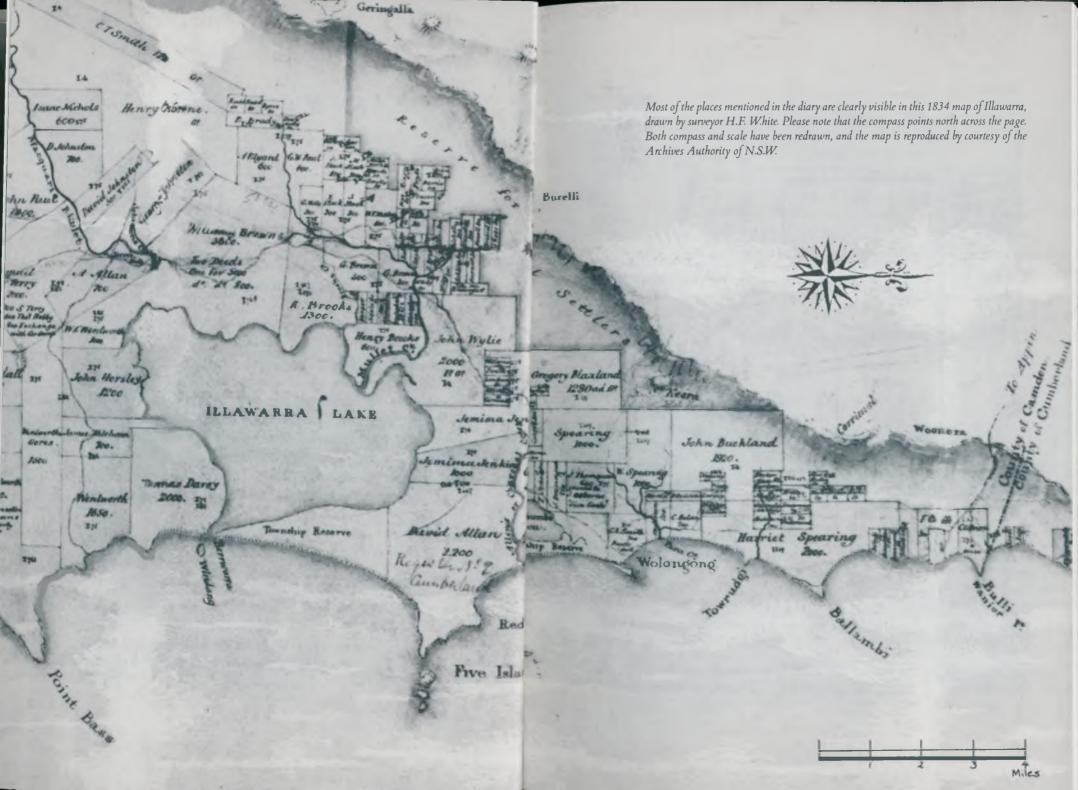
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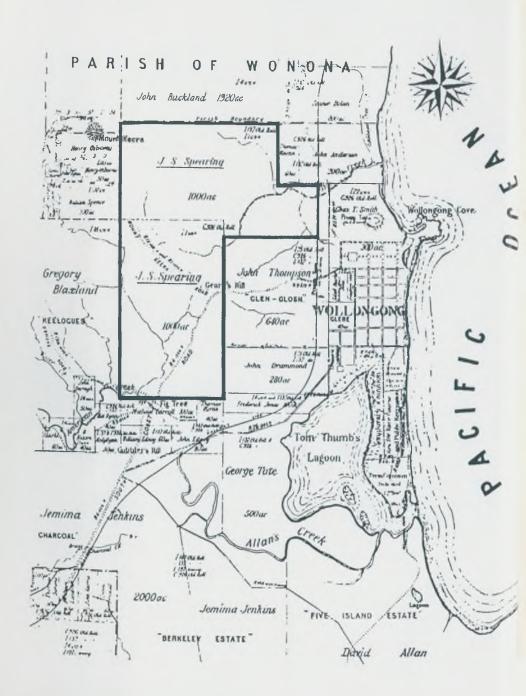
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W.G. McDonald





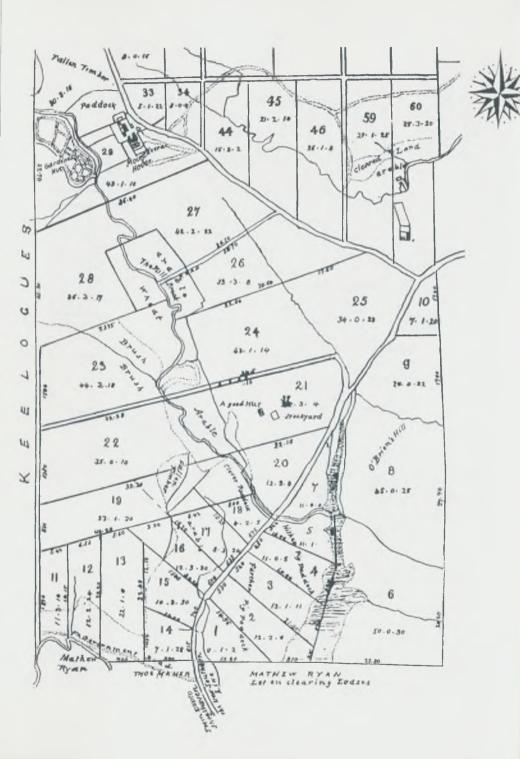


The Paulsgrove Estate is shown in more detail in (left) a Parish map (second edition of 1884). The map shows the names of those to whom grants were originally promised, not (as in later edition) those to whom grants where ultimately made.

(Above) is a plan of the 1842 subdivision, the property by then renamed Mount Keera (sic). The direction north is now at the top of the page.

(Overleaf) an enlarged section of this map shows topographical details, land use and position of dwellings and huts.

These maps by courtesy of the National Library of Australia.



INTRODUCTION

THOSE INTERESTED IN Illawarra history have long been familiar with the name of *The Paulsgrove Diary*, but knew it only by a few extracts. When *Earliest Illawarra* was being compiled in 1966, the diary could not be located, although it was known to have been in the possession of the late Sir John Ferguson. All that could be done was to piece together, with much labour and cursing, the extracts published by "E.J.B." in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 12 November 1910 and by Arthur Cousins in *The Garden of New South Wales*.

Since then the original diary has been located in the Ferguson Collection, which is now in the Australian National Library at Canberra. The Illawarra Historical Society has been given a photocopy of the original diary and a transcript, which is endorsed: "Copy of *The Paulsgrove Diary* written by [] Webster between June and October 1833 and January to April 1834. The original was given by Mrs. Waldron of Wollongong to Mr. E.J. Brady, who gave it to Mr. Justice Ferguson."

The original has a note annexed "This diary was given me by my late Aunt Christina Waldron of Woollongong [sic]. I remember her saying that the author (one Webster, I think) was drowned afterwards near Tumut, N.S.W. I wrote an article thereon for *Sydney Morning Herald*, some years ago entitled "An Old Diary". E.J.B.

N.B. A page relating to the death of Capt. Waldron at Spring Hill was I believe removed by his son (my uncle Henry Waldron) before the book came into my possession. E.J.B.'

The last paragraph was a little more evidence that the atmosphere of sinister mystery surrounding the Waldron murder case was largely created by Captain Waldron's own family; why they should have created it is itself a mystery, for there was nothing in it of which they had any reason to be ashamed.

These notes identify "E.J.B.", the author of the *Herald* article, as Edwin James Brady, a *Bulletin* balladist specialising in sea verses, and in his day a well-known Australian literary figure.

The diary itself was a small hard-covered notebook, of which Cousins made a full transcript. Evidently the original binding was then in a bad way. Many leaves were loose, and he found that they were not arranged in the proper order. He worked out what the correct sequence would have been (on which I see no reason to differ from him). No doubt feeling that he was bound to leave the diary as he found it, he did not physically rearrange the loose leaves, but reported the errors in arrangement. Apparently nothing more was done to rectify this, and the diary was bound with the leaves in the rather haphazard sequence in which the binder found them.

The text, as shown in the photocopy sent to us, was defective in various ways; for instance, a word, or even occasionally a whole sentence, might be illegible; or part of a word might be caught up in the binding, or missing or obliterated where the outer edge of a leaf had been damaged. Such defects were partly made good by Cousins' transcript — evidently when he saw the diary it was in better shape that it is now.

Although the transcript is far from being meticulously accurate, without it the production of a reasonably correct text would have been difficult, if not impossible. It seemed, however, unnecessary and unduly distracting to the reader to note the many instances in which a word has been completed or supplied by Cousins, unless the meaning is affected.

To clear up doubts as far as possible, the original diary was examined. This examination enabled me to fill in or complete many words or messages not clearly legible in the photocopy, and to verify several of Cousins' readings. There still remain many deficiencies in the text, for which I can only ask the reader's indulgence.

The diary is a day-to-day record of life on "Paulsgrove", the

property of James Stares Spearing at West Wollongong. The 1828 Census shows that Spearing "came free" on the ship *Harvey* in 1825, being then about 47 years old.

On arrival in Australia, Spearing received from Governor Brisbane promises of two grants, each of 1000 acres, which became portions seven and eight of the Parish of Wollongong. The former extended roughly from Foley's Road to half-way up Mount Keira, and from the Technical College in Lysaght Street, North Wollongong to Wiseman Park. The adjoining portion eight extended from Cross Roads to Mount Keira township, and south almost to the Figtree Hotel.

Somewhere along the line he also picked up two small parcels of 40 and 60 acres — not positively identified, but probably portions 106 and 107 of the Parish of Wonona, in the neighbourhood of Fairy Meadow Railway Station.

In accordance with these customs, Spearing lost no time in taking possession of his estates, which he named "Paulsgrove" (sometimes referred to as "Paul's Grove", and in one instance as "Paulsgrove Park"). He built his home somewhere near the upper (ie the northwestern) end of Yellagong Street, West Wollongong. By the latter part of 1826 he was evidently well established.

Persons to whom grants had been promised were permitted to take possession before the land was surveyed and the grant issued; and because of the delays in surveys and issues of grants, a practice grew up by which land promised was bought, sold, and mortgaged (with deeds in proper form duly engrossed, sealed and registered) as if the grants had issued.

On 26 February 1827, at St. James' Church, Sydney, Spearing married Harriet Overington, to whom a grant of 1920 acres was promised. It was a long irregularly-shaped property (Portion 113, Parish of Wonona), usually referred to in contemporary documents as "Bellambi" or "Palamba", but extending from Towradgi to

Woonona. There was no Married Women's Property Act then, and no doubt this grant made up most of the balance of the 4000 acres credited to Spearing in the 1828 Census.

According to that Census, Harriet was then living at Paulsgrove, as was Marcus Spearing, aged 15. The Census does not show his relationship to James Spearing. Beyond stating that they came free, it does not show when or by what ship or ships Harriet and Marcus arrived in the colony.

The same Census credits Spearing with 400 acres cleared and 250 acres cultivated, 5 horses, 50 horned cattle and 111 sheep. The Sydney Gazette of 8 February 1832 reported that Mr. Spearing of "Paulsgrove" had a flock of 750 sheep, the major part of which he had reared in two years, and that this was the only flock in the district.

In the same year the Australian Almanac reported: "The principal agriculturalist of the district is Mr. Spearing of Mount Keira. He has a beautiful garden of 15 acres and upwards, well stocked with fruit trees and vegetables; he has also two excellent water mills". According to Alexander Stewart, Spearing "had been a master miller in the Old Country" and himself built these mills, and also a windmill, "having carpenters and other tradesmen working for them".

He had his difficulties. Stewart recalled that in 1832 "There was a great downpour of rain which many persons called a waterspout That great rain carried away the two watermills that Mr. Spearing had on Millbrook (then Hell Hole) Creek. One of the mills was not completely erected. The stones were laid for it, but they were carried away by the torrent, and the debris were [sic] afterwards found lower down the creek. The other mill was in use, and was situated near where the Mount Keira gardens were. The flood carried this small watermill away down the creek, and it was never seen again". But Spearing was not easily discouraged, and a reference in the

Diary shows that in 1834 he had at least one mill, evidently a water mill, in operation.

The manual work on the property was of course nearly all performed by convicts. A "List of Convict Servants assigned to Mr. J.S. Spearing since 1st Jany. 1826", prepared by an official on the Assignment Board, showed that up to 19 April 1830 no fewer than sixty-one convicts had been assigned to Spearing, though there would not, of course, have been anything like that number on the property at any one time. Some would have obtained tickets of leave; others were returned for such reasons as drunkenness, "brutal treatment of cattle" or simply "Returned — no further occasion", which probably means general uselessness. No. 6 is noted as "hanged for the murder of No. 10", and No. 10 as "murdered by No. 6". (There is an account of this case in A True Narrative of a Horrid and Bloody Murder done at the Hell Hole in Illawarra, A.D. 1826.)

It was to a fairly well-set-up establishment that the diarist came, at some time in 1833. Webster, if that was his name, and I will call him so for convenience, is a rather shadowy figure. He had been in Australia for a few months at most. More than once he refers to what he had been doing in England "this day twelve months". He was probably young — his relations with Spearing seem to have been rather distant, but he and Marcus (first referred to as "Mr. M. Spearing", then "Mr. Marcus", and before long simply "Marcus") were companions in exploration and shooting trips. He was presumably single — he mentions various members of his family, but never a wife. He was fairly well educated for his time and apparent station — although his spelling and punctuation are erratic, and his grammar not beyond reproach, his writing is neat and reasonably good, and he could quote Pope's "Essay on Man" and Young's "Love of Fame". He may have come from the Isle of Wight for on 1 September 1833 he records, "This day 12 months ago was at Newchurch to the funeral service on poor mother". There is more than one Newchurch in England, but one is in the Isle of Wight. Webster mentions receiving Isle of Wight and Portsmouth papers, and his sister Mary at Portsmouth, one of the nearest large towns to the Isle of Wight. This may explain how he came to know Spearing; for, though it is not known where Spearing came from, it was to the Isle of Wight that he retired.

Webster's favourite amusement seems to have been shooting, usually in company with Marcus. He was an amateur taxidermist, and also an amateur meteorologist, jotting down temperatures and rainfall figures in the margins of the diary. (These marginal entries have been omitted from this reprint, being largely illegible, and even when legible, of very limited interest).

Many details of his daily life, and items of local interest, are recorded; but what might have been the most interesting is missing. There are no entries for 27 January to 31 January inclusive. Probably this is the page that Henry Waldron made away with.

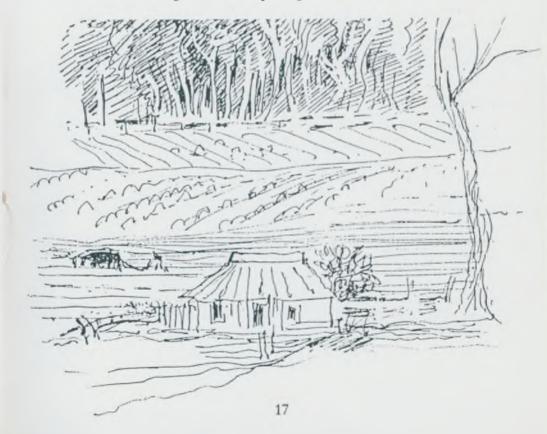
As time went on Webster became increasingly disgruntled with Spearing and "Paulsgrove" — "this dreary hole", "the dam'd hole" — and finally he "had a deuce of a breeze with Spearing" (no reason stated), and "left Paulsgrove with regret that I ever went near the place". The discomforts of the voyage to Sydney were not improved by a severe hangover. A few days later he wrote to Mrs. Spearing, so apparently the "deuce of a breeze" had not involved her.

So Webster said farewell to "Paulsgrove" and Illawarra. As mentioned earlier, according to Mrs. Waldron he was drowned a few years later near Tumut. The diary is his modest contribution to history.

Spearing did not last a great deal longer in Illawarra. In December 1835 the "Paulsgrove" properties were conveyed to Lt. Col. John Thomas Leahy, who changed the name to "Mount Keera". The Colonel did not live long to enjoy his purchase. He died on 27 June

1839, intestate and unmarried. The property passed to his heir-atlaw, his brother Daniel, who was in Ireland. Daniel Leahy conveyed the property to Robert and Charles Campbell on trust for sale, and it was to them that the grants finally issued in 1841. In accordance with the trusts the Campbells subdivided the estate into a large number of small lots, which were sold piecemeal over many years.

After leaving "Paulsgrove", Spearing evidently lived for a time in Sydney; but the latest references to him which I have been able to trace are two deeds of 1846 and 1849, in which he is described as "of Molena Cottage in the Parish of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, Esquire". So he was an early specimen of that favourite character of Victorian fiction, the man who had made his pile in Australia, returned to England and set up as a gentleman.



Longest in John well June 1 1833 Amend - 2.5 Stomas 1834 October 31 183.3 Sal 34. 6 South don 151 als Gast wind nought a trifle. Thouse though it small aprear; mall rands the mountain 9=5-3

WRITTEN BY [] WEBSTER BETWEEN JUNE AND OCTOBER 1833 & JANUARY TO APRIL 1834

Shortest day 9 Longest 14" 16 John Dec 16 Joseph 26 Charles Nov¹

From June 1st 1833 to October, 31, 1833

> Lat. 34" 6 South Lon. 151" 15 East²

Think nought a trifle, Though it small appear; Small sands the mountain Moments make the year.³

JUNE 1833

Saturday 1: [no entry]

Sunday 2: whale came on shore at Palamba.⁴ Jones and Mr Bennett⁵ din'd at Paulsgrove and return'd home to tea a rum time of visiting.

Monday 3: Mr Spearing went to see about the whale — finish'd sowing blue peas in the bottom and then sow'd the gardener wheat 3 bsh. 1 left. — Mr Johnstone⁶ called.

Teusday 4: Sent two drays to Palamba for oil from the whale

Wednesday 5: receiv'd cows from Five Islands

Thursday 6: receiv'd 20 bsh of seed wheat from Hied7

Friday 7: Receiv'd 20 more bsh of wheat from Hide. Sowed 5½ of wheat in the field near Emery. a man came from Campeltown for the'r money

Saturday 8: Receiv'd my boxes from Sydney, likewise letters from England, two from brother Charles (one dat'd Nov 7th the other Dec 18) and one from Sister Betsey Oct 21 also Newspapers.

Sunday 9: busy reading English news &c
Abstract of the Revenue of New South Wales, 1832.
Receipts 135909"15"6½
Disbursements 126909"12"6½ in hand £9000. From the last weeks newspapers.8

Monday 10: Sown the flower seed I brought from England.

Teusday 11: Sent to Sydney 80 bsh of Wheat, 31-2 bsh bags and two tubs of Pork. Went to the beach to ship the wheat. The Shoemaker return'd from the Hospital, Liverpool — the men chipping in wheat and burning off.

Wednesday 12: Wilson & Smith¹⁰ absent from work. Wrote to my sister Betsey.

Thursday 13: [no entry]

Friday 14: Paid Sam [] for making a cabbage tree hat11

Saturday 15: Sow'd 3½ acres of wheat oats 2 bsh. Shot a cow.

Sunday 16: Raining from ½ past 11 a.m. till 4 p.m. Hore and his son call in the morning concerning a horse.

Monday 17: Made a bridge across the creek at the lower end. Mr. Spearing went to five islands farm¹² and sold a horse.

Teusday 18: The blacks came to husk the corn. Mr. Osborne¹³ and his nephew din'd at Mr. Spearing's. Mr. Osborne slept. The Shoemaker (Hunt) went to the beach with Mr. Spearing. Wednesday 19: Blacks husking corn. Sent a horse to Camble ton for Mr. Marques Spearing.

Thursday 20: Sow'd 6 bsh of wheat at Teddy Hyde. Sydney Smith and Wilson chiping in wheat near Emerys.

Mr. M. Spearing return'd from Sydney.

Friday 21: Chiping in wheat and burning off.

Saturday 22: High and dry wind all day.

Sunday 23: Fine weather.

Monday 24: Mr. Ellyard DM¹⁴ call'd in the evening drunk, having lost his way and slept.

Teusday 25: Sown 2 bsh of wheat at Teddy Hides. [] Capt Allman¹⁵ a fat cow went with Mr. Spearing to Mr. Jones in the evening to give a letter to Mr. Bennet for my sister Betsey. Paid 1s.

Billy shot a native dog.

Wednesday 26: [no entry]

Thursday 27: A Shooting with Mr. M. Spearing shot a Satin Bird. ¹⁶

Friday 28: Kill'd eight pigs small rain and misty.

Saturday 29: A whale came on shore at Wollongong. Finish'd plough at Teddy Hide Sown 4 bsh of wheat.

Sunday 30: Went to Woolongong to church Mr. Redall¹⁷ preach'd Mr. Jones return'd with us and din'd, so did Mr. Jones. [sic]



JULY 1833

Monday 1: Sent some Cows calfs and Oxen to the five Islands farm began cross burning.

Teusday 2: Sown 1 bsh of Prussian blue peas also 4 bsh of small onions.

Wednesday 3: Walk to Woolongon (to send a parcel to Sydney) and from thence to Palamba then paid Sweeney¹⁸ a bill for Mr Spearing of £2,,2s a order for Mr Lord¹⁹ for 7s and an order for Mr [] for £1,,15s Sent a letter and a newspaper to my brother Charles and a book to Mr. St[rest of name illegible]

Thursday 4: The ewes came home from Palamba. Sweeney's vessel the Sarah sail'd for Sydney

Friday 5: Counted the sheep Wethers [] Ewes [] Lambs 118
Total [] wethers went to Palamba. kill'd pigs.

Saturday 6: Shot two red bills²⁰ pigs salt'd

Sunday 7: A shooting with Mr M Spearing who shot three green and two wongoo wongoo pidgeons²¹

Monday 8: Skin'd a redbill. strong wind from the north ground 10 bsh of flour.

Teusday 9: Strong wind till the evening white frost.

Wednesday 10: [No entry]

Thursday 11: Timothy the black shooting for Mr M. Spearing

Friday 12: The ewes began lambing the second time two lambs

Mr. H. Osborne din'd and slept.

Saturday 13: Mr H. Osborne return'd dined and slept told of the death of Mr Holderness.

Raining hard from ½ past 4 till 7 p.m. heavy in the night.

Sunday 14: Skin'd a native cat 22 (6 lambs)

Monday 15: [No entry]

Teusday 16: went with Mr Spearing to Mr H Osborne

Wednesday 17: rode with Mr Osborne and Mr Spearing to Messrs Johnstones Terry and Wentworths grants.²³ return'd and slept at Mr Osborne's

Thursday 18: Returned home, Mr Spearing bought and receiv'd 60 pigs of Mr Osborne. Ewes lamb'd 30 lambs 30

Friday 19: Sent Lowe to Sydney with horse for Mr Lord. Sown the tobacco seed.

Saturday 20: Went to Towroger ²⁴ by Woolongon raining all day till 10 p.m. Wethers 411 native dog kill'd a lamb

Sunday 21: Strong wind all night. W, till 12 p.m. Lambs 54

Monday 22: Planting Turnips for seed

Teusday 23: Shoobert25 sail'd

Wednesday 24: Blacks picking potatoes &c Lambs 69 tails off 62 Receiv'd of Hore 2 bsh of rye

Thursday 25: finish'd chiping in wheat.

Friday 26: Receiv'd of Lyset [] of corn in exchange for wheat — pruning.

Saturday 27: 4 bsh of Peas sown by the Oats. Shot a heifer — ewe die'd.

Sunday 28: Mr Jones, Mr Bennet and Mr Osborne din'd at Paulsgrove. Lambs 90

Monday 29: Receiv'd by Sweeney's boat a parcel of Newspapers from Charles by favour Mr Apelton, also some from Isle of Wight by Mr Jolliffe a letter from Sister Betsey, one from Charles and three from Mr T. Harvey

Teusday 30: Lambs 103 triming the vines

Wednesday 31: wrote to Brother Richard by Sweeney Boat enclosed to Mr Williams Lambs 116

AUGUST 1833

Thursday 1: Gardener and Billy began diging the trench

Friday 2: kill'd a Bullock. Lambs 114, Ewes 418. Sweeny's vessel sail'd to Sydney

Saturday 3: [no entry]

Sunday 4: The gardiner lost his jacket and shirt. Lambs 128, Sheep Wethers 410, Ewes 414, Lambs Great 118, Small 128, Total 246.

Monday 5: finish'd triming the vines

Teusday 6: rain in the evening

Wednesday 7: heavy shower in the evening

Thursday 8: Shot a heifer/the rye sown

Friday 9: the working bullocks brought from the five islands cut the lambs tails 66 — lambs 170

Saturday 10: receiv'd 1 lb of Powder a bag of Shot percussion caps from Sydney by Sweeny. the wethers brought home from Towroger strong wind in the evening ground 2 bushels of wheat.

Sunday 11: Some one stole old Bob's shirts All hands at church except Sam, Charles and Billy myself and Mrs S were not there Strong wind in the evening and all night very warm in the morning but cold in the afternoon Lambs 183 117 total 300

Monday 12: [no entry]

Teusday 13: 2 PM raining til 10

Wednesday 14: [no entry]

Thursday 15: Mr Spearing receiv'd a packet of Papers from England.

Friday 16: went with Mr Spearing and Jerralong to the five Islands for some black Swan's eggs.

Saturday 17: Jerrylong brought the black swans eggs

Sunday 18: the thermometer 80 Noon — very cold in evening

Monday 19: a young ewe died

Tuesday 20: wrote and sent a letter by post to Mr Jolliffe Mr Marcus went to Mr Ellyards for wine [

Wednesday 21: cut the largest lambs — and the tails off 5 young black swans hatch'd

Thursday 22: put on the grafts from Dr Elyard Mrs Osborne Jun²⁶ dined at Paulsgrove

Friday 23: kill'd nine of the pigs from Mr Osborne. shot nine teal PM

Saturday 24: turf burning in pig paddock

Sunday 25: went to Tom Thumb²⁷ the men sang in church the first time native dog kill'd a wether strong wind and cold Thermometer

Monday 26: Sown 5 bsh of Peas and about 1 bsh of barley fresh wind to the north.

Tuesday 27: Sowing barley in pig paddock — 5 ships pass'd for Sydney

Wednesday 28: [no entry]

Thursday 29: some cattle brought from five islands

Friday 30: shot a bullock for Mr Osborne. Mr Marcus receiv'd some powder and shot from Sydney

Saturday 31: Finished barley sowing in pig paddock thunder and lightning in the evening. Memo Dry all this month except one or two showers.

SEPTEMBER 1833

Sunday 1: AM went to Woolongon church Mr Hassell preach'd — PM to the beach for a walk with Marcus returned by Humphries []

Wrote to Mr Harvey Parramatta also to brother Charles sent both letters to Sydney by Mr Osborne jun this day twelve month ago was at Newchurch²⁸ to the funeral sermon on poor mother, there respectable congregation and a large church — here convict and a barn.²⁹

Monday 2: Burning down the dead trees Mr Spearing kept us waiting till $\frac{1}{2}$ past six for our dinner.

Teusday 3: kill'd 12 Pigs

Wednesday 4: PM went to Woolongon found Sweeneys boat had sailed Memo this day twelve month ago left home drank tea at my sister Mary — Portsmouth.

Thursday 5: Showery PM

Friday 6: Mr Marcus and Mr Spearing went to Palamba and Pounded [] cattle.

Kill'd 6 pigs.

Saturday 7: [No entry]

Sunday 8: Marcus brought the young pheasent30

Monday 9: [No entry]

Teusday 10: Mr Spearing sent Allcock to court who received fifty lashes for beating a ox and for impertinence

Wednesday 11: Mr Marcus and Clark to Five Islands to deliver colt to Red Tom also one to Corrigan.³¹ Tom's rear'd fell back and almost kill'd itself, obliged to leave it, the other got away, five Islands.

Thursday 12: sent the ewes 451 and small lambs 213 to the five islands farm the shoemaker Hunt and Shepard with them — Mr Spearing and Marcus went to look for the horses found Red Tom's dead, and could not find the other Ewe flock 451 lambs 213/wethers 371 lambs 117. sent a cask of pork and a tub of oil to Sydney by the Bee

Friday 13: receiv'd a parcel of Newspapers from Charles 1 Cosmopolite April 18 and a Brighton Gaurdian of March 27, the rest in Jan and the beginning of Feb also a letter from Mr Jolliffe Lisbon, — went to Woolongon and back to breakfast

Mr Marcus return'd from the five island having found the horse.

Saturday 14: Mr H Osborne din'd at Paulsgrove, Mr Marcus shot 6 birds (a small kind of Parrot with a topknot like a Cockatoo.

Sunday 15: shot 3 top knot pigeons and two birds the same as Marcus shot yesterday

Monday 16: stuft some birds

Teusday 17: All the cattle brought home from the five islands

Wednesday 18: Wrote and sent a letter by post to Mr T Harvey London.

Caught out about 80 wethers and wash'd them. The Thermometer at 84 in the shade at noon, Hot northwardly wind a slight breeze sprang up from the S.East at 8 PM very unusual quarter and time

Thursday 19: sent the cattle back to the five islands 102 shot a bullock weather very cold Thermometer down to 55 in middle of the day.

Fryday 20: [No entry]

Saturday 21: Shear'd 76 wethers — Shearers — Burges, Alcock Clarck Taylor Lockett and J Algar³² — finish'd plough in pig paddock.

Sunday 22: Bateman cut my hair

Monday 23: receiv'd a cask of wine tea sugar and leather (by the Bee) from Sydney — Sent the wethers to Palamby — with old John

Teusday 24: Mr H and Osborne din'd at Paulsgrove. H Osborne having (Began plough for corn.) been to court with his servant girl, stoped and drank tea A ewe kill'd

Wednesday 25: Went to Woolongon and return'd to breakfast. Mr Spearing sent eleven head of cattle to pound belonging to Osborne and the Sm [rest of name illegible]³³

Thursday 26: father Therry consecrated a piece of ground for the Romish Church.³⁴ Mr F. Osborne³⁵ drank tea at Paulsgrove, two of Mr H Osborne's men slept at Paulsgrove on their road to Parrahmatta and Bathurst with 3 mares the thermometer fell from 90 to 62 in a half of an hour from 1 to ½ past

Fryday 27: Mr H. Osborne call'd in the afternoon on his road to Bathurst for his sheep.

Saturday 28: kill'd a cow Murphy brought some Musk plants and gigantic lilies and told us of the death of old Timbooree who died from the bite of a black snake.

Sunday 29: Went to Woolongon to church but no service owing to Mr. Claton's wife being very ill³⁶ — return'd by the beach. Mr Spearing went to towroger did not return till ½ past 6 to dinner

Monday 30: Began planting potatoes in pig paddock. Billy shot a native dog

Wheat and all kinds of grain and everything beginning to want rain.

This month the weather have been dry and pleasant with the exception of a few showers from the 6 to the 10th the Thermometer up once to 90 a few slight white frosts.

OCTOBER 1833

Teusday 1: Went into the bush shooting with Marcus, 10 A.M. started up the garden cross'd the first ridge and then very a deep uneven and thick vines and bush 1 PM stopt'd clear'd a piece of ground light'd a fire and boil'd a pot of tea left our traps, 2 PM went a shooting 5 P.M. return'd having shot nothing built a Gunnee³⁷ made some tea and toasted a rasher of bacon smoked two pipes laid down on a bed of cabbage leaves slept middling well.

Wednesday 2: at daylight went a shooting 8 PM returned, no luck to breakfast, then took up our baggage and walk'd stop'd at the foot of Mount Hat³⁸ and built a Gunee and then to shoot—old luck, bacon and tea for dinner then to shoot Marques

shot a wild turkey³⁹ 6 return'd drank tea smoke our pipes and slept well having a better Gunee than the night before

Thursday 3: shot 2 top knot pigeons⁴⁰ and Marques shot a green pigeon eat the breast of the wild turkey for breakfast employ'd till dinner stufing birds. Marcus shot a black Satin bird, went to see a turkeys nest that Marcus had found but no egg. Marcus shot another wild turkey I shot two top knot pigeons. had the wild turkey for dinner in evening, most terrible tough, finish'd our wine slept not so well as the night being much colder. Marcus found a quarry or rather a cliff of very good coal.

Fryday 4: employ'd from breakfast till dinner skining birds—we supposed to be about five miles from home in a direct line 12 took up our traps and walk'd on our road home stop'd at our old Gunee and wait'd some time for Marcus who had miss'd his way or pretended so, he shot a hen pheasant made a fire put on the pot and made some tea, then march'd again. stop'd some time in endeavouring to get a green pigeons egg cross'd a long bottom in a old cedar road grown over with nettles and vines for about a mile then ascended a high hill then turn'd to the left and went along the ridge, still ascending, till we came to the new road to Appin⁴¹. turn'd to the right instead of the left and went about a mile out of our way down hill found our mistake had to march all the way back again

it was now dark had to go a mile across the bush down to the garden return'd home about half past eight in terrible perspiration drank tea smoked a pipe and went to bed. finish'd setting potatoes in pig paddock.

Saturday 5: Getting potatoes in nine acres Mr Florence⁴² call and slept on his way from Holy Dollar⁴³ to Sydney. The weather cloudy and cold with light showers in evening.

Sunday 6: Billy shot a native dog and a cat the Weather very cold with a shower in the afternoon.

Monday 7: went to Woolongon with Mr Spearing and Marcus to the court of requests⁴⁴ Commissioner Terry ⁴⁵. 81 cases being 11 more than last year, nearly all the district there it would have been a hard job to have found a honest man amongst the set.

Teusday 8: began burning off in the peice near the Shoemaker's hut.

Mr Spearing went to the five island farm to doctor the lambs. Mr Brown (Merchant)⁴⁶ buried at Wollongon died Sunday night

Wednesday 9: [No entry]

Thursday 10: [No entry]

Fryday 11: Mr Williamson breakfasted at Paulsgrove Mr A Osborne drank tea Ditto a large fire broke out under Mt Hat kill'd the last of the pigs 9

Saturday 12: Mr Shobert bought some wool

Sunday 13: Went to Woolongon, Mr Wilkinson preach'd the

first time. heard by Clark of seven lambs being dead at the five islands the Bullock driver brought the pup Blue.

Monday 14: Mr A Osborne drank tea drank W Jolliffes health and many happy returns.

Teusday 15: employ'd triming the vines. wrote for Billy to his wife — wrote to brother Charles

Wednesday 16: gave Mr Spearing £2 to get me some [part of page missing]

Thursday 17: Allcock began cutting the peas on the hill — a very thick fog in morning, close and fogs all day and night with hot wind from the north east saw by the papers the loss of the Por [rest of name illegible]

Fryday 18: Mr Spearing went to Sydney in the Bee — Sultry hot. sent the letters by him for Pangby [?] and Charles

Saturday 19: Burges carting rails for fences. Yates and Hughton Dick making fires and carting in the turnips. Alcock finished cutting the peas.

Sunday 20: A.M. went to Woolongon Church. Mr Wilkinson preached from Revelations 4 chapter 11 verse.⁴⁷ A large ship in the offing, standing for Sydney

Monday 21: [No entry]

Teusday 22: Paid Mr Evans⁴⁸ 4s 6d for some numbers of the Saturday Magazine.

Wednesday 23: bought a black waistcoat of Surmans 15s

Thursday 24: went shooting on Woolonmolla⁴⁹ but no luck

JANUARY 1834

Wednesday 1: carting wheat to the rick raceing at Woolongon sweepstakes for a saddle, won by O'Rian

Thursday 2: finished carting the wheat and carted three loads of Barley the Rye Mr A Osborne and Mr Purping⁵⁰ din'd at Paulsgrove Mr Marcus went to Mr H Osborne's with them and slept.

Fryday 3: took into the old barn the old wheat rick — Buding trees [in?] the garden Plums Apricots Pears — today the post came the first time of its coming twice a week to the Illawarra.

Saturday 4: Mr Spearing went to the Court with

Mackenzie Mr H Osborne return'd with him din'd and slept

Mr A Osborne came in the afternoon cart'd the oats from the hill that was cut before harvest raining from about four PM till the next (but steady) day the Sheep came home from Pallamba.

Sunday 5: Mr Spearing, and the Mr Osbornes went to church Mr Marcus returned home, raining all the afternoon a most miserable horrible terrible dismal day. Monday 6: kill'd a sheep, wrote to my sister Ann

Teusday 7: two teams⁵¹ began plough in Paddock near the Swamp two plough between the corn and Barley field.

Mr A Osborne drank tea, in going home rode against a stump and cut his horses leg a great deal return'd and slept Showers all day and night. A new man came Samual Painter

Wednesday 8: showers all the morning. went to Woolongon to put a letter in the Post for my Sister Ann, Mrs Eveleigh P.M.

Thursday 9: Mr Spearing went to Mr H Osborne fine weather the wind to east sent forty bsh of maize to Sydney per Bee.

Fryday 10: Sown about four Acres of Swede turnips in pig paddock near the swamp. Some cows and calves brought from the five island.

Old dick began plough amongst the corn near the potatoes rain in the night

Saturday 11: Mr Spearing return'd from Mr Osborne's misty and drizeling rain all day. men grinding wheat; heavy rain in the night.

Sunday 12: No church; Mr Wilkinson being gone to Shoal haven Weather fine, in the afternoon went up the mountain for a walk; Marcus went with the intent of going to one of the five islands.

Monday 13: 4 teams at plough in the Paddock below the Long Paddock some mares and foals brought from five islands — the peaches stolen supposed by the blacks. Bought a nankeen bird⁵² for 3s.

Teusday 14: Stuff'd a nankeen bird before breakfast — the teams as yesterday — heavy rain with thunder and lighting from seven till midnight.

Wednesday 15: the mares went back to the five islands — men employ'd as yesterday weather fine but warm.

Thursday 16: fine weather

Fryday 17: sowing rape seed PM about 4 acres on the left side in the paddock below the long paddock the cattle brought home from five island

Saturday 18: sowing rape seed about five acres. kill'd a bullock for Mr A Osborne. Capt Waldron's servant girls brought to court for thrashing there master remanded for another examination⁵³ the cattle went back to the Five Islands.

Sunday 19: went to Woolongon church and on board the Bee receiv'd a letter from Charles and one from Henry to him also a note and a small parcel from Mr Williams. the note I lost in the bush coming home.

Monday 20: finish sowing the feild below the long paddock — about 8 Acres very warm with wind to the East 6 PM shift'd to

the South and then all round the compass with thunder lightning and rain

Teusday 21: sowing Swede turnips in Pig paddock — broke in a horse.

Wednesday 22: buding peach and apricot trees Marcus shot a cat wrote to Mr Williams by the Bee

Thursday 23: Mr Spearing and Marcus went to Towroger Sow'd 2 acres of turnips at the farther part of the Pig Paddock. very ill all day with pains in my inside and limbs heavy thunder and lighting began about six and slack'd about ten with rain showers all night. the wethers went to Palamba with old John

Fryday 24: very poorly all day with pains in my limbs and inside raining almost all day men at the mill

Saturday 25: weather very fine three teams plough at farther part of Emery. 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 stolen from the meat house with the conniveance of some one sentenced to receive fifty lashes. 54 Mr A Osborne came back with Mr Marcus and dined

Sunday 26: went to Woolongon church Mr Wilkinson preached, capital sermon on scandaling slandering and interfering with our neighbours. very suitable to the Illawarra gentry.

Monday 27: [No entry] 55

Tuesday 28: [No entry]

Wednesday 29: [No entry]

Thursday 30: [No entry]

Friday 31: The weather this month have been fine showery till the 20th then dry till the end of the month — more than a usual quantity of thunder and lightning although not heavy — no hot winds — the Thermometer not below 60 or above 90 Crops, the maize looking well, the grass very abundent, the turnips coming up well.

[On back of leaf] I receiv'd yours the 19th of this month also one from [?] Henry to you.

FEBRUARY 1834

Saturday 1: finished sowing at Emery's and sow'd about 5 acres at Teddy Hydes.

Sunday 2: receiv'd a parcel of papers from Charles also three letters and one letter from Betsey

Monday 3: sown eleven Acres over again at Teddy Hydes and Emery more for the sake of giving me a sweating than any thing else wrote to my Brother Charles the ewe came home from Five Islands **Teusday 4:** Hill and the Sweep sawing cedar. Turnips sowing about a Acre a Smart shower in the afternoon got wet through

Wednesday 5: Shot a bullock

raining in the evening and [night?] Mr H Osborne slept at Paulsgrove cut the heads of the stooks [two lines illegible]

Thursday 6: Mr [] breakfasted at Paulsgrove afterwards started with Mr Spearing and Mr Osborne for Sydney two teams plough at Teddy Hyde. Hughes making fires in wheat [] below the rapes

Saturday 8: finish'd sowing turnips at Teddy Hydes — Burges burning out in the peise over the creek.

Fryday 7: [No entry]

Sunday 9: [No entry]

Monday 10: Dick Harrowing Burgess plough Hughes making fires. The Ewes went back to five islands stuff'd a flying fox Vampire Bat.⁵⁶

Teusday 11: two teams at plough the men employ'd as yesterday

Wednesday 12: the men employ'd as yesterday a shower in the night — memo, hot wind all the morning

Thursday 13: dick harrowing. the rest as yesterday

Fryday 14: sown about 3 acres of white turnips Mr Spearing return'd from Sydney with him Mr Osborne and Mr Maine who stopt and slept men in the afternoon to the mill

Saturday 15: Sown about a acre of turnips

Sunday 16: went to Woolongon with the intent of going to Church — but no service owing to Mr Wilkinson not being return'd from Sydney.

Monday 17: cuting the vines off and the bandages from the peach buds

hot enough for anyone Hughes harrowing turnips

Teusday 18: Mr Spearing blacksmith Charley and Yates play with the bell alias hanging it (all day)

Wednesday 19: the men at mill — raining all day with heavy squals from the south west.

Thursday 20: raining all day till 5 O'CL PM and then fine

Fryday 21: planting cabbage plant and the swede turnips in pig paddock. Mr Marcus went to Mr Osborne, Bellevue, Marshall mount⁵⁷ for two mares return'd Saturday with them. Billy planting Brocoli plants.

Saturday 22: Sown about six acres of white round turnips, over the creek.

Sunday 23: Mr A Osborne drank tea at Paulsgrove and

brought some Portsmouth papers which was very aceptable in this dreary hole.

Monday 24: [No entry]

Teusday 25: sown about two acres of swede turnips over again Mr Marcus and Clarke went to the five islands for the cattle but return'd without them

Wednesday 26: sown about three acres of turnips. this day the two consign'd servant gurls of the late Capt Waldron hung at Sydney for the murder of their master ⁵⁸ the cattle came home from the five islands

Thursday 27: Receiv'd a pound of tobacco from Sydney Mr Spearing received some thing, also by the Bee. the sun is very powerful. A Osborne din'd at Paulsgrove, read Mr Alick Osborne my opinion of it is a weak and trumpery publication and his account of New South Wales and the Illawarra especially, is by no means correct.⁵⁹ hot wind in the evening.

Fryday 28: sown about two acres of turnips and rape at Teddy Hydes where they had not taken

the thermometer in the shade 96 and in the sun 110 with us, but with some of our neighbours as high as 120 this have been the hottest day we had since I have been in coloney

kill'd a yearling bulluck walk'd to Woolongon for the post heard the Servants of Capt Waldron being pardon'd by the Governor and the Supreme Counsel 60

Weather

showers on the 4 and 13, 19 and 20 raining all the days nearly the latter part very warm and ocasionally hot wind, the thermometer varied from 65 to 96 in the shade with scarcely any thunder and lightning.

Agriculture — good weather the fore part of the month for turnip sowing they coming up and growing well. but to the latter part to dry the Corn looking well.

1000 — 800 and 34 A.D. MAR CH and APRIL

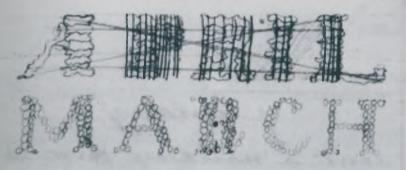
ILLAWARRA

All nature is but art, unknown to thee
All chance, direction which thou canst not see
All discord, harmony not understood,
All partial evil, universal good
And spite of pride in erring season's spite
One truth is clear "What ever is is right"

Pope⁶¹

Saturday 1: Mr Spearing took Clarke the tailor to Court for robing the garden. sentence'd twenty five lashes, but beg'd him off — also Teesdale for not doing as much work as he ought to have done but was let off Mr S[] return'd in devils own humour from the Court, I had the duece of a stand further with him [] hot night.

27a



Inturitary 1

Il' Spearing book blashe the tailor to bourt for vobing the garden - sentenc'd twenty five lashes but beg'd him off also Telsdies for not doing as much work as he ought to have done but was let off Il' I returned in develo

Sunday 2: sent a nankeen bird to go by the Bee for Mr Williams and to Mrs Williams the weather cold rain in the evening.

the weather is just 32 degrees lower than yesterday.

Monday 3: sown about $1^{1/2}$ acres of turnips Mr Marcus went to Sydney in the Bee with some wheat. felt the wether very cold.

Teusday 4: 7-65 1-7362

Wednesday 5: Mr Wilkinson the clergeman call'd in the morning

Thursday 6: Mr Spearing went to the five Islands the heat this afternoon very opresive

Fryday 7: John Allen went to the beach with intent of going to the hospital Began ploughing and taking up the oak stumps in the paddock between the barn and the garden sowing turnips round the stumps in pig paddock

Saturday 8: sown the upper headlands by the creek and also in the rapes with turnips

Mr Spearing took Ryan to the court for refusing to thrash [] sentence twenty five lashes.

Sunday 9: walk'd to Woolongon church morning a large congregation Mr A Osborne return'd with Mr Spearing to dine — walk'd again to the beach to see if any boats in — saw one in the offing — met old Harris⁶³ 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 damn'd hole again a little after dark sleepless night

Monday 10: ploughing up the potatoes in pig paddock— Bateman⁶⁴ return'd from the hospital—receiv'd two letters from England one from Charles Oct 6 and the other from Mr T Harvey Sept 30— by the Fairlie—cut the binding from the Peaches that Mr Spearing brought from Sydney.

Teusday 11: two team ploughing up potatoes in pig paddock Mr H. Osborne call'd and din'd

Wednesday 12: one team ploughing potatoes

Thursday 13: paid Harry half a crown for bringing things from Sydney one team ploughing up potatoes

Fryday 14: a bullock brought from the Five Islands which I shot
[] about the potatoes still

Saturday 15: Bob Clarke went to the hospital Capt Allman J.P. left for Gouldbourn

Sunday 16: after dinner walk'd to the beach had a glass of grog with Mr Brown at the ship⁶⁵

Phillip the black brought Mr Marcus some birds — sent phillip to get some for myself.

Monday 17: St Paddy's day

Old John brought the sheep home from Tow Roger Cloudy all the afternoon **Teusday 18:** sown great part of the potatoe ground to turnip old John howing turnips — PM made two fires with dick's team Sam receiv'd his Tickett Raining in the evening a smart shower in the night

Wednesday 19: finish'd ploughing the potatoes dick began again ploughing for turnips

Mr Spearing went to the five Islands

Thursday 20: two teams plough for turnips Mr Spearing went to the five Islands and brought home the cattle

strong wind from the north west about two PM shift'd suddenly to the south then back to the west with squall and rain and then to the north

the thermometer fell from 76 to 67 in about a hour, very cold.

Fryday 21: shot the whitefaced cow.

Saturday 22: sown the potatoe ground again with turnips and about an acre beside finish'd picking up the potatoes the cattle went back to the five Islands Mr Spearing and Tuber up with them — a horse came down from Marcus

Sunday 23: went to Woolongon church in the morning stuff'd a king fisher in the afternoon

Monday 24: Burning off in the creek that was wash'd down by the flood last winter and cross riding the timber in the garders peice near the garden the Bee arive'd brought some things for Mr Spearing Thomas Low went to the hospital

Teusday 25: Mr Henry and his brother Mr Alick Osborne doctor of the Fairlie din'd and slept. A. Osborne drank tea.

Wednesday 26: cross riding⁶⁶ and burning off near the garden sent some wheat and potatoes to Sydney by the Bee

Thursday 27: cross riding and burning off near the garden in the morning in the afternoon making fires near the sawpit in pig paddock a heavy storm of thunder and lightning with heavy rain pass from north to south got compleately drench'd about six PM

Sam returned from S Terry.

Fryday 28: Good Fryday

a holy-day went round Tom Thumb (took Billy with me) a shooting — no luck — return'd by Woolongon

Mr Spearing went to Henry Osborne's to a christing⁶⁷ killed a sheep.

Saturday 29: Mr Spearing return'd (with Dr. Osborne) about twelve men at the mill before breakfast — and afternoon cross riding below the sawpit. rain in the night from twelve.

Sunday 30: wind to the south west a very heavy rain all day and night Doctor Osborne weather bound.

Monday 31: raining till half past eleven this have been the heaviest rain we have had since I have been in the coloney all the lower part of farm flooded⁶⁸

[] twelve [] Mr Osborne start'd for Appin — the men at the mill in the afternoon widening the creak and opening the furrows to let off the water with Burges Dick John and Billy.

MARCH 1834

Weather dry till eighteenth then occasionally showers till the 29 then a very heavy rain for 36 hours the heat very great the begining till the twentyeth very cold with white frost after very pleasant — the thermometer varyed from 50 to 94

Agriculture the maize receiv'd a check in the poor lands from the dry weather, the turnips looking well and healthy

APRIL 1834

Teusday 1: letting the water off the turnips no post arriv'd today.

Wednesday 2: three men sent to the cells for not leaving the huts when the bell rang Aaron, Teesdale and Ainsworth — no post the horse came home without saddle bridle or rider

Thursday 3: Took in the wheat rick found full one forth of it whet and some grown owing to not haveing thatch enough on, and that not properly put on, carted the dry into the barns and the whet in the paddock.



Fryday 4: sowing the turnips over again in pig paddock in the morning tying and carting the wheat that was dry from the paddocks into barn PM.

Saturday 5: sowing turnips at Teddy Hydes and Russell AM tye'ed up the remainder of the wheat carted it PM kill'd a sheep heard of the postmans body being found at []

Sunday 6: went in the bush with intention of going to the top of the mountain, but could not accomplish Timbouree brought me three pheasent tails from phillip — kept awake all night by shocking pain in my eye brought on by something geting it.

Monday 7: my eye still very bad all the morning but better after dinner

Mr and Mrs Mayne came in the evening and slept. heavy rain in the evening, accompanied by heavy thunder and lightning the three men came home from the cells. The new magistrate came to Woolongon, Mr Grey⁶⁹ sent 60 bsh of wheat to the beach to go to Sydney the wethers went with old John to Palamba

Teusday 8: Mr and Mrs Mayne start'd for Sydney carting the stumps together below the shoemakers hut

Hunt got 50 lashes for geting drunk and kicking up a row at Brown's

Wednesday 9: tremendeous heavy showers in the night although they did not last long with some thunder burning of across the creek below the shoemakers hut had the deuce of a breeze with Spearing determined to leave

Thursday 10: went to the beach⁷⁰ with an intent of geting my boxes on board but could get no communication owing to so heavy a surf running on the beach

Fryday 11: to the beach twice the wind blowing a gale from the south west with a tremendious sea runing with rain. very dark as I came back through the bush.

Saturday 12: to the beach and back before breakfast — at eleven left Paulsgrove with my boxes with regret that I ever went near the place dined and slept at Browns drank some of the collonial rum dreadful headach got by the [] with cursed bad rum.

Sunday 13: went to the beach and wait'd all day for the boat till 5 O'Clock then went on board found a set of the low Irish

settlers as passengers. in the evening the wind shift'd to North.

Monday 14: at day break found ourselves oposite Palamba 8
A.M. a calm 12 light wind from the south west 5 a compleat
gale 6 past the heads and anchor in []
the wind blowing hard all night — very cold.

Teusday 15: beat up Port Jackson against the wind. 12 anchored at Markett wharf compleatly tir'd of my journey din'd at Mr Williams spent the after noon and slept

Wednesday 16: 10 AM got my boxes on shore (and paid 10s for them and myself) and brought them to Mr Williams cart 2s — a pen knife 2

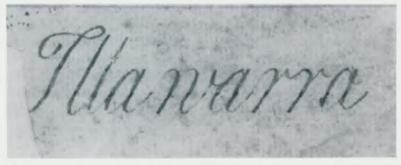
Thursday 17: seting up birds for Mr Williams bought a felt hat 15s.

Fryday 18: raining from south in showers all day

Saturday 19: The Resourse arriv'd from Hobart.

Sunday 20: [No entry]

Monday 21: wrote Mrs Spearing for Mrs Williams



NOTES

- 1. There are several references in the Diary to receiving letters, newspapers, etc., from "Brother Charles" or "Charles". Possibly John and Joseph were other members of the family, and the dates were their birthdays.
- 2. These figures appear to be the latitude and longitude of a spot well out to sea, approximately four nautical miles E.S.E. of Port Hacking Point (Jibbon Head). There is no apparent reason why Webster should have entered them in the Diary.
- 3. A quotation from "Love of Fame; Satire VI", by Edward Young (1683-1765), a highly moral writer famous in his own day, but regarded as somewhat antiquated by Webster's time.
- 4. Palamba: Bellambi. It was evidently a large whale (see entry 4th June). The humpback whale (Megaptera Novae Hollandiae) is the only large whale which passes close to the coast at this time of the year. (N.R.)

The whale evidently died on shore. When Spearing sent his two drays to Palamba for oil from the whale, (see diary entry for 4 June), he found that unfortunately other people had similar ideas. He appealed to Captain Allman, the Resident Magistrate at Wollongong, to protect his proprietary rights in the carcass. Captain Allman applied to the Colonial Secretary for directions. The Colonial Secretary was evidently baffled, and sought the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown, who in due course advised that the whale, being a Royal Fish, was the property of the Crown, and that the Resident Magistrate should be authorised to take it on behalf of the Crown and protect it in the same way as other Crown property. As the whale had by this time been ashore, and dead, for several weeks, the Resident Magistrate's duty would not have been an enviable one. I have so far found no record of what action he took or what success he met with.

5. Jones: Possibly Frederick Jones, the first grantee of Portion 51 Parish of Wollongong (in the Mount St. Thomas area). The 1828 Census (ref. no. J0910) shows Jones, Frederick, 23 F [free], Farmer, Illawarra. The Sydney Gazette of 23 May 1833 reports that "the wheat ricks of Mr. Frederick Jones, of Illawarra, were maliciously set on fire on the morning of 9th April last." Bennett: According to information supplied by Australia Post (printed in I.H.S. Bulletin September 1982 p.51), Henry A.B. Bennett became Postmaster at Wollongong on 1 December 1832, being also Clerk to the Chamber of Magistrates and Registrar of the Court of Requests. As Postmaster he received 20% of the amount of postage collected (this being before the introduction of postage stamps, and it seems this was his only remuneration from the Post Office).

There seems, however, to be a discrepancy here regarding the Clerkship to the Chamber of Magistrates. This was about the time that Alexander Harris (according to his own account) held this office. In a note to *The Secrets of Alexander Harris* A. H. Chisholm says that the Police Magistrates whose clerk Harris was were probably Lieut. G. Sleeman, who was appointed Magistrate in Illawarra in February 1830 and resigned in September 1832, and his successor Captain Francis Allman. Records of the period indicate that a clerk (unnamed) was attached to the Court at a salary of £25 per annum.

- 6. Mr. Johnstone: possibly David Johnston, (eldest son of Lieut-Colonel George Johnston), who had large holdings in the Albion Park district.
- 7. The 1828 Census shows "Hide, Edward, age 34, F.S. [free by servitude], Employee to J. H. Spearing, Illawarra". Ship and year of arrival are not stated.

Wheat was extensively grown in Illawarra in the early days, and many mills besides Spearing's were built in the district. Rust and other diseases led to the general abandonment of wheatgrowing in the 1850s and 1860s. (See Cousins, pp. 96, 97, 107; Jervis pp. 275-276).

8. This does not appear to have any connection with "Paulsgrove" or Illawarra.

- 9. Convicts sufficiently ill to require hospital treatment were expected to walk to Liverpool and back. (Cf. *Hell Hole*).
- 10. List of convict servants includes:
 - 3. Patk. Smith, S.G. Webster, Errand Boy, 25th January 1826.
 - 37. Jno. Smith, Phoenix, Ploughman, 21st July 1828.
 - 38. Wm. Smith, Phoenix, Farming Man, 21st July 1828.
 - 61. Jno. Wilson, Claudine; Good Ship's Carpr., 19th April 1830.
- 11. Cabbage-tree hats, Cousins says, were worn by "practically every man and boy in Illawarra. They were made from the leaves of the cabbage-palm. John Leverett, writing home to England from West Dapto in 1857, said, "We get the young lavs and Scalds them and Bleech them and then we Split them as Straws are split for hats at hoom . . . We trimm them with a Black riband and let the ends hang down Behind it is 2 inches Wide." (MS letter in Mitchell Library, Sydney quoted by permission).
- 12. "Five Islands Farm" was originally known as "Illawarra Farm", being an area of 2200 acres (Portion 53, Parish of Wollongong) including the present Port Kembla and Warrawong districts.

It was originally granted on 24 January 1817 to David Allan. Macquarie in 1822 described it as "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." (Macquarie, *Journals of his Tours*, p.241).

On 1 November 1827 Allan sold to Richard Jones, who "disposed of it to William Charles Wentworth in 1828. The name was then changed to the 'Five Islands Estate'." (Dowd, p.14).

At the time covered by the Diary, Spearing appears to have had some kind of lease from, or agistment agreement with, Wentworth, as he had cattle grazing at "The Five Islands".

13. Three Osborne brothers, John (1791-1850), Alick (1793-1856), and Henry (1803-1859), figured prominently in the early history of Wollongong. John and Alick, who were naval surgeons, came to

New South Wales in charge of convicts, but decided to settle. They sent for their youngest brother Henry to join them.

All became landowners in Illawarra. John was the first grantee of "Glen Glosh", which adjoined Spearing's eastern boundary; Alick bought "Daisybank" at Dapto, and Henry obtained a grant of 2560 acres which he named "Marshall Mount". He was so successful that, in addition to large holdings elsewhere, his Central Illawarra estate came to extend from Mullet Creek to Macquarie Rivulet, and from Lake Illawarra to the mountains. (See A.D.B. Vol. 2 pp.303-304; Cousins pp.53-54; Jervis pp. 149-150 and Nineteenth Century Dapto pp.15-18).

- 14. Several members of the Ellyard family had holdings in the Illawarra and Shoalhaven districts. This entry probably refers to Alfred Ellyard, Chief Clerk of the Supreme Court in the 1840s, the grantee of the 600-acre property named "Avondale" (Portion 14, Parish of Calderwood). I have been unable to find out the meaning of "D.M.".
- 15. Captain Francis Allman (1780-1860) was Commandant and Police Magistrate at Wollongong from September 1832 to March 1834. He is apparently to be identified with the good-natured and kind-hearted "old Irish major" whom Alexander Harris served as a clerk. (See Professor Manning Clark's note to A. Harris p. 156). "His benignancy towards the nobbler of rum, and his laissez-faire mode of conducting police business, quickly made him a very popular man among the sawyers," and with the convicts; but from Harris's account, he seems to have been, understandably, less popular among the masters. (A.D.B. Vol. I pp.8-9; Harris pp.156-158).
- 16. Satin bird: The satin bowerbird, (Ptilonorhynchus Violaceus). (N.R.)
- 17. Rev. Thomas Reddall was Rector of Campbelltown, and occasionally visited Wollongong. On 17 July 1831 he conducted the first recorded Anglican service in Illawarra (W.S. Musgrave, "St. Michael's Wollongong", p.7; Piggin, p.16).

- 18. Sweeney appears to have been the owner or master of a ship named *Sarah*. There were evidently several ships of this name based on or visiting Sydney, and it has not been possible to identify either Sweeney or his ship.
- 19. Mr. Lord: Probably Simeon Lord, an ex-convict who became a wealthy merchant in Sydney.
- 20. Red bills: The purple (or eastern) swamp hen (Porphyrio Porphyrio). (N.R.)
- 21. Wongoo wongoo pigeons: The wonga pigeon (Leucosarcia Melanoleuca).
- 22. Probably either an Eastern Native Cat (Dasyurus Viverrinus) or a Tiger Cat (Dasyurus Maculatus). Other entries in the Diary referring simply to "cats" seem to relate to native cats feral cats were not likely to have been a problem in the 1830s.
- 23. Lieut-Col. (cashiered) George Johnston, of Rum Rebellion notoriety, received a grant of 1500 acres, which he named "Macquarie Gift" (Portion 11, Parish of Calderwood) on the northwest side of Macquarie Rivulet. After his death in 1823 this passed to his son David, who also received two grants of 700 and 600 acres (Portions 9 and 10 Parish of Calderwood) further to the west.

Samuel Terry, "the Botany Bay Rothschild", an ex-convict who became fabulously wealthy, as wealth was reckoned in those days, received a grant of 2000 acres (Portion 3, Parish of Jamberoo) at Albion Park.

D'Arcy Wentworth received grants of over 4000 acres in the Shellharbour district, and bought up neighbouring grants so enthusiastically that by the time of his death in 1827 his holdings (the "Peterborough Estate") amounted to 13,060 acres and extended from Lake Illawarra to the Minnamurra. A further grant of 1000 acres was made to his son William. (Dowd pp.4-7; Bayley, *Green Meadows* pp.18-21, 23-24; Jervis pp.53, 148-149, 193-194).

24. Towroger: Towradgi.

25. Shoobert: Probably James Shoobert, who afterwards bought several lots in the subdivision of the Mount Keira Estate, and in 1849 opened at Mount Keira the first Illawarra coal mine.

At a dinner in his honour in 1856 it was stated that "when our communication with Sydney depended on the slow and uncertain trips of the *William IV*, Mr. Shoobert had . . . at his own risk placed a sailing vessel, the *Elizabeth Cohen*, in the trade" (*Illawarra Mercury*, 12 May 1856) and his obituary notice in the *Mercury* (17 May 1876) refers to his "trading to Wollongong with a vessel for some time", and to his having been known as Captain Shoobert.

- 26. All three Osborne brothers were married. This entry would not refer to the wife of John, the eldest brother. Alick did not bring his wife and family to New South Wales until 1835. The reference therefore must be to Mrs. Henry Osborne, nee Sarah Elizabeth Marshall. A brief account of her marriage and life at "Marshall Mount" is given in Nineteenth Century Dapto pp.15-18.
- 27. The original Tom Thumb Lagoon named by Bass and Flinders was Lake Illawarra (see *Observations* pp.7-9 and 16-17 and *First Footers* pp.14-15 and Appendix I). By 1833 the name had become firmly attached to the lagoon between Wollongong and Port Kembla, which was made into Port Kembla Inner Harbour (cf. Mitchell's 1834 map of Illawarra in *Reports on Roads in New South Wales* 1827-55).
- 28. Newchurch: Brady quoted this as "new church", but in the manuscript it is clearly one word with a capital N evidently a placename. There are several places named Newchurch in England. Possibly Webster was referring to Newchurch in the Isle of Wight (See Introduction).
- 29. Although there had been earlier Anglican services in Wollongong, the first permanent representative of the Church of England stationed in Illawarra was a catechist, John Layton, appointed earlier in the year 1833. He rented a cottage and barn, for use as a home and schoolroom, from Charles Throsby Smith. On 2 October 1833 the

- Rev. Frederick Wilkinson was appointed to Wollongong as chaplain, and Layton then returned to his previous station at Appin. (Piggin, pp.17-18).
- 30. Pheasant: a Superb Lyrebird (*Menura Novae Hollandiae*), also known in the early days as "native pheasant" and "Botany Bay pheasant" (*Aust. Encyc.* 2nd edn. Vol. 5 p.393).
- 31. Corrigan: Alexander Stewart refers to "Corrigan the head constable"

Clark: List of Convict Servants includes:

26. Jos. Clarke Manlius Tailor, 22nd August 1827.

48. Edwd. Clarke Mellish Ploughman, 24th April 1829.

- 32. Lockett: List of Convict Servants includes:
 - 32. Jno. Lockett Asia (6), Shoemaker, 24th March 1828.
 - J. Algar: See note by Mr. Alfred James in *I.H.S. Bulletin* August 1984 on John Alger presumably the same man, as one of his children was born at "Paulsgrove".
- 33. Osborne: No doubt John Osborne, whose property adjoined Spearing's (see note 13). The name beginning with "Sm" is illegible in the original.
- 34. Father Therry: Rev. Father (afterwards Archpriest) John Joseph Therry was for thirteen years after his arrival in 1820 "the most important and often the only Catholic priest in Australia" (Aust. Encyc. Vol. 8 p.481). He had visited Wollongong earlier in the same year, and on 17 April 1833 had celebrated mass in the barrackroom, this being the first recorded Roman Catholic service in Illawarra.

The land consecrated by Father Therry was apparently not the site of St. Francis Xavier's Cathedral. James Backhouse, the Quaker missionary, in his description of Wollongong in 1836 mentions "a Roman Catholic chapel". (A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies, p. 422). Following the appointment of a resident priest, Father Rigney, in 1838, the erection of a permanent church was undertaken. Next year land was purchased from Throsby Smith for

- £20, and the Australian Chronicle of 11 February 1840 recorded that "in Wollongong the trustees of the Catholic Church have purchased two acres, the most convenient and eligible in the whole town". The foundation stone of St. Francis Xavier's was laid by Bishop Polding on 13 October 1840. (Aust. Encyc. Vol. 8 pp. 481-482; Jervis pp.138-139; Cousins pp.282-287; Piggin pp.18, 36-38).
- 35. F. Osborne cannot be identified; probably one of the Dapto Osbornes.
- 36. Mr. Claton; Mr. John Layton, the Anglican catechist. See note 29.
- 37. Gunnee: a gunyah? Australasian Pocket Oxford Dictionary defines gunyah as "aboriginal hut, bush hut".
- 38. Mount Hat: Hat Hill, a name applied in some early records to Mount Kembla, and in others to Mount Keira. As "a large fire . . . under Mount Hat," referred to in the entry for 11 October, apparently caused no concern, Webster probably referred to Mount Kembla. On the general question of the identification of Hat Hill, see Observations pp.2-3, 5-6; and First Footers, pp.14-15 and Appendix I.
- 39. Wild turkey: Australian Brush Turkey (Alectura Lathami).
- 40. Top knot pigeon: Lopholaimus Antarcticus.
- 41. New road: The meaning of this is not clear. The only recorded road over the Illawarra Range near Wollongong at this time was Cornelius O'Brien's road by which Macquarie returned from Illawarra in 1822. It ascended Mount Nebo and Mount Brisbane; then apparently struck off to the north-west, probably following the divide between the tributaries of the Cataract and those of the Cordeaux, until about fifteen miles from Mount Brisbane it crossed the Cataract by a "tolerably good pass" which O'Brien had "succeeded in cutting out and forming". Macquarie named the crossing "O'Brien's Pass", but this name seems to have been lost. (Macquarie, Journals, pp.241-244).

Although Macquarie refers to this as a "new road", it does not

seem to answer this description eleven years later, in a district where nothing made by white men was as much as twenty years old. It was "new" only by comparison with Throsby's original track of 1815, which was several miles away, in a district with which Webster seems to have had little, if any, connection.

All I can suggest is that Webster referred not to an actually existing and trafficable road, but to the line marked out for Mount Keira Road — there must have been some sort of preliminary survey — or that someone had begun work on the road without official approval, which was not given until the following year. Neither seems a very satisfactory explanation.

- 42. Mr. Florence: Thomas Florance (1783-1867), formerly a Government surveyor, who had performed important survey work in Van Dieman's Land, was at this time farming at a property named "Curribee" in the County of St. Vincent (south of the Shoalhaven), and also carrying out private survey work in that district. (A.D.B. Vol. I, pp.391-392).
- 43. Holy Dollar: Ulladulla, "a seaport town of New South Wales, situated in the County of St. Vincent, 136 miles from Sydney. It is merely a boat harbour, and is often called Holy Dollar" (W.H. Wells, A Geographical Dictionary or Gazetteer of the Australian Colonies (1848)).
- 44. Court of Requests: a minor civil court having jurisdiction to determine civil claims of less than £10 not a trifling amount in those days. There was no appeal from its decisions.

Castles in An Introduction to Australian Legal History says that in 1842 "provision was made to have Barristers appointed as Commissioners of the Courts in the County of Cumberland"; it appears from this entry that in 1833 a barrister was sitting as Commissioner outside the County of Cumberland.

An Act of 1846 directed that Courts of Petty Sessions were to exercise the powers of Courts of Requests, with jurisdiction in claims up to £30. Courts of Requests thereby became obsolete.

45. Commissioner Terry: Roger Therry (pronounced Terry), an Irish barrister, was in 1829 appointed Commissioner of the Court of Requests with the right of private practice. In 1843, while acting as Attorney-General of New South Wales, he was elected to represent Camden (which included Illawarra) in the first partly-elective Legislative Council, but resigned his seat in January 1845 on being appointed Resident Judge at Port Phillip. He subsequently sat on the New South Wales Supreme Court bench and was knighted (A.D.B. Vol. 2 pp.512-514).

When the Mount Keera (formerly "Paulsgrove") estate was subdivided, Therry purchased several lots. The Australian of 21 December 1842 stated that the Attorney-General (actually Acting Attorney-General) was "about erecting a villa" on the portion of the Mount Keera Estate which he had purchased. In the Herald of 26 October 1844 Therry advertised for letting "the Farm of Keera Vale" with "a commodious two-storied house advancing rapidly towards completion". A Mercury writer in 1858 referred to "the residence of Mr. Stewart" as "a conspicuous feature in the scene . . . It is a two-storied building . . . on the summit of a gentle acclivity . . . it was built by Judge Therry, and was purchased some time ago by the present proprietor". There seems no reason to doubt that these are references to the old house known in local tradition as "the Judge's House", which, though shockingly maltreated by subsequent owners, still stands in Bukari Street, West Wollongong.

46. Mr. Brown (Merchant): William Browne, known as "Merchant Browne", received two grants totalling 3800 acres, which included the southern end of Dapto and the Yallah area. He named the property "Athanlin". Despite the difference in spelling, it appears that Mount Brown (but *not* Brownsville) was named after him.

For a full account of his strange life-story, see A History of William 'Merchant' Browne of Abbotsbury and Appin, by his descendent Mr. J.F.R. Browne (New. ed. Fairlight, N.S.W. The Author. 1975).

47. "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and power: for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are and were

- created" probably a startling and novel idea to Mr. Webster, who appears to have believed that all things were created to be shot and stuffed.
- 48. Possibly Evan Robert Evans, the founder of the Evans family of "Penrose", Dapto (but this identification is merely a conjecture).
- 49. Woolonmolla: Not yet identified. In *Earliest Illawarra* (for which only the quotations given by Brady and Cousins were available) this was wrongly identified as Woolloomooloo; but in its context it must refer to some place in the Illawarra district.

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- 50. This name is not fully legible. Cousins transcribed it as Purping.
- 51. The teams were probably bullocks. At a ploughing match at the first Dapto Show (1857), "there were no entrances for the ploughing with horse teams . . . that mode of ploughing is but seldom adopted by our farmers. For the ploughing with bullocks, however, there were five entrances, comprising all those reputed as the best ploughmen in the district" (Illawarra Mercury, 2 February 1857).
- 52. Nankeen bird: The Rufous Night Heron (Nycti Corax Caledonicus).
- 53. 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 sentence was commuted to three years hard labour (the maximum penalty for common assault) when Dr. Grover, who had attended Captain Waldron in his last illness, made a belated appearance to testify that the Captain had died from a stroke. The case gave rise to some very highly-coloured rumours and furphies, which are still current. The case is dealt with at length in the present editor's booklet Captain Waldron Deceased (Illawarra Historical Society, 1972).

54. According to J.H. Plunkett, *The Australian Magistrate*, Sydney, 1835, pp.21-3, causes of suspicion to justify arrest included "being found in such circumstances as induce a strong presumption of guilt, as . . . being found with stolen goods in possession, without being able to give a probable account of having got them honestly".

Despite Brady's virtuous indignation at the inhumanity of the law in 1834, which allowed a man to be convicted and punished for having in his possession goods "most likely stolen", the law was not so very different in his own day — cf. Police Offences Act, 1901, as amended 1908:

27. Whosoever being charged before a Justice with —

(a) having anything in his custody . . . which thing may reasonably be suspected of being stolen or unlawfully obtained, does not give an account to the satisfaction of such Justice how he came by the same, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months.

Even today the law is substantially the same (but the term of imprisonment is now six months) — see *Crimes Act*, 1900, Section 527C, added 1979.

- 55. There are no entries in the diary for 27-31 January inclusive. Brady's note attached to the diary states: "A page relating to the death of Capt. Waldron of Spring Hill was, I believe, removed by his son (my uncle Henry Waldron) before the book came into my possession".
- 56. Vampire bat: A grey-headed Fruit Bat (Pteropus Poliocephalatus).
- 57. "Bellevue", Marshall Mount: Henry Osborne's property is almost invariably referred to as "Marshall Mount". I know of no other reference to it as "Bellevue".
- 58. The report of the hanging was of course unfounded. (See note 53 above).
- 59. The ponderous full title of Alick Osborne's book was: Notes on the Present State and Prospects of Society in New South Wales, with an Historical, Statistical and Topographical Account of Manilla and Singapore, by Alick Osborne, Surgeon, Royal Navy.

- 60. See note 53 above.
- 61. A quotation from Pope's Essay on Man, Epistle 1.
- 62. The meaning of these figures is not clear.
- 63. Old Harris: Alexander Harris was apparently in Wollongong at this time; but as he was only about 29, it seems more likely that Webster was referring to the old soldier named Harris whose hut, built across the proposed line of Harbour Street, was the occasion of a memorable row between Major Mitchell and Charles Throsby Smith, described by Alexander Stewart (No. VIII, reprinted *Illawarra Mercury* 15 June 1934). This Harris appears to have been identical with Joseph Harris, formerly Sturt's batman and companion on at least one of his inland explorations. Joseph Harris received a grant of 100 acres at West Dapto which is still owned by a descendant. (See E. Beals, Sturt: The Chipped Idol; Sydney University Press, 1979, pp.49-50, 62-63. Nineteenth Century Dapto p.25).
- 64. List of Convict Servants includes:
 - 57. Wm Bateman, Morley (3) Ploughman 8th December 1829.
- 65. George Brown's Ship Inn (opened in 1831) was situated on a 10 acre parcel of land opposite the present site of the Illawarra Leagues Club in Church Street, Wollongong. It was strategically placed beside the "old" Dapto Road, which, according to Alexander Stewart, started from Brighton Beach, ran diagonally through the present Market Square, crossed Crown Street, and continued in a generally southwesterly direction to join the line of the present Princes Highway at the junction with West Dapto Road.

Three years later Brown transferred the licence to a house of the same name, near the crossing of Mullet Creek. This became the nucleus of the township later called "Brown's" or Brownsville.

66. Cross-riding seems to be related to primitive fencing, and may have been a current (or the diarist's) term for what has become known as the "chock and log" fence. "Paulsgrove" obviously had the more usual "post and rail" fence, which by then had come to be generally

used (James Atkinson, An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales, London 1826, facsimile edition Sydney 1975, pp.91-4). The chock and log fence has been described as consisting of "two selected trees cut to length and laid on the ground with chocks - short pieces notched to fit the logs and placed transversely at intervals; then another log was laid along the fence line on top of the notched chock" (Samuel Wadham, Australian Farming 1788-1965, Melbourne 1967, p.34). But it may be doubted if "Paulsgrove" had either enough large trees for such constructions, or even a need for this relatively elaborate method. The system grew out of the clearing process, in which trees were felled so that the stumps were left for later removal by grubbing or burning. That, however, still left a lot of timber lying on the ground, so that it suited the farmer's purpose to get rid of it by lopping the branches and hauling the logs ("snigging") to be piled up roughly on the intended fence line. Stability would be given, no doubt, by boughs cut to size and placed transversely or inserting them ("cross-riding") as chocks to prevent the upper logs from rolling off. Thus the completed fence would be merely a sort of barricade, simple but effective, to be replaced by post and rail later when convenient. Wire and barbed wire fences came much later still. (E.B.)

- 67. Henry and Sarah Osborne's family ultimately numbered twelve. At this date they had four children: Jane, born 20 January 1830; Henry Hill, born 27 January 1831; Patrick Hill, born 20 May 1832; and Alick, born 18 March 1834. The christening could have been of any one or more of these children, but it seems highly probable that the child christened was Alick. (E.B.)
- 68. Alexander Stewart in his Reminiscences of Early Illawarra said: "During that great rainfall the Loddon Creek, at the top of the mountain, was in flood. Mr. George Brown (the father of Mr. John Brown, J.P.) had the contract to run the mails between Wollongong and Campbelltown. The mail carrier in Mr. Brown's employment was one Dan Sullivan, who was called Dan the postman. He used to go with the mails on horseback, and he had to go through the

Loddon Creek. He was mounted on a very superior black horse called Black Jack . . . The mailbags were strapped upon the saddle. In crossing the Loddon, about two miles from the top of the old Bulli mountain, Dan was carried off the back of Black Jack by the flood and drowned. His body was afterwards found by someone lower down in the creek. The horse, when he had lost his rider, got out safely and made his way home with the saddle and mail bags, with which he arrived in Wollongong all right. The horse went direct to his stables at Mr. George Brown's, they being on the flat in the paddock where cricket is now [i.e. in 1894] played. The stables were down in the lower part of what is known as Baxter paddock, but all traces of them have disappeared.' Stewart No. VI, reprinted *Illawarra Mercury* 18 May 1934. The name of the place where the postman's body was found is left blank in the original diary.

The Sydney Gazette of 5 April 1834 reported:

"In consequence of the non-delivery of the mail at Wollongong and Campbell Town, at the usual hour on Monday last, fears were entertained that the postman had been lost in the flood occasioned by the late heavy rains. Those fears have proved too true, being confirmed by an official communication from the Deputy Postmaster at Wollongong to Mr. Raymond, who also states, that although every search has been made to recover the body, neither it nor the mail have as yet been discovered."

The Australian of 11 April gave a fuller account of "this melancholy affair":

To the Editors of the Australian

GENTLEMEN, — As a public Journalist, I take the liberty of transmitting to you the following authentic particulars respecting the loss of the postman carrying the mail from this place to Campbell Town. He was an assigned servant to Mr. G. Brown, the contractor for conveying such mail. The mail was despatched at the usual time on Monday the 31st March last, during a heavy rain, for Campbell Town, the road being over the mountain which is intersected by several dangerous gullys, and down which the waters rush dreadfully in heavy rains, and it had rained heavily the whole of the two

preceding days. It appears from circumstances that he had succeeded in crossing several falls of water, and reached the most dangerous one - he had traversed it up and down, the brink of the current, and at length had attempted to cross, but the horse had been stopt by a steep bank, which he could not gain. It is supposed that then the girths must have broken, as the horse, when found, was without saddle or bridle. As the return mail did not arrive at Wollongong on Tuesday evening as usual, Mr. Brown, the contractor, though very unwell at the time, set out the next morning early to obtain what intelligence he could - respecting his postman, and proceeding to the foot of the mountain, he heard of the horse being found. He then despatched both blacks and Europeans to the mountain to search for the unfortunate postman, and the mail, and after two days search, the body was found in a deep hole, a distance below where he had attempted to cross, but the mail has not yet been discovered. Persons are now gone up the mountain with a good coffin to bring down the body to this place to be decently interred. It is but justice to Mr Brown, the contractor, to say that in this melancholy affair he has made every exertion to recover the mail, and to find the body of the postman, and also to prevent any interruption to the post communication between this district and Sydney.

I am, Gentlemen,
your obedient servant,
Wolongong, April 5, 1834.
AN ILLAWARRA SETTLER

Although Mr Brown received a favourable mention, neither paper took the trouble to record the name of the unfortunate postman. This is given by Alexander Stewart in his *Reminiscences of Early Illawarra*.

- 69. "The beach": A name applied both to Brighton Beach, which served as a port for the district, and to the military post and administrative headquarters established there, (cf. depositions in the Waldron murder case, quoted in *Captain Waldron Deceased*, pp.10-11).
- 70. William Nairn Gray.

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All nature is but arts unknown to there.

All chance, direction which thou caust not see.

All discord, hormony not understood.

All partial evil, universal youd.

About spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,

One truth is clear "What ever is, is right."

Pope

1834 January Farmen. Manunna