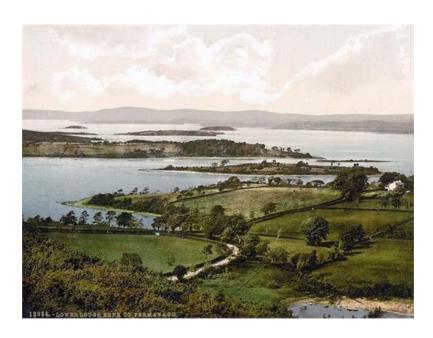
CHAPTER 1

The Emigrants

n the 18th October 1838, the 557-ton Barque Susan¹, set sail from the port of Londonderry in Northern Ireland, bound for the far-off colony of New South Wales with Captain Horton Payne and Surgeon Superintendant Charles Kennedy. On board were 261 emigrants - men, women and children. Among the emigrants embarking on this adventure were Charles Murray and his wife Susan (Shannon) from County Fermanagh. Travelling with them were their six children - the eldest son, James (16 years of age), then Phillip (14), Mary (12), Ellinor (9), Charles (6) and Margaret (3).

The decision for Charles and Susan to pack up their sizeable family, leave behind their home and familiar life in Fermanagh would have been a major one; and then to embark on such a long and hazardous sea journey to the other side of the world. There would be little likelihood of ever returning to Ireland. The Great Famine was yet to come, but the late 1830s would see a time of increasing hardship in Ireland. Even so, it would be difficult to bid farewell to the Fermanagh landscape with its fertile drumlins, heathery moors and meandering rivers and lakes.' Charles Murray's family was one of many leaving at that time for distant shores and an uncertain future. To appreciate what lay behind their departure, it becomes necessary to look at conditions in Ireland at that time.



Fermanagh Lakes, N Ireland

A time of emigration

The exodus came amid the destruction of the Irish wool and linen industries, following the 1801 Act of Union, which favoured British capitalism over the commercial interests of Ireland. Crop failures and Ireland's declining economy had all led to the beginning of vast emigration. Boarding the Susan in October 1838, Charles rescued his family before the worst of the potato famine. Between 1841 and 1851 Fermanagh lost 40,434 or 25 per cent of its population due to the famine. By 1846, three-quarters of the potato crop failed and millions were dying of starvation. The timing was fortunate to emigrate in 1838.

The Susan's shipping list stated Charles Murray was, 'brought out by Gov't', a native of Fermanagh; the son of James, a farmer in same place and Elinor McGoldritch, his wife. His 'calling' was farm labourer, able to read and write, age on embarkation 38, religion Roman Catholic and 'state of bodily health strength and probable usefulness' - very good.

Susan³ (38 years) gave her native place as Kesh, Fermanagh; daughter of Phillip Shannon, a Blacksmith, and Mary Clarke, his wife. Susan could neither read

'Colonial authorities preferred married couples in the prime of life with older children poised to take up the slack in the job market'.¹ nor write, and the only details given for the children were their ages on embarkation. Age was an important factor for selection by the emigration authorities. The ages Charles and Susan gave are suspect. Although 'under 40 was a key criterion, age 38 was given on their emigration applications.' However, the ages on their death certificates indicate that they were both born

c.1792, which means they would have actually been about 46 years of age in 1838.

Naming traditions

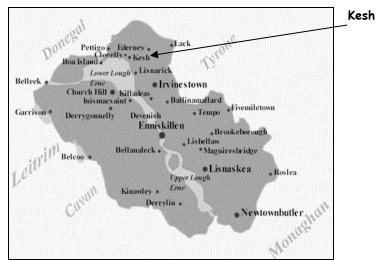
It can be seen that Charles and Susan followed the ancient naming tradition when giving christian names to their six children. The eldest son was named for his grandfather James Murray. The names of the children were, in birthdate order, James 1822, Philip 1824, Mary 1826, Ellen 1830, Charles 1832 and Margaret 1836.

First son called after the father's father [James Murray]
Second son called after the mother's father [Philip Shannon]
Third son called after the father [Charles Murray]
First daughter called after the mother's mother [Mary Clarke]
Second daughter called after the father's mother [Ellinor McGoldritch]
Third daughter called after the mother. [Susan Murray]?

For some reason Susan Murray decided to waive the traditional naming pattern by child No. six. She named her youngest child (and third daughter) by the name of *Margaret*. [Susan's christian name appears as *Susannah* in some documents; *Susanna* being the Gaelic form of the English name, Susan]. As it was her turn to choose a name, Margaret may have been the next traditional choice - the fourth daughter was usually given the name of the mother's oldest sister.

Kesh as Native Place

Irish emigrants, generally, gave as their native place the closest post town rather than the name of the smaller hamlets or townlands in the vicinity.



Map of County Fermanagh, N. Ireland

From a study of *Griffiths*Valuations for that part of County
Fermanagh, it would appear that
Charles and Susan were living as
an extended family with Murrays
and Shannons on an estate in the
Fermanagh townland⁴ of Aghinver.
Thus, Susan (Shannon) Murray
would be inclined to name 'Kesh'
as her native place, rather than
the tiny townland of Aghinver.

Adjacent to the post town of Kesh and the townland of Aghinver there was another townland called Shalloney, where lived families of Shannons. Ballyshannon, just over the border in Donegal, also means the bally or townland of the Shannon clan - Susan Murray's maiden name⁵; reasonable evidence that the

families of Susan (Shannon) and Charles Murray were native to this area of County Fermanagh.

Kesh and Magheraculmoney Parish

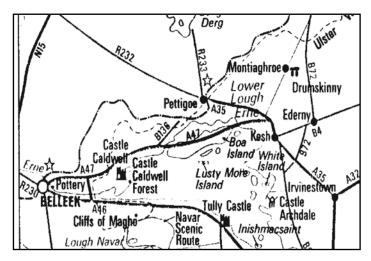
Kesh town is in the county of Fermanagh, the Barony of Lurg and the Civil Parish of Magtheraculmoney. It is 4 miles from Pettigo, 4 from Irvinestown, 2 from Ederney and within $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the lakeshore. Until 1812, when a post office was opened in Irvinestown, Kesh was the only post town between the major towns of Enniskiller



Kesh and Aghinver signposts

and Ballyshannon in the west of Fermanagh.⁶ In 1834, four years before the Murrays decided to emigrate; Kesh contained a population of about 120 souls.⁷

Aghinver - a townland of Kesh



On maps, it can be seen that Aghinver was too small to be included but the signposts above indicate that it was very close to the post town⁸ of Kesh (Susan Murray's native place) in the parish of Magheraculmoney.⁹

Another townland close to Aghinver and Kesh was Ardess.

Church of St. Mary at Ardess

St Mary's Church in Magheraculmoney Parish is located in the townland of Ardess; it was known as Templemahery on old maps, and the church has been known as being dedicated to St. Mary over a long period. There has been a church on this site since the 14th century, with historical references dating back to 1622. The preplantation graveyard served both Protestant and Catholic families in the district for almost three hundred years until 1903. The oldest of the 433 marked graves bears the date 1679. [See Appendix E]



St. Mary's, Ardess

There are several Murrays buried in this graveyard, as well as various spellings of Magee, Shannon and Magolrick. Maybe Susan's third daughter was named after 'Margaret Shanan' buried there. As for Magee, Charles Murray later [in 1855] sponsored his sister Dorinda (Murray) McGee's orphan children to New South Wales. Of which, more later.

Some notes on Magheraculmoney Parish

The size and boundaries of Magheraculmoney Parish changed extensively over the years. Magheraculmoney Parish¹¹ was originally part of the diocese of Clogher, which dates back to the 12th Century. Its territory stretched from the

Counties Fermanagh and Monaghan, a sizeable part of County Tyrone and a tiny fraction of County Donegal from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the to the Irish Sea in the east. A Fermanagh statistical return of October 1834, [again, only four years before the Murrays emigrated in 1838] describes the boundaries of the Parish of Magheraculmoney as it was by then.

It is situated in the barony of Lurg and north east extremity of the county of Fermanagh. It is bounded on the north by the parishes of Drumkeeran and Longfield West, on the east by the parish of Dromore, on the south by the parish of Derryvullan and on the west by Lough Erne ...¹²

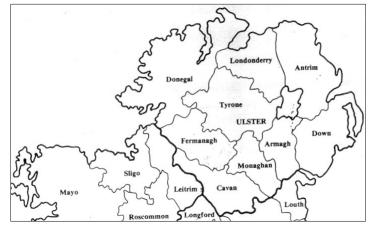
The changes in parish and county boundaries make it difficult when searching for Murray births, deaths and marriages in the 1700s in that part of Ireland, especially as they were Roman Catholic; so far, not much success with proven connections.

Our Fermanagh Murray family folklore, persisting through several Australian branches, has it that Charles Murray's ancestors originally went from Scotland to Ireland. It is probable, then, that they were among the thousands of 'Plantation' Scots, who settled in Ulster in Northern Ireland between 1610 and 1630.

The Plantation of Ulster

The Province of Ulster contains Counties Fermanagh, Antrim, Armagh, Down, Londonderry (also known as Derry), Tyrone, Cavan, Donegal and Monaghan. The 'Plantation of Ulster' began in the 17th century when English and Scottish Protestants settled on land confiscated from the Gaelic Irish. Gaelic Ireland was a patchwork of independent kingdoms each ruled by a chieftain and bound by a common set of legal, social and religious traditions. King James I believed that

colonizing Ulster would quell rebellion and win over the 'rude and barbarous Irish' to 'civility' and Protestantism. Irish resentment at the loss of their lands was a constant factor in the Plantation of Ulster and a frequent worry in its early stages.



Map showing counties of Ulster Province

There were occasional Catholic rebellions following the Plantation, which were put down by Oliver Cromwell, once he had won the Civil War in England.

Irishmen of every class and origin took part in these wars, some fighting for religion, some for land, some for Charles I or James II, some for the old Gaelic traditional lifemode, some for an independent native parliament, some against this minor grievance, some against that.¹³

The Insurrection of 1641 and the Jacobite Wars came to a close with the Battle of the Boyne (1690) and the Siege of Limerick (1691). The bitter fruits of defeat were the Penal Laws.

The Penal laws

The Treaty of Limerick in 1691, following the defeat of the Catholic James II of England at the Battle of the Boyne resulted in 'the Penal Laws' under which all Catholic Bishops had to leave. ¹⁴ These laws were aimed at the destruction of the Irish Catholics as a human breed. Only existing parish priests could stay and no new priests could be ordained. Catholics were in dire poverty with no churches and masses said in the open air. Catholics could not vote until 1793 and were barred from University, teaching and educating their children abroad.

Charles Murray's eldest son, James, may have benefited from the 'national schools' system, which commenced with the establishment of a National Education Board in 1831. In later years in New South Wales, talking about his early life, he reminisced that when he was a boy in Fermanagh he had 'obtained what learning he could at the local [Fermanagh] schools'. 15

<u>Ulster in the 1830s</u>

As economic conditions worsened in the 1830s, it would become much harder to make a living. Land was split into smaller and smaller plots because of rent disputes with land agents who ruled the Irish (usually Catholic) tenants on behalf of Protestant landlords. By this time, the poorer Protestants were emigrating along with Catholics. During the eighteenth century in Ulster, the two-tiered society of Protestant landed gentry and oppressed Catholic peasant eventually began to merge and intermarriages were becoming more common. At any rate, when Charles and Susan Murray and their children left Fermanagh for Australia, their religion was noted as Roman Catholic.

An 1834 report on the Parish of Magheraculmoney included comments on emigration from the parish at that time.

Emigration prevails to a very great extent among the poor, particularly those of the yeomanry or better class. They immigrate during the spring and summer to Canada mostly, a few to the United States. Rare instances occur of their returning. Scarcely any of the poor go periodically to England or other parts of the kingdom for harvest or other work. If any do, they leave behind them their families who in many cases close their cabins and beg for the season, returning only for the purpose of getting in their crop of potatoes, which the owner of almost every cabin looks forward to as the means of his winter support. 16

A few years later, prospective emigrant families were also starting to contemplate the longer sea voyage to far-off New South Wales. Promising reports of conditions there were starting to filter back to Ireland. It was soon apparent that New South Wales was becoming more than a prison colony. The Kerry Evening Post, in a July 1839 article encouraging young Irish men and women to emigrate, described New South Wales as 'the finest country on the face of the earth.'



¹ The Susan had already made several voyages to Sydney (as a convict ship) in record time.

² From the banks of Erne to Botany Bay' in Familia: Ulster Genealogical Review, Vol2 No3,1987, p.74

³ Also called Susannah

⁴A townland is the smallest administrative unit of land and varies in size from 10 acres to several thousand acres. It is the basic address used by rural Irish people. Each civil parish is made up of a number of townlands.

⁵ It is recorded on her death certificate that she and Charles were married at Kesh, County Fermanagh.

⁶ BAILLIE, Rev. F.A. Mugheraculmoney Parish.1984

⁷ Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland, Parish of Magheraculmoney, County Fermanagh, Statistical return by Lieutenant Robert Boteler, October, 1834, p.105.

⁸ A post town contained a post office; a market town - a market, etc.

⁹ The Ulster Historical Foundation agrees 'that it seems a probability that this was their home' in a letter dated 12.11.86 (Ref. UHF4/86/198). Roman Catholic Church records in the area date from only 1837.

¹⁰ BAILLIE, Rev. F.A. Mugheraculmoney Parish, 1984.

¹¹ A Parish is an area of land and may include several hamlets, villages or towns. Parishes kept christening, marriage and burial records.

¹² Ordnance Survey memoirs of Ireland, Fermanagh. p.103-109

¹³ O'FAOLAIN, Sean. *The story of the Irish people*, New York: Avenel Books, 1949 (p.105)

¹⁴ DEVLIN, Bernadette. The price of my soul, p.54

¹⁵ MAXWELL, C.F. Men of Mark, 1888. Vol 2

¹⁶ Ordnance Survey memoirs of Ireland,, Fermanagh, p.103-109

CHAPTER 2

Destination - Why New South Wales

ith Ireland pushing and New South Wales pulling, it was not surprising that emigration took off. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, newspaper advertisements were appearing in Tyrone and West Fermanagh seeking immigrants for New South Wales. In spite of the image of the Australian colonies as being penal, an increasing number of free settlers began to flow from all of Ireland to Australia.

Many emigrants already had relatives in the Australian colonies. Charles and Susan Murray were only part of what was to become known as 'chain migration' from particular counties in Ireland from the late 1830's. The process was one by which a pioneer immigrant encouraged out another family member, who encouraged out a friend, who encouraged out aunts, uncles, cousins, and so on.

Many of these emigrants, once in New South Wales tended to settle close to family and friends from their original native place in Ireland. Chain migration functioned as a social mechanism, easing the immigrants' inevitable sense of exile and loss by making it possible to surround themselves with some familiar faces.¹

At right is an advertisement from the Northern Standard of 1840 by an immigration agent, John Harpur of Clones. Publicity encouraging emigration to Australia took a variety of forms including handbills posted in strategic places, newspaper reports, and letters. Such letters, from happy settlers in the new land, were read by recipients beyond the family circle to the whole village, and raised expectations for personal and social improvements.

PASSAGE

TO

AUSTRALIA.

PERSONS who may contemplate proceeding to the above highly-prosperous Colony, are informed that a

Line of Regular Packets,

With the best arrangements for the security and comfort of CABIN, INTERMEDIATE. AND STEER-AGE PASSENGERS,

Are despatched, with strict punctuality, every Month, on fixed days, by

Mr. JOHN MARSHALL,

Australian Emigration Agent, 26, Birchin Lane, Cornhill, LONDON,

PORT PHILLIP.

AND

SYDNEY.

They are all Ships of unusually large tonnage, and of the first class; have Poops, are liberally fitted and supplied with Provisions of the very best quality, are commanded and officered by men of known character and competency, carry thoroughly qualified and experienced Surgeons, and persons engaging their Pussage by them, can make their arrangements with absolute certainty as to the time of embarkation. They can join by steam at London or Plymouth, at a very small cost.

A FREE PASSAGE,

Will be granted by these Ships, to suitable married Agricultural Servants and Mechanics; and also to Single Females, when approved according to the regulations. Single Male Agricultural Servants, particularly Shepherds, and good Household Servants, from 18 to 30 years of age, will be conveyed on payment of £5 each, if approved character. In case, however, of Single Males, being accompanied by a Sister or a Single Pemale, unconnected by relationship, but under the care of married persons on board, they would be taken free if approved character.

Accounts recently received from the Colony represent the demand for Labour there to be GREATER THAN EVER, and all-conducted and properly qualified persons may recken with PERFECT CERTAINTY ON IMMEDIATE AND CONSTANT EMPLOYMENT, and, in a few years, by steady perseverance, on materially improving their condition in life. 12

The Days on which the above Ships will be despatched during the year 1840, will be as follows:—

From Landon.		From Ply	mouth.	Destination.		
February		February		Port Philip and Sydney.		
March		March	·. 20	Port Philip andSydney.		
April	12	April		Sydney, direct		
May	10	May	18	Sydney, direct.		
June	10.77	Jine		Port Philip and Sydney.		
June	10	June		Sydney, direct.		
July	5	July		Sydney, direct.		
August		August		Port Philip and Sydney.		

As another illustration of how attractive emigration to New South Wales was portrayed, here is an encouraging advertisement from *The Londonderry Sentinel* of 25 April 1840:

Emigration to Australia per 'Champion' James Cairns Emigration Agent at Londonderry

The subscriber begs leave to acquaint the public that he has made arrangements with a most respectable House in Liverpool, which sails a first class, well-appointed ship every month throughout the year for the above flourishing colony, by which A FREE PASSAGE will be given to approved married mechanics, gardeners, shepherds, farm-servants, etc.

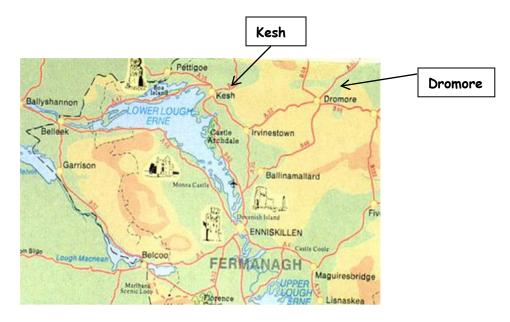
(Those having families will find the subscriber's terms very advantageous, and the members are not separated on board these ships, which is not the same by the regulation of other companies).

Unmarried labourers and good household servants will receive a passage on very moderate terms ... Emigrants on their arrival in New South Wales, will be quite unrestricted, and at perfect liberty to engage themselves in any way they may consider the most for their own advantage'.²

Alick Osborne, Immigration Agent for Australia

John and Alick Osborne, naval surgeons in the service of His Majesty George IV, had sailed to New South Wales as surgeons in charge of convict ships. They liked what they saw, and eventually settled there. With the imminent cessation of the convict free labour system in the late 1830s, there was a growing need to find agricultural labourers to work on their various Osborne farms in the Illawarra district of New South Wales.

It was timely that in 1836 the Irish Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, dispatched Alick Osborne back to Ireland 'to select emigrants and bring them out to this colony'. With Captain Alick Osborne RN setting himself up as an Emigration Agent³ at the port of Londonderry, the Osbornes advertised their free immigration scheme in newspapers in Tyrone and West Fermanagh. Alick had taken to himself the title of 'His Majesty's Emigration Agent for Australia, Omagh.' With advertisements in newspapers such as the Erne Packet, he would expect to receive many applications from West Tyrone, Fermanagh and South Donegal⁴.



Map showing proximity of Dromore and Kesh

Numerous families from the north Fermanagh area, close to Dromore, were inspired by the Osbornes to emigrate to the Illawarra in NSW with an assurance of work. Just across the border from Fermanagh, Dromore in County Tyrone was probably no more than ten miles from Kesh and Aghinver.

Assisted immigration to New South Wales

The proceeds from sale of Crown lands in Australia were used to finance the 'free passage' emigration scheme. The passage would be free, but applicants were required to pay a small deposit. Although the Government would provide bed and board gratis, the passengers were expected to provide their own clothing, both for the journey and for use in the Colony afterwards

It seems likely that Charles Murray was aware of the Osbornes' advertisements and was convinced that emigrating would offer a better life for his family. North America was, of course, an attractive alternative destination; "Ameriky," was a more familiar name and idea. Those, like Charles Murray who chose far-off Australia, perhaps had a particularly adventurous streak. However, there would be many decisions and tasks to attend to before setting off on such a journey. Even with bounty assistance, a large emigrant family needed a lot more money to travel to far-off New South Wales than to America.

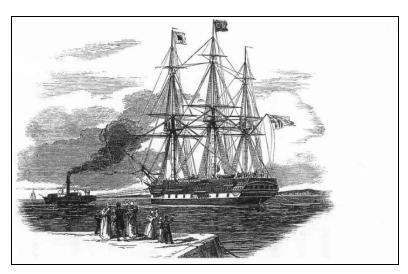
West Fermanagh tenants possessed church land that was not of high quality, being rough unproductive pasture. Many sold the tenant rights in their farms and used that towards expenses for their passage to Australia⁵; Charles

Murray of Kesh/Aghinver may have been in a similar situation. Contributions towards their fares were only part of the expense; they had also to provide themselves with a substantial sea chest of clothing appropriate to a lengthy voyage of between three to four months and on which extremes of climate were experienced.⁶.

There was also the expense of fares to and accommodation at the port of embarkation, often in England. Between 1837 and 1845, some of this inconvenience was lessened somewhat for the Irish, as some of the emigrant ships sailed directly for Sydney from Irish ports. Fortunately, in 1838, Charles Murray's family had only to get themselves and their belongings as far as Londonderry; the *Susan* would sail from there on the long sea voyage to Port Jackson.

Farewelling the emigrants

There are many accounts of the tearful farewells when the emigrant departed Ireland's shores. It is very likely that some Murray family members accompanied them from their Fermanagh villages townlands to the port of Londonderry, in order to say their last goodbyes. One such emigrant⁷ described the final parting. 'Shrieks and prayers, blessings and lamentations,



Cruikshank & Co's full rigged ship St. Vincent was a regular visitor to Australian ports during the 1840s to 1850s
......Illustrated London News 13 April 1844

mingled in "one great cry" from those on the quay and those on shipboard, until a band stationed in the forecastle struck up Patrick's day.'

William Allingham⁸, Ballyshannon poet and customs officer, was present when the emigrant ships made ready to sail. In his Diary 1824-1846, he writes, 'I never heard anyone express the least fear of the dangers and hardships of the long voyage in an often tightly-packed and ill-found sailing ship; but great was the grief of leaving home and "the ould counthry", and vehemently, though not affectedly, demonstrative were the frequent parting scenes.' Allingham illustrates this anguish in his poem, 'The Winding Banks of Erne'. His following words surely reflected the feelings of our Fermanagh emigrant Murray family as they said their farewells to family and friends left behind when the Susan left Londonderry for New South Wales on 18 October 1838.

Adieu to evening dances, when merry neighbours meet

And the fiddle says to boys and girls, 'Get up and shake your feet!'

To 'shanachus' and wise old talk of Erin's days gone by
Who trench'd the rath on such a hill, and where the bones may lie

Of saint, or king, or warrior chief; with tales of fairy power,

And tender ditties sweetly sung to pass the twilight hour.

The mournful song of exile is now for me to learn
Adieu, my dear companions on the winding banks of Erne!

However, those emigrants who arranged their travel to Australia were generally better off than those who left Ireland for North America. The costs involved in shipping out to Australia were obviously much higher. Australia, therefore, attracted a significant proportion of emigrants with the resources to set themselves up in business, or on the land, in the expanding agricultural hinterland of the coastal settlements; Charles Murray did just this.

In spite of the image of the Australian colonies as being penal, an increasing number of Free Settlers began to flow from all of Ireland to Australia. It has been estimated that prior to the famine years, 1,000,000 Irish emigrated and perhaps 40 per cent were Ulstermen, and a large number of these went to New South Wales in Australia. They spent months at sea on their journey and came for many reasons - to own homes and land for the first time, to find gold, escape established class systems, poverty and overcrowding.

They were adventurous, forward thinking, hardworking and ambitious. The descendants of these Ulster emigrants were to play a significant role in the shaping of Australian society. And, in the year 1838, the Murrays of Fermanagh were on their way to New South Wales to play their part in all of this.



¹ REID, Richard. "Green threads of Kinship: aspects of Irish chain migration to New South Wales, 1820-1886", *Familia: Ulster Genealogical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3, p.47-56.

²McLAUGHLIN, Trevor. From Shamrock to Wattle: Digging up your Irish Ancestors, Sydney: Collins, 1985, P65-66

³ An Australian emigration agent called Ramsey was based in Derry at this time. (Ref: email from Brian Trainor 8/11/99)

⁴ McDONNELL, Pat. 'The voyage of the *Adam Lodge*', *Clogher record* 1988 (p.132-137)

⁵ TRAINOR, Brian (Dr.) Visiting Lecture at Archives Authority of NSW 1988

⁶ The Irish Australians: the Irish emigrant, ed. by Richard Reid and Keith Johnson, Sydney: SAG & UHF, 1984, p. 29

⁷ Ireland: Its Scenery, character, etc by Mr and Mrs Samuel Carter Hall 1841-43.

⁸ ALLINGHAM, William, Poet, born at Ballyshannon March 19, 1824. Died London Nov 18,1889

⁹ PARKHILL, Trevor, "Aspects of Ulster Emigration to Australia 1790-1860", *Familia, Ulster Genealogical Review* Vol 2, No. 3, p.57-68

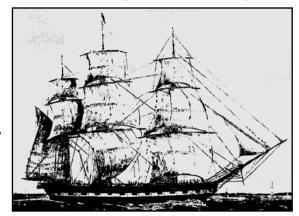
CHAPTER 3

The voyage of the Barque Susan

he Irish emigrants embarked at Londonderry between 10th and 13th October 1838. Bitter weather prevented the ship from clearing the harbour for another week, and virtually all the passengers were extremely seasick whilst the ship was still within sight of Londonderry.

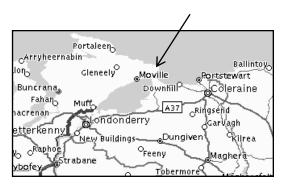
With what sadness, mixed with excitement, the emigrants would cling to the

sight of their loved ones, as the coast of Ireland receded slowly from view. Although the long delay in leaving caused by the bad weather may have necessitated many relatives returning home before the ship sailed. After leaving the Irish port of Londonderry, on 19th October¹, the Susan finally set sail for New South Wales. The bad weather would continue to cause problems.



Barque² of similar tonnage and built about the same time as the *Susan*

One of the passengers, James Dempsey, wrote a letter at the time to a former employer, Captain Stewart Moore. In it, he gives a picture of conditions at the time of embarkation and the frustration of waiting for the ship to depart; feelings no doubt experienced by the many emigrant families including our Murray family from Fermanagh.



"Moville October the 10th, 1838 [with original spelling]

Hounord Sir

Being conscious that you would be desirous of entertaining some information concerning us how we are situated I now inform you as it is with us at present. The Ship mooved down from Derry the Leath of Culmore on Saturday

evening. And the weather being unfavorable stopped there until Thursday morning and she is now down the Leath of Movill and intends going off the first opportunity this evening.

It is serious to behold in all corns of the ship there are sick and women feanting but thank God we are all in good health as yet. The first and second day we went on board there was a great deal of complaints with the emigrants of their rashions being too small and many of them wishing to go ashore and return home but I endeavoured to please any I had any influence with nowing that it was impossible for two hundred and sixty four passengers to be all righter according to there wishes at once

The news reached Captain Ramsy's ears and he came on board at Culmore and called all the passingers on deck and gave free liberty to all that pleased to go ashore and there was one man from Newtown that went home and this is the reason I write lest the word would be carried home that we are ill-treated and if it does believe it not. For the hole passingers put into seventeen Messis and there is appointed one man head over each mess and I am appointed over one and it is there business to see the meat equally served out according to the number of the mess.

We eat our breakfast about eight o'clock of good tea and one day pork with pea soop for our dinner and the next day beef with flour pudding mixed with suet. There is also rum wine figs and reasons for those that is sick and everything appears to be carried on in a very judicious manner.

There is six men appointed with the doctor for forming Laws and if any is found pilfering from the other or giving insolence the one to the other or refusing to clean their births or scrubbing (soiling?) upper or lower decks that are reported to the doctor and their names entered in the register book and when they arrive at Sidney they will be given up to the government and punished in proportion as their crime deserves. Therefore I expect good order will be carried on...."

Stormy weather for 12 days

The ship's Surgeon, Charles Kennedy, kept a Log of the voyage which gives a picture of conditions on board. He remarked in his Log^3 that, 'On the ship leaving Londonderry the weather was very stormy for twelve days, during that time the emigrants in general suffered very much from seasickness'. However, by 4^{th} November they must have been sailing into warmer weather. Mention is made in an entry made at midnight on 4^{th} November of fine pleasant weather and sighting 'the island of Porto Santo'. This is in the vicinity of the island of Madeira. There is no mention in the Log of the ship actually calling into any other port en route for New South Wales.



Porto Santo, Madeira (painted by T.G.Glover 1878)4

Appointment of Ship's Corporals

Surgeon Kennedy proceeded to appoint 'corporals' from the single men to maintain order during the day, and similar arrangements with heads of families for the long nights:

'I have likewise had the heads of families put into Watches for the purpose of keeping order below and to attend to the lamps placed in the hatchway ... which has been attended with a very good effect in preventing any irregularities that may have taken place. The night was divided into three Watches (8-12, 12-4, 4-7)'.

Regulations, superintended by the surgeon, enforced hours of rising, dining and retiring ... Volunteer constables, chosen from among the emigrants, were also paid a gratuity on landing. Haines, Robin (2003)

The aforementioned James Dempsey, in his letter of 10 October, referred to six men being appointed to 'form laws' with the Doctor. By the time these laws were formed, a month later, in a document dated 10^{th} November, Charles Murray was one of nine men listed. There were 19 Rules and Regulations to be observed by the Emigrants on board the Ship 'Susan' from L'Derry to Sydney N.S.W. Rule No 19 included the name of Charles Murray who was appointed one of the ship's corporals.

19. The Master at Arms and Ships Corporals to See the above Regulations carried into effect and to report any person or persons acting Contrary to the Same. Bernard M Cowley - Master at Arms Chas MgLaughlin) Chas Murray) Henry Carey Ed Hutcheson John Campbell) Ships Corporals Robt Watson Robt Howard) Robt Kiddle) Jas McCoy "Susar" at Sea 10th November 1838 (sqd) Chas. Kennedy Surgeon Superintendant

[It is likely that Bernard M Cowley, the Master at Arms, listed above was actually Bernard McCawley whose daughter, Annie, married Charles Murray's son, James when the Murray and McCawley/McCauley families were later living in Wollongong NSW.]

By all accounts at that time, conditions on most emigrant vessels were reasonably good. They had to carry on board a specified number of water closets and lifeboats, a hospital with medicines and surgical instruments, and a surgeon for more than fifty passengers⁵. The Ship's Surgeon, Charles Kennedy kept a log of day-to-day events⁶ during the voyage as well as a final summary report detailing aspects of life for the *Susan's* passengers during their long and sometimes difficult journey.

Stormy weather prevailed and dominated the early part of the voyage. The Surgeon commented that most of the emigrants were seasick, but that the 'officers were kind to them'. Many became ill again during the heat of equatorial waters. When the weather permitted, bedding was rolled up and taken on deck and aired. Passengers' clothes were washed twice a week. Throughout the voyage, the ship's drinking water was in 'good condition'. Only two barrels went bad, one of lime juice and one of molasses.

Education of the emigrant children

Education was not neglected. Usually, teachers were volunteers from among the more educated and literate emigrants. The Captain noted that many of the



mothers taught their children to read during the voyage. On 14 November, the Surgeon reported that a school was opened that day, 'under the superintendence of Mr. Watson, Passenger'.

Teachers were John Connor, Wm Hart, Geo Watson and James Watson; hours 10-11 am and 3-4 pm. Books put on board were given to the scholars according to their requirements; to be taught on the quarter-deck under the awning. The Murray children would have

received some schooling here.

In his General Report⁷ Surgeon Kennedy reported that 'Sixty children were taught under the Superintendence of Mr. Watson when the weather wd permit, and who has made himself useful as a religious instructor'. However, it would seem that Surgeon Kennedy held doubts concerning the ages of some of the children. He commented in his final General Report⁸

I have thought proper to victual all boys from the age of 10 years and upwards as male souls and the girls of the same age as female souls. My reason for doing so was that I observed many of them had their ages inserted on the Nominal Return considerably below what they actually were.

Obviously, with their parents shaving years off their ages to qualify for emigration, their children's ages would need to be manipulated, also!

Murrays in the Surgeon's Sick Book

Charles' wife, Susan Murray became an early entry in the Doctor's Sick Book. Doctor Kennedy treated her, as Case No. 9, from November 14 to December 5 for 'Dyspepsia' (indigestion). By November 19, he reported as to her condition - 'considerable debilitation and emaciation' but, happily, she recovered and was convalescent by November 27 till she was discharged on December 5.

Charles and Susan also had to cope with two of their children falling ill during the journey. Case No. 6 was Ellen Murray aged 9 years. She was suffering from 'Fever - Synochus' [a continued or unremitting fever]. On November 18 she 'was seized with cold shiverings followed with violent pain in her forehead, general pains and weakness, heat of skin, thirst, tongue parched, bowels confined and loss of appetite. Had exposed herself to the sunrays yesterday.....'. Maybe she was soaking up a bit too much unaccustomed sun on deck and it didn't agree with her! Her illness lasted a full week and she was discharged on November 25. Phillip Murray, age 14, was Case No. 22. The doctor diagnosed 'Pneumonia ... has exposed himself at night in sleeping on deck contrary to orders'. He, too, recovered and by December 28 was 'convalescent' until his discharge on January 8. 9

Although Doctor Kennedy's ministrations helped our Murray patients to regain their health, not all his patients managed to survive the journey. Captains were required to record births, deaths and marriages happening on board the emigrant ships. Two babies were born during the *Susan's* voyage and five small children died of a bowel complaint. Emigrant children were especially prone to illness and in the period 1832-1855, 17% of them died on the long voyage to New South Wales. Amazingly, the youngest Murray children did not appear in the Surgeon's Sick Book at all.

Captain's Orders

The Susan's Captain at one stage decreed that on Wednesdays and Saturdays, 'the men will be shaved and boys and children have their heads combed and their hair cut short'. Men were given chores on the boat and for exercise played leapfrog! Hygiene was important; Kennedy reported that he had

'ordered the emigrants to be out of bed at six or seven o'clock. Men and boys on deck to wash themselves, women and children to do the same ... The children were washed in buckets of sea water and cheerfulness encouraged. Weather permitting, meals were taken on deck at 8 am, noon and at 4 pm, and smoking was confined to half an hour after each meal. At sunset the children were put to bed, then the adults assembled, prayers were read and then lights out.'

Religious Services during the journey.

Emigrant passenger, John Watson, was an agricultural labourer who, during the voyage, conducted the Church of England services and Bible classes for the children. The passengers were listed as all religious denominations - Wesleyan, Methodist Baptist, Protestant, C of E, and a few Catholics. Most of the emigrants on the Susan were Protestants. Dissenting Protestants - ie. Presbyterians and others not of the established Church were now being treated in Ulster as second class subjects and debarred from civic and public life, along with the Catholics. The Surgeon noted that -

'To promote a religious disposition among the Emigrants, Divine Service every Sunday has been performed, weather permitting, in the afternoon a Sermon has been delivered by Mr. Watson Passenger and every Evening Prayers by Christians of different denominations.'

The Susan's Catholics would have missed the company of a priest during the long voyage. The Surgeon went on to say that 'the Catholics were not interfered with, on the forecastle they might be seen with their Officiating Ones worshipping in their own way, every night. Prayers were offered and sometimes a hymn sung'. Maybe, special constable Charles Murray was one of the officiating ones at these meetings. Moreover, it is likely that Charles and Susan Murray and their children, as Roman Catholics, would have attended these meetings.

Christmas on the Susan

Christmas on 25 December 1838 was celebrated by the passengers and crew in a very different environment that year as the *Susan* headed down towards the

warm southern continent. The worst of the voyage was over and in a few weeks they would be facing their new future. It is likely that some nostalgia for past Christmases was also in the air. The Surgeon's Log records that, at noon on Christmas Eve when the passengers dined, a quarter of a pint of wine was issued to each adult - 'no lemon juice served out today'. Next day, Christmas Day, began with Divine Service and after dinner



a quarter of a pint of wine again given to each adult. The nursing mothers were given porter wine! No doubt, other more appropriate festivities and refreshments were arranged for the many children on board.

Except for young Phillip Murray who was still sick at the beginning of January, there were no more reports of Murrays on the sick list for the remainder of the journey. Hopefully the next few weeks found them enjoying good health and seasickness was a thing of the past for all the emigrants.

Land ahoy!

There were, possibly, many passengers who hated the long voyage, the bouts of seasickness and the absence of privacy in the cramped quarters. The words 'Land Ho'shouted by a sailor, when the coast was seen in the far distance, would electrify the passengers. They would now appear in their finest clothes, with mothers holding their children aloft in the hope that they would see the land where they were likely to spend the remainder of their lives.

An emigrant's view of arrival

Another emigrant, who arrived in Sydney only weeks after the Murrays on a ship also, confusingly, called *Susan*, kept a diary of his voyage and gives us a glimpse of how he viewed Sydney Harbour on reaching their journey's end. Michael Finn was a passenger on the other *Susan* which left Plymouth in December 1838^{13} and reached Sydney on 10^{th} March 1839. He notes in his diary:

'In sight of Sydney heads early in the morning. There is nothing that strikes the eye as picturesque or sublime as the appearance of the Coast here; it has both a barren and rugged appearance from the Water; covered over with brush-wood and scrub, but was amply repaid by the splendid appearance, the smooth unruffled surface of its land locked harbour with the beautiful cottages on both sides and its numerous Inlets ...'

For another view of the same scene, we can look through the eyes of another arrival on the emigrant ship *Letitia*, also in 1839, who wrote -

'The entrance to Port Jackson is grand in the extreme. The high, dark cliffs we had been coasting along all morning, suddenly terminate in an abrupt precipice, called the South Head, on which stand the lighthouse and signal-station. The North Head is a similar cliff, a bare bluff promontory of dark horizontal rocks; and between these grand stupendous pillars, as through a colossal gate, we entered Port Jackson. Near the North Head is the quarantine ground, off which one unlucky vessel was moored when we passed ...'14

On 1 February 1839, Surgeon Supt C. Kennedy noted in his journal that there was a problem with 'Hooping Cough' when the Health Officer came aboard - but that this had been 'satisfactorily resolved.¹⁵

In Fremantle in 1851 the ship *Anna Robertson* was placed in quarantine for fear that whooping cough might go ashore and infect thousands of Aborigines, who possessed no immunity.

Arrival in Sydney Harbour 1839

On a fine summer day, a Friday, as the *Susan* sailed through The Heads into view of picturesque Sydney Harbour, it is more than likely Charles and Susan Murray said a private prayer of thanks for their family's safe arrival at journey's end!

The *Shipping Column* on page 2 of the *Sydney Gazette* of Saturday 2 February, 1839, included news of the *Susans* arrival:

Yesterday ..

From Londonderry (Ireland), same day, whence she sailed the 19th October, the barque SUSAN, Captain Hayne, with 261 Government Emigrants.

Agents A.B. Smith & Co.

In the *English Intelligence* column on the same page, it was further reported the health problem had been cleared up:

...The SUSAN from Londonderry is understood to bring intelligence to the 19th but, up till a late hour yesterday afternoon, it had not been ascertained whether the report of the Health Officer was such as to prevent the necessity of placing the vessel and passengers in quarantine. Since the above was written, Dr Dobie has reported favourably and the vessel has in consequence been allowed to come up the Harbour.

The *Gazette* also noted the weather in Sydney on arrival - morning, noon and evening temperatures:

[Fahrenheit]	M	Ν	Ε	Wind	Weather
Thursday 31 [Jan]	71	84	76	NE	Hot wind
Friday 1 [Feb]	70	73	70	SE	Cloudy

Journey's end

All the Susan emigrants would have mixed feelings when the then small town of Sydney came into sight. There would be some trepidation at what awaited them, mixed with relief at the prospect of firm ground beneath their feet, after the endless tossing of the little ship during their long sea journey from the port of Londonderry in Ireland to Sydney, New South Wales.



¹ Not to be confused with the *Susan* which left Plymouth on 8th December 1838 and arrived at Sydney 10th March 1839 (with Capt Neatby and Surgeon Superintendent, J. E. Pattison).

² From painting of Barque *Mount Stuart Elphinstone 1840*, Artist William Adolphus KNELL. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. [Tonnage similar - 610tons – the *Susan* was 572tons]

³ NL Susan - Surgeon's Log - Reel PRO3214 Also 'Doctors at sea: emigrant voyages to colonial Australia' by Robert Haines, Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993 p.43

⁴ NLA pic-an4323619

⁵ The Irish Australians (1984, p29?)

⁶ NSWRS - Bounty Ships Surgeons Logs - Susan 1839 (held Kingswood NSW)

⁷KENNEDY, Charles. Surgeon Superintendant. *General Report on the way in which the Emigration Ship* "Susan" has been victualled and fitted out to convey Emigrants from L'Derry to Sydney New South Wales dated 2nd February 1839 [NSWSR 4/4698.1]

⁸KENNEDY (1839)

⁹The Doctor's Sick Book also listed 18 year old James Blow who had a lengthy illness from Nov 20 to Jan 20 suffering from Diarrhea and Dysentry The Blow family, also from Fermanagh, would have a close association with the Murray family. They travelled on the same *Susan* voyage as the Murrays arriving at Sydney on 1 Feb 1839.

¹⁰ CHARLEWOOD, Don. *The long farewell: the perilous voyage of settlers under sail in the great migrations to Australia*, Penguin Books, 1981.

¹¹ KENNEDY (1839)

¹² NSWRS - Assisted Emigrants Passenger Lists - Susan 1839.

¹³ There was also a ship called *Susan* which sailed from Plymouth 8 December 1838 reaching Sydney on 10 March 1839. Records for this ship and the *Susan* - which sailed from Londonderry on 19 October 1838 arriving Sydney 1 February 1839 - are confused in the historical records.

¹⁴ Mrs. Charles Meredith. *Notes & Sketches of New South Wales during residence in the colony from 1839 to 1844*. Sydney: Ure Smith, 1973 [1844].

¹⁵ BLAINEY, Geoffrey. Black kettle and full moon: daily life in a vanished Australia, Vic: Penguin Group, 2003.

CHAPTER 4

Port Jackson to Garden Hill, Wollongong

Charles and Susan Murray and their children were eight of the 8,416 people who reached New South Wales in that year on assisted passages. The population was increasing rapidly from its penal roots in 1788. Its population would rise from 19,000 in 1836 to 30,000 four years later¹. Outside Sydney, another 100,000 completed the colony's European population. As well as new immigrants arriving, the transportation of felons was still swelling numbers when the Murray family arrived on the Susan in February 1839 as emigrants.

An emigrant ship arrives in Sydney²

It is likely that the arrival of a vessel from 'home' was greeted by swarms of little boats as local residents came out to look for relatives or friends on board. When the Susan passengers disembarked at Circular Quay, they were surrounded by wooded hills and an occasional building with several other sailing ships tied up at anchor in the bay.



The temperature of the Sydney area reported in the Sydney Gazette on that day was '76 degrees, weather clear'. In fact, the remarkable clearness of the atmosphere particularly struck new arrivals, 'so different to the diffused effect of an English landscape ...' ³ James Morris (1973) draws an attractive picture of Sydney as it appeared to new arrivals a year later, in 1840.

'Sydney was surprisingly impressive, for a city that had been in existence scarcely more than half a century. As the great three-master from England sailed carefully between the headlands of Port Jackson, then as now one of the supreme moments of travel, to discover the glorious sheltered harbour within, with its islands and wooded coves sprawling languid under the sun. As the stranger approached this celebrated and notorious place, populated first by thieves, murderers, whores and paupers, he saw before him not a dismal penitentiary, but a prosperous and not unattractive seaport of some 30,000 inhabitants, set pleasantly on a green peninsula, and busy with the masts and riggings of many ships. A steam ferry puffed back and forwards across the harbour

and among the trees on the outskirts of the town, looking across the water, were isolated villas and cottages on the foreshore, like pleasure pavilions in a great water-garden'.⁴

On that clear, fine summer day in February 1839 when the *Susan* dropped anchor, the sparkling waters of the harbour under the vast blue sky, bathed in sunlight, could only gladden the emigrants' hearts. When Charles Murray and his family were able to finally disembark and venture ashore, they would explore the town itself with its busy streets, bustling with riders and carriages. The whitewashed cottages and two-story houses were spread comfortably along the streets, most with their own gardens full of colourful flowers, fruit and vegetables. However, convicts in chain gangs, dressed in their broad-arrow uniforms, were still a common sight in Sydney, as were the men from the newly built Hyde Park Barracks.

'Gangs in arrowed clothing were working on the streets as road navvies, on the new gaol, the military barracks, the dock, Dawes battery and Fort Macquarie. Others trudged down to work on the new botanic gardens on the slopes above the harbour - surely one of the most beautiful work sites in the world'. 5

New South Wales Governors Bourke & Gipps

The previous Governor (1831-1837) of New South Wales, Dublin-born Sir Richard Bourke, had resigned in frustration in 1837 and left NSW to return to Ireland. Bourke, a paragon of Anglo-Irish liberal achievement had come up against the, then, closed society of the colonial exclusives. Bourke was a staunch supporter of the rights of Irish Catholics. He established religious equality on a just and firm basis and introduced humane reforms in the treatment of convicts, freedom of the press, trial by jury and the subsidised immigration of free settlers. He also sought to provide for all citizens with a sound and progressive system of public education.

Outside the Mitchell Library in Macquarie Street, Sydney, stands the imposing bronze figure of Sir Richard Bourke. Few Sydneysiders today would realise why an adoring public, many of them Catholic and from the lower classes, would have donated so generously to erect a statue of the Irish-born lieutenant-general who was governor of NSW from 1831 to 1837.

Sir George Gipps, Bourke's successor as Governor (1838-1846), arrived in Sydney in February 1838. Although his administrative efforts were characterised by integrity, a devotion to duty and a capacity for hard work, Governor Gipps would also find, during his term, opposition from the rich and powerful in New South Wales. When he arrived, the colony of New South Wales stretched from Cape York in the north to Wilson's Promontory in the south, westwards to the border

with Western Australia, more than two thousand kilometres from Sydney, and eastwards from the shoreline so as to include 'all the Islands adjacent' and Norfolk Island.

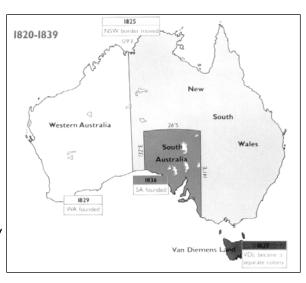
Map of Australia in $1839^{\frac{1}{2}}$

1825 - NSW border moved

1825 - VDL became a separate colony

1829 - WA founded

1836 - SA founded



Sponsored immigration

In the late 1830s, colonial employers' need for labour, together with the imminent loss of convict workers by 1841⁶, had induced Governor Bourke to establish the bounty system to finance immigration, particularly of mechanics, farm labourers and single females. The numbers of assisted migrants to the colony swelled immediately. The Government (or Wakefield) system operated up until 1840.⁷ Charles Murray's Certificate of Entitlement⁸ as a bounty immigrant stated merely that he was 'brought out by Govt'. There was no mention in the shipping documents of a sponsor's name or letter of recommendation.⁹

After the Sydney Gazette notice advertised the arrival of the Susan emigrants, it appears likely that prospective employers such as the Osbornes of Illawarra, mentioned earlier, originally from Dromore, Fermanagh, boarded the ship to choose suitable agricultural labourers, shepherds and female house servants to work for them on their various Illawarra properties.

From the reminiscences of an elderly Illawarra pioneer, we get a glimpse of what transpired when such emigrant ships as the Susan arrived in Sydney in the year 1839. A Mrs. Atchison of Shellharbour was one of three children of William Thomas and his wife who arrived from England on the *Westminster* in that same year. She was a little six-year old girl in 1839 when the family disembarked in Sydney, but Mrs. Atchison, interviewed in 1925, could still remember the ship's arrival.

When the Westminster arrived at Sydney, Henry Osborne was at the wharf with a view to securing men for the building of his Marshall Mount House, and the laying out of his gardens and grounds. 10

The Osborne landholders of the Illawarra

Henry Osborne, who had arrived in Australia in 1829, received a grant of 640 acres in the Illawarra area, known as *Mount Marshall*. He later acquired large tracts of land at The Lakelands, Avondale and Kangaroo Valley as well as around Wollongong; including a Mount Keira property. *Mount Marshall* comprised 2,560 acres and, at that time, entitled Henry to between 20 and 30 free government labourers. The *Mount Marshall* homestead was commenced in 1839 and completed in 1841. When the *Susan* arrived from Ireland, Henry's brother John Osborne also needed labour for his *Garden Hill* property in the Illawarra.

Whether Charles Murray knew, before he left his home in County Fermanagh, that he would have the security of promised employment in the Illawarra, or whether the Osbornes chose him only after the Susan's arrival is not known. On arrival in Sydney families would spend a short time in the immigrant barracks then proceed to their destination which, in this case, was Wollongong. It appears that Charles Murray was initially to be employed making bricks in Wollongong as piece work¹¹ for Osborne properties.

But even a short stay in Sydney town would surely have the family strolling down George Street, the main street of Sydney in 1839, to the sight of parrots and other unfamiliar birds of exotic plumage hanging in cages exposed for sale; and fruit stalls loaded with oranges, lemons, limes, figs, grapes and stone fruits of every description. 'Men of all nations walked the streets of Sydney as well as South Sea Islanders and Maoris from New Zealand, who were sailors off the ships in the Harbour. The aboriginals no longer went about naked, but were now clothed in rags.' How long Charles Murray and his family stayed in Sydney before their next move is not known.

The journey south - travelling to the Illawarra

From Sydney town, the family had to undertake another journey with all their goods and chattels, to the Illawarra. At that time, there were two alternate methods of travel. The overland trip from Sydney to the Illawarra was, by all accounts, inconveniently arduous, but with the formation of the *Illawarra Steam Packet Company* in 1839, the trip was made much more pleasant. In fact, the Murrays may have travelled on a steamer like the Thomas family mentioned earlier. In her interview, Mrs. Atchison, recounted that, as a small child when she landed with her family at Wollongong in 1838, *Crown Street was a bullock track through the bush'*. Upon the arrival of the little steamer *William the Fourth* at Wollongong, she described being helped ashore by one of the sailors from the steamer -

'There was no wharf or landing place, and produce had to be also carried to dry land. The bullock driver, Old Dan, was there with his team and soon they were in the dray and making through the bush to a place unknown to them ... along an apparently endless bush track, with only the bush craft of the driver to guide them on their journey. ... There was a large building back from the landing place where the convicts were housed ... Where Wollongong is today was then heavy timber, with about a dozen settlers' houses erected in the bush.



Typical Illawarra hut on a bush road¹⁴

Mrs. Atchison also recalled the fires of the blacks camped at places along the road, and described the settlers' places of abode as 'just rough huts'. ¹⁵ Charles and Susan Murray

and their family would have come upon similar scenes as they came to the end of the journey to the Illawarra and to their new life in Wollongong on John Osborne's *Garden Hill* property.

Some 1839 reminiscences in other diary entries re Illawarra

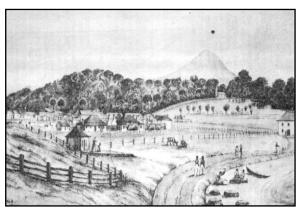
Earlier that same year, on 2 January, a few weeks before the arrival of the Susan, the Earl Durham arrived in Sydney with another group of pioneers bound for the Illawarra. One such pioneer, Margaret Menzies, kept a travel journal of her experiences. Her husband Robert Menzies had already bought a property in the Illawarra. Margaret provides another view of such a journey. After their arrival, she describes their party's two modes of travelling from Sydney to Wollongong.

Some of their party sailed from Sydney to Kiama aboard the *Alexander McLeay* with all their goods and chattels, while Margaret and Robert, themselves, went overland via Liverpool. They rode from Liverpool to Campbell Town for an overnight stay and then the next day travelled 11 miles to Appin before breakfast and another 25 miles to Wollongong, arriving at 7 o'clock in the evening. After spending the night there they continued southward, calling first at '*Dr John Osborne's at Garden Hill'* and, later in the day, at '*Mr. H. Osborne's at Marshall Mount.*'

Margaret Menzies wrote of a drought prevailing at the time of their arrival in 1839. She observes, 'Complaints were loud from all quarters of the want of water for man and beast and even in this district which is truly a paradise when compared to other parts was parched and the grass withered up'. She later noted

that, 'everything rose tremendously in price ... First [rate] flour is now 46/- per cwt and Second [rate] ditto 43/- an immense price...'

Yet another 1839 diary, that of Lady Jane Franklin, wife of the Tasmanian Governor, reveals conditions during a week she spent in Illawarra during the course of a six week overland journey from Port Phillip to Sydney. On 11th May, 1839, Lady Franklin wrote that she passed the house of Mr. [John] Osborne on her approach to Wollongong, and went on to describes the town itself -



Wollongong from the Stockade April 1840¹⁶

'.... we come on broad ugly streets; there are brick town houses here. Temporary wooden boarded huts for the mechanics are built on their allotments till the houses are erected ... There is a great run on Illawarra now. Every boat brings fresh emigrants ... Wollongong about three and a half years old ... The present town is a long parallelogram with the length at right angles to the sea. There are three streets:

Churches

Attending church at Wollongong on the Sunday of her May 1839 visit, Lady Franklin writes, 'the present English service was performed in the Bishop's school house'. She added that the Presbyterian service was performed in the Court House, and the Catholics had a wooden chapel at the back of Kennedy's Inn. As Catholics, the Murrays would likely have attended Sunday Mass at Kennedy's Inn.

In fact, the Murrays could take comfort in the fact that the Catholics had quite a presence in the area. The Sydney Gazette of 17 April 1833 reported that, 'the Rev. J.J. Therry visited Wollongong, and celebrated mass in the barrackroom there to a numerous congregation of the Roman Catholic persuasion.' On 13th October 1840, the foundation stone of St. Francis Xavier's Cathedral in Wollongong was laid. It then took some nine years to complete.

<u>Schools</u>

Access to education for their school-age children would be a priority for Charles and Susan Murray and their fellow Irish emigrant families living in the area. In May 1839, Lady Franklin, in her dairy, notes that a school 'on the Irish plan' was being erected in Wollongong, at a cost of £3000, calling it 'the first experiment of

Sir George Gipps.' A school building was duly erected in 1839 on a site in Crown Street under the system of education initially propounded by Gipps' predecessor, Governor Bourke¹⁸. It is likely that the younger Murray children obtained some years of education at this school after their arrival at Garden Hill, Wollongong. It was now up to Charles and Susan and their children to lay down the groundwork for the family's future in this new country.

Another of the Susan's emigrant families was also in Wollongong at the time. Bernard McCauly [sic], mentioned in the previous 'Voyage of the Susan' chapter, penned a positive letter to the Editor of the Londonderry Journal dated 22 October 1839 which pertains to what was happening for the Murrays and McCauleys or other Susan emigrants who ended up in the Illawarra.

'AUSTRALIA

Sir. The ship Susan that sailed from Londonderry on the 19th October, 1838, performed the voyage in 104 days, and landed, all well on the 2nd February, 1839, with the exception of 4 children, who died on the passage. I wish to give for the information of my fellow-countrymen who mean to emigrate, a wholesome advice for their guidance. The class of emigrants fit to come here are unmarried people, from 14 to 34. A man with a strong full grown family would do well, with a little capital to take a farm, but I advise the aged men and women and small weak families, or any that are as they will have to encounter great difficulties from the time they leave the land of their nativity till they settle in the land of their adoption. This is a fine country for the sober, industrious people, but let the drunkard stay at home (this is a drouthy climate for him)... I expect (God willing) to make an independency here in seven years for my family. I am Mr. Editor, your most obedient servant.

BERNARD McCAULY Late Publican and Grocer, Moville near L'Derry

Wollongong District of Illiwarra [sic] 14th April, 1839'

Many years of hard work would be ahead of the new arrivals in the Illawarra before the time when they could own and work their own land - the dream of all the immigrants from the old country. But succeed they would. Through hard work and battling the elements through good years and bad, Charles Murray and the related extended families he sponsored as emigrants from Ulster, in the years to follow, would go on to become settlers and landowners in the Shoalhaven district of New South Wales.



From Ulster to Ulladulla

¹ 1841 New South Wales Census.

² Thomas Picken, *Emigrants leaving the ship*, *Sydney Cove*, *NSW*, *1853*, NLA Pictures Collection.

³ Meredith. (1844), p.35.

⁴ MORRIS, James. *Heaven's command: an imperial progress*. London: Faber & Faber, 1973

⁵ Australians 1838, Fairfax, Syme & Walden Associates, 1987 (p.286)

⁶ Opposition to transportation commenced in the late 1830s and led to the last convict ship arriving in Sydney in December 1840.

From 1841, however, the bounty system changed and landholders in New South Wales were able to sponsor specific immigrants or families before they left Ireland.

NSWRS Reel 1307 4/4825

⁹ NSWSR Bounty Ships Certificate of Entitlement Reel 1307 - 4/4849

¹⁰ McDONALD, W.G. (Ed). Earliest Illawarra: its explorers and pioneers, IHP:1989. p.117.

¹¹ NSWAO Reel 2654 p.219, The Return of the Disposal of Immigrants on the Susan

¹² OSBORNE, A. Notes on the present state and prospects of society in New South Wales, London, 1833, p.278 (cited in Henderson 1983)

13 A bustling place: a brief story of Wollongong. Wollongong: Rural Bank (pamphlet held by SAG)

¹⁴ 'Kembla', Illawarra', 1840s. Georgiana Lowe, 'Album of watercolours of scenes in New South Wales 1842-1850'. Courtesy: Mitchell Library.

¹⁵ McDonald 1966, p.117

¹⁶ Artist unknown. Courtesy National Library of Australia

¹⁷ HENDERSON, K & T. Early Illawarra: people, houses, life: an Australian monograph 1838 Canberra: ANU, 1983, p.117

¹⁸ Commonwealth Jubilee 1951 (pamphlet held by SAG Ref. B4.500/1/PAM)

CHAPTER 5

Emigrant workers in the Illawarra in the 1830s and 1840s

great number of the Irish who settled in the NSW Illawarra area came from the Northern Counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh. Many had connections with the Osbornes; Henry Osborne and his wife Sarah Marshall, emigrated from Tyrone. He was given a free land grant of 2,560 acres to the west of Lake Illawarra in 1829 that he named Mount Marshall. Henry's brothers John and Alick, who came to NSW during their naval careers also settled in Illawarra. Such land holders were paid bounties to sponsor emigrating married couples.

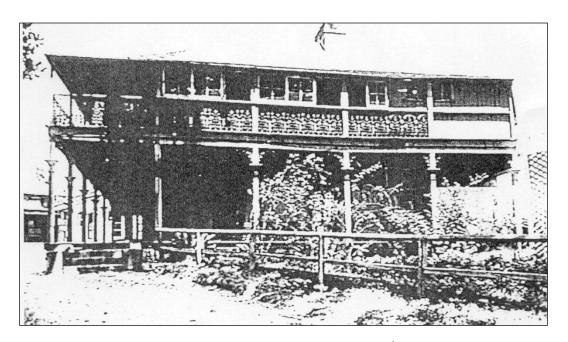
Some years before the Murrays left Fermanagh, Alick Osborne wrote a diary of his travels in the Colony, published in London in the year 1833. In included a description of conditions at that time in the Illawarra area of New South Wales, with these comments justifying the part that he and his brothers played in encouraging the Ulster emigrants to join them as pioneers in the Illawarra.

'The admirable management of this young establishment, the healthy appearance of the children, and contented aspects of the parents (having realised to the utmost their anticipation of emigration) with their present prospect of peace and plenty, present a picture at once gratifying and delightful to every one interested in the perfect success of emigration.⁴

Alick Osborne was clearly the catalyst who influenced other members of the family to come to Australia. Having already made three trips to Australia and back, he obviously inspired not only Henry but John as well.² As a chain of migration, many more Irish Osborne relatives were to follow the original three to New South Wales.³

Dr John Osborne's Garden Hill

Dr John made four trips with convicts before bringing out his wife and six of their seven children on the *James Pattison* in 1836. His eldest son, Archibald, was already at *Garden Hill*, presumably managing it in John's long absences. ⁴ It was originally part of a parcel of 640 acres named *Glen Gosh*, which was dated 23/9/1831. John later divided the grant into two parts, *Garden Hill* and *Managerton*. ⁵



John Osborne's Garden Hill Residence⁶

By 1841, on the fringe of Wollongong, one of the most densely populated estates in Illawarra was John Osborne's *Garden Hill* estate, with 159 people living on 640 acres. Garden Hill was variously described as 1 square mile and as 300 acres, and includes the site of the present Wollongong Hospital. John Osborne let it on clearing lease terms.

Charles Murray was a 'clearing lease' tenant employed by John Osborne at Garden Hill, with possibly a 7-10 year contract. Charles would have been an ideal tenant because he had adult sons to assist him in clearing the land He also had daughters - useful for house and dairy duties

The 1841 NSW Census

In 1841, a Census was conducted in the Colony. From this Census, Return No. 187 confirms that Charles Murray and family - a household of six - were then living at Garden Hill. Place of Residence is given as - Garden Hill near Wollongong; person in charge of house - Charles Murray, owner of house - J. Osborne. The residence is described as wood, completed, inhabited, and the number of residents and free persons - 6. Following is a detailed table. The christian names have been added by the author to match the age ranges.

	<u>M</u>	ale	<u>Fer</u>		
	Married	Single	Married	Single	TOTAL
Age 2 - 7				1 Margaret	1
7 - 14		1 Charles Jr		1 Elinor	2
14 -21		1 Phillip			1
21 -45	1 Charles Snr		1 Susan		2
TOTALS	1`	2	1	2	6
Arr. FREE	1	2	1	2	6
RCs	1	2	1	2	6
Land Prop	1				1
Shepherds		2			2
Other			1	2	3
TOTAL	1	2	1	2	6

The 1841 NSW Census, Wollongong

In 1841, the year of the census, the ages of the Murray children would have been as follows - James (19), Phillip (17), Mary (15), Elinor (12), Charles (9) and Margaret (5). It could be that, by 1841, James and Mary were not counted as of the household. As adults, 19 year-old James and 15 year-old Mary may have been working on other Osborne properties, at this point in time.

On Garden Hill, John Osborne not only had a complement of 6 male convicts (as well as 2 assigned women who were domestic servants), but more importantly there were about 30 families and 20 unmarried male labourers. Of the married men, 18, including Charles Murray, were listed as 'landed proprietors', indicating that on this property, Garden Hill, there was a substantial number of families working individual parcels of land with a certain degree of independence.

Illawarra Aboriginals

During her time at Kiama, Margaret Menzies, the diarist mentioned earlier, had her first encounter with the Aboriginal people of the district. In her diary, she graces them with a somewhat patronising admiration.

[One native] ... had a brass medal round his neck, which told he was William Roberts, King of Camberoo, & a piece of scarlet cloth across his forehead ... Some more blacks came up & this morning 2 or 3 women came with some cray fish & got sugar from Mrs. Smith. Roberts gave her 2/- for 1/4lb tea and 2lb of sugar and understood perfectly the quantity he should get for his 2 white monies ... They are generally ugly creatures & yet very picturesque when seated round their fires & the little children like imps running about. Some of them have a gait that would serve a duchess. 9

Some contemporary observations re the Osbornes

The Menzies also met the families of Henry Osborne's two older brothers. After her first visit to Garden Hill, Margaret was not entirely impressed and observed that Dr John Osborne was, 'rather a gentlemanlike man but not so sterling as Henry & Mrs. John the most <u>unladylike lady</u> I have seen in a long time. The children, bah! want civilization sadly'. It seems Margaret was a serious and gently-bred young lady with strong convictions about religion and the rules of proper conduct. One of her preoccupations when she arrived in Illawarra was to seek friends and neighbours who shared and measured up to her own views of propriety.

With a lack of any diaries or documentation concerning the lives of our Murray family after they arrived in the Illawarra, it is not easy to determine where they fell in the immigrant pecking order of the day. It appears that Margaret Menzies considered herself a cut above the other ladies.. Margaret penned some acid comments in her journal.

'There is no society here and I sometimes feel that we have left a great deal behind us.
There is some chance of our becoming savages ... Intercourse with well-bred people!
One! Mrs. H. Osborne is the only lady near me I expect to enjoy.'

Let us hope, in the years that followed, Margaret mellowed and relaxed her rigid standards somewhat to have a measure of social intercourse with 'Mrs. John'. It may be that she eventually found congenial company amongst other immigrant women working to create for themselves and their families a new life, such as Charles Murray's wife, Susan, from Fermanagh.

Some other Garden Hill families

During their time at *Garden Hill* Charles and Mary Murray (aged 14 and 17 years in 1844) were the baptism sponsors of Anna Maria Cosgrove¹⁰ on 5th August 1844.¹¹ Anna's parents may have previously been acquainted with the Murray family in Fermanagh. Thomas and Maria Cosgrove and their four sons - John, James, Thomas and Patrick - had come as emigrants from Irvinestown, Fermanagh, (near Kesh) and arrived in Sydney on the *Herald* on 15th July 1841, only two years after the Murrays. Henry Osborne, had, in that year 1841, sponsored a large number of Northern Irish to work on his estates, and his brother, John Osborne, had provided character references for the Cosgroves.

Also living and working at *Garden Hill* in 1841, in a house owned by John Osborne, were fellow 1839 *Susan* immigrants from Fermanagh, John and Ann Blow with their family. The Blows moved to *Avondale*¹², another Osborne property near Dapto late in 1841.¹³

Apart from the hard work on their clearing leases, there would have been lots of happy times and shared memories for the immigrants whilst living and working with other families formerly from neighbouring parishes and counties in Fermanagh. It is very likely that the Murray, Cosgrove and Blow children became friends while living, working and playing together at Garden Hill.

Clearing Lease Men

As the area was heavily wooded, to cope with the clearing problem most of the larger owners resorted to the clearing-lease system. 'In this district', wrote Joseph Phipps Townsend, a visitor to Illawarra in the late 1840's, 'is to be found a

numerous class of small settlers called "clearing-lease men".' It seems Charles Murray was classed as one of these. Large trees had to be cleared by hand using axes and bullocks. With a small piece of uncleared land (each about thirty acres) on condition of having it rent-free for six years, they would build a shanty. There they lived while they cleared and improved their holding, replacing the shanty ultimately with a decent dwelling.



Hardy settlers cleared the inland forests14

'They have generally got on pretty well in the world, and can afford to pay about ten pounds a-year for their now reclaimed land. Most of these men have a dairy cow and a mare, which get their own living under the mountains; and the sale of their butter and their crops, and the money they occasionally earn from the other settlers and labourers, keep the pot boiling. 45

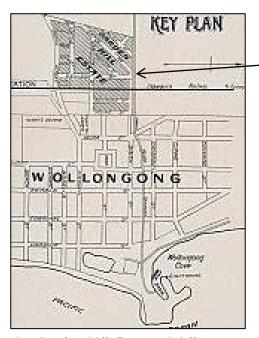
Townsend went on to suggest that a clearing-lease man must have some experience in the colony before he can commence operations, and he must have enough capital to support himself and family for one year. He concluded, however, that most of the settlers in Illawarra, 'of whatever grade were comfortable and happy.' As clearing-lease tenants, it would have been backbreaking work for Charles

Murray and his sons. Whether they had first to improvise a shelter, or some sort of shack was provided by the Osbornes, the initial living conditions for the family would have been very simple.

Usually, slab or cabbage-tree huts were constructed, with bark or cabbage-tree roofs, earth floor and no windows. A large wooden fireplace stretched the whole width of the room, protected by stones. The fires were of great logs over which hung the pots and camp oven above, suspended from an iron cross bar. The women soon learnt to make hats from the fans of the cabbage palm - hats worn by practically every man and boy in Illawarra. ¹⁶

The felling itself was very tough work. At first, the vines and undergrowth had to be removed sufficiently to secure a proper fall. The use of an axe from daylight to dark by one unused to such work meant blistered hands and hard sore muscles. As soon as a small area was burned off, it was planted with wheat, maize, potatoes and turnips. When possible, the wheat was sent to a mill, but often the settlers had to be satisfied with meal ground on the farm.

Working at Garden Hill, the Murrays would have earned £10-15 an acre to clear by contract and some of their older children were probably also getting wages for working on other properties. Men were getting from £25-35 a year and single girls £20-25 a year as agricultural labourers and housemaids. To the Murrays and other Irish immigrant families in Australia that time, having at employment and being able to earn regular and adequate wages for each adult member of the family would give them the ability to save money towards the Irish immigrants' ultimate goal land of their own.



AD: Garden Hill Estate, Wollongong For auction sale at the town hall Wollongong 17

Time to move on - greener pastures

The years 1839-1847 would give the family eight years of earnings, sufficient to enable them to think about buying and clearing their own land. At the end of that time, they would then have to decide whether the Illawarra area was the place to stay and put down roots, or whether they should look further afield.

In 1841 the population o Wollongong was 841¹⁸. In the early 1840s, the Governor, Sir George Gipps, was confronting major problems in New South Wales, including growing violence between Aborigines and colonists on the frontiers of settlement, a prolonged drought and a savage economic depression. By 1843, Illawarra had prospered and was of such importance that the Governor constituted a District Council there, the first form of Local Government. Churches and schools, a court, gaol and business houses were established but, several years later, the local economy would go into a decline. The next few years were times of drought and economic depression in the Illawarra as in other parts of New South Wales. By 1846, Wollongong's population had fallen to 515.

In view of this downturn, perhaps Charles Murray Snr decided the family's future lay, not in the Illawarra, but further afield. It appears that the family remained at *Garden Hill* until the eldest son, James, happened upon the Ulladulla area, where desirable farming land was at this time becoming available. Travelling on horseback between the various Osborne landholdings in the Illawarra area and Kangaroo Valley may have led to him happening upon such land.

Also, by this time Charles and his adult sons may have decided that they had, between them, amassed sufficient capital to purchase some land. They would have completed their clearing lease arrangement with John Osborne. It was now time to put down permanent roots in their adopted country. With most of the six children now adults - from 12-year old Margaret to 26-year old James, another journey would soon take place, a shorter one this time - further south, down the New South Wales coast to the Shoalhaven.

There, in the lush green coastal hills and valleys and forests of the south coast of New South Wales, a new pioneering chapter was about to start for the Murray family from County Fermanagh, Ireland, with the promise of owning and working on their own land.



From Ulster to Ulladulla

¹ OSBORNE, A. *Notes on the present state and prospects of society in New South Wales*, London, 1833, p.278 (cited in Henderson 1983)

² OSBORNE, Frank. 'Osbornes in early Illawarra', IHSB, March 1987.

³ See OSBORNE, Frank. 'Osbornes in Early Illawarra', IHSB, March 1987.

⁴ OSBORNE, Frank. Letter to J. Dawes dated 2 Jan 2000

⁵ OSBORNE, Frank. 'Osbornes in early Illawarra' IHSB, March 1987.

⁶ Former home of Dr. John Osborne RN, Photograph taken just before demolition, when house was part of Wollongong District Hospital/ Photographer Harvey. Wollongong City Library Neg No. FM2/192/6/33A ⁷ 1841 NSW Census

⁸ HENDERSON, K&T. 1983 p143

⁹ Ibid p.113

Anne became a farmer in her own right, calling her property at West Dapto 'Osborne House.'

¹¹ RUDD, Jenny O'Neill. *The flying Cosgroves*. Sydney, 1996, p.32.

¹² It is believed that Alick Osborne built *Avondale* for his daughter Anne who married Robert Marshall, a relative of Henry's wife, Sarah Marshall. *Avondale* was also the name chosen by Charles Murray for his first landholding in the Shoalhaven area.

¹³ SWAIN, Dell. *Blow by blow: the family of John Blow*, Grose Valley NSW:D.Swain, n.d.

¹⁴ From Australia 200. Sydney: Ozwald Ziegler Enterprises. 1970. P.55.

¹⁵ McDONALD, W.G. Nineteenth-Century Dapto. Wollongong:IHS, 1976, p.30

¹⁶ McD0NALD 1976, P.31

¹⁷ National Library of Australia 1892. Map Folder 197.LFSP 3112.

¹⁸ http://www.wollongong.nsw.gov.au/library/onlineresources/suburbprofiles/pages/wollongong.aspx

¹⁹ Commonwealth Jubilee: Wollongong celebrations, IHS, 1951 (pamphlet)

CHAPTER 6

Pioneering in the Shoalhaven ULLADULLA 1850s

ccording to the 1888 publication, Men of Mark, James Murray stated that he 'worked for his father until 1847, then went to Avondale, Ulladulla, and farmed there until 1857'. What influenced him to leave the Illawarra and go to Ulladulla? Other pioneering accounts of that time and place, as well as local history publications describing conditions in the Illawarra, are used to fill in those years to 1857. It becomes possible, then, to build up some sort of a scenario that may have led James to induce his father and the rest of his family to move to the lush pastures and forests of the Ulladulla area.

Osborne's Butter Track

In his book, *History of Shoalhaven*, William A. Bayley traces packhorse and bridle tracks that developed along the earliest routes in the Kangaroo Valley as well as from the *Marshall Mount property* of Henry Osborne. The best known of these was marked on various New South Wales Lands Department plans as 'Osborne's Butter Track'. This route was used to drive young cattle to the Valley. It was also used to send butter back, in kegs balanced on packhorses at the rate of four kegs a week, along the coast tracks developed for communication between centres settled by clearing leases, and later by selectors. Transport of produce was directed to ports from which shipping developed to Sydney. Farther south, at the growing dairy centre of Ulladulla, the tracks converged on Ulladulla harbour.

Boat Harbour and The Settlement

At Ulladulla, cedar drew the early settlers, the first of whom was the Reverand Thomas Kendall. He settled just north of the present township in 1828. Gradually, the rich farming land seven kilometres north of the harbour was settled and the local farmers called this 'the settlement'. The harbour from which their produce was shipped to Sydney was known simply as the 'boat harbour'. However, the whole area was officially known as 'Ulladulla in the County of St. Vincent'.

The 'settlement' was difficult to approach by land. There was every possible obstacle to prevent settlers from reaching it - rivers, lakes, swamps, creeks and gorges. Transportation was by horse and cart, packhorse, bullock-teams for the

heavy materials, and saddle horses.² James Murray may have travelled over some or all of these tracks during the course of working on the Osbornes' properties in the Illawarra.

It is not possible to pinpoint exactly when Charles Murray Senior and the other members of the family joined James in the Ulladulla area but it seems likely they made the move sometime between 1847 and 1849.

Daughter Mary Murray marries

On 12th February 1847, Charles & Susan Murray's eldest daughter, Mary, married John McCarthy in Sydney. Most likely, they become acquainted during the family's time living and working at *Garden Hill*, Wollongong. After they married, John and Mary McCarthy lived for a time in Wollongong where their first child was born. They were not part of the move down to the Ulladulla area when the rest of the Murray family moved there from *Garden Hill*, but remained behind in Wollongong, eventually moving to live in the Nowra area,

As pioneers for the second time around, there would be a lot of hard work ahead for Charles and the rest of the family, but the greatest boon of all awaited them - the opportunity to own land and work for themselves. In a Shoalhaven directory of 1849, appears an entry, 'Charles Murray Snr - Conjola - Farmer'. They were on their way. It was in the early 1850s that Charles and his eldest son James started acquiring parcels of land in the adjacent Armstrong's Forest area, where they would eventually set up dairying and other farming operations. Timber (especially cedar), fruit, vegetables, wheat, cheese and butter were the main sources of income for the pioneers.

<u>Daughter Ellinor marries</u>

On a nearby farm, *Eagle View*, there lived a bachelor farmer, Andrew McLean, listed as '*landowner*' in an 1850 directory. After the Murrays became neighbouring farmers, it seems Andrew wasted no time but proceeded to court and marry Charles and Susan's second daughter, Ellinor, in that same year.

Land Sales

The free granting of land had been abolished in 1830, and land was now sold at a flat rate in regular public sales. Few were deterred and the speculative land fever generated by the boom in squatting soon began to affect the Ulladulla area. Charles Murray was there at the right time. By June 1851, there is documented evidence that Charles Murray and, no doubt, the remaining family members were

living on a farm in the area, and using it as their address. (Perhaps they were squatting for a time on land selected to buy when the time was right).

At a sale of land, held at Broulee on 25th June 1851, fifty acres were purchased by 'Charles Murray of Darling Forest'.⁴ This land was in the County of St. Vincent near Ulladulla (Lot 24) and handwritten on top of the deed were the words, 'Deed prepared on farm of Charles Murray'. The purchased land was described as follows:

Fifty acres. County of St. Vincent Parish unnamed, near Ulladulla. Commencing on the North bank of a Creek forming the Northern boundary of Kendall's 1280 Acres at the West side of a measured portion of 105 Acres and ... on the East by that land; and the Northerly continuation of the West boundary thereof, being a line bearing North 33 chains; on the North by a line bearing West 15 chains; on the West by a line bearing South 35 chains to the Creek aforesaid; and towards the South by that Creek. Easterly to the 105 acres aforesaid.

Thomas Surfleet Kendall, a son of Shoalhaven pioneer Rev Thomas Kendall, owned the farm in the area at that time called *Darling Forest*. As this land was originally promised to him by a previous Governor, Sir Ralph Darling, Kendall called it *Darling Forest* - a compliment to His Excellency. Sir George Gipps later officially made the grant on 30 June 1840. Thomas Kendall and his family were living at *Darling Forest* from 1838 until 1844, when they went to Kiama.⁵

It is suggested, as an alternative to the squatting theory, that Charles and his sons were managing this farm *Darling Forest* for the Kendalls prior to purchasing their adjacent lot. On 5th January 1852, the Crown Grant was made to Charles Murray of this first 50 acres (lot 24). This has since been identified as the landholding subsequently called, for many years, *Avondale'* Ulladulla.

It was thought the chosen name *Avondale* may have had an Irish connection, but more likely the association was with the Osbornes. One of Henry Osborne's landholdings at Dapto in the Illawarra was also called *Avondale* and Fermanagh immigrant William Blow who had sailed on the *Susan* with Charles Murray had moved from *Garden Hill* to this Dapto estate in the 1850s. Avondale is presently the name of a suburb of Dapto⁷.

Adding further to his land holdings, 'Charles Murray of Ulladulla' attended a Sale of Lands held this time at Wollongong on 3rd September 1851. There, he purchased 50 acres in the County of St. Vincent near Conjola Creek at the cost of 50 pounds. This land is described thus:

Fifty acres. Parish unnamed near the head of Conjola Creek. Commencing at a point on that Creek, bearing North 41 degrees West and distant 98 chains from a marked Oak tree at the junction of the Creek forming the Southern boundary of the Village Reserve, with Conjola Creek and Bounded on the South by a line bearing West 22 chains 50 links; on the West by a line bearing North 20 chains to Conjola Creek; and towards the North and East by that Creek Easterly and Southerly to the point of commencement. Upset price 1 pounds per acre.

Six months later, on 1st March 1852, the Crown Grant of this land was made to Charles Murray of Ulladulla (Lot 14). This Conjola lot is possibly the land that eventually went to his eldest son, James.

Only two weeks later, at a sale of land held this time at Broulee on 19th March 1852, 'Charles Murray of Ulladulla' further purchased 105 acres at the cost of one hundred and five pounds in the County of St. Vincent at Big Swamp near Ulladulla described thus:

Parish unnamed at the Big Swamp near Ulladulla commencing at the North East corner of a measured Portion of One hundred Acres and Bounded on the South by that Land bearing West thirty chains to Kendall's one thousand two hundred and eighty Acres on the West by part of the East boundary of Kendall's Land and a continuation thereof being a line bearing North thirty five chains on the North by a line bearing East thirty chains and on the East by a line bearing South thirty five chains to the commencing point aforesaid. Being the Land put up to Sale as Lot 11 in pursuance of the Proclamation of 14th February 1857 and subsequently selected by the said Charles Murray under the eleventh paragraph of the Regulations of 1st March 1843.

On 18th January 1853 the Crown Grant of this 105 acres (Lot 11) was made to 'Charles Murray of Ulladulla'.

Son Phillip Murray marries

On 28th November 1853, Charles & Susan Murray's second son, Phillip, married Rosina Thomas at Kiama NSW. Charles obviously decided now to convey some of the land to his newly married son, Phillip. At the same time he proceeded to convey land to James, his eldest son, who was also soon to marry.

On 20 December 1854, Charles Snr conveyed Lot 14 (50 acres at Conjola adjoining the village reserve) to James; and Lot 11 (105 acres adjoining Kendalls at Big Swamp) to Phillip.

20/12/1854 Indenture between Charles Murray of Ulladulla ... Settler and Susan his wife of the one part and <u>James</u> Murray of Ulladulla aforesaid settler of the other part ... absolute sale...120 pounds - 50 acres near the head of Conjola Creek - junction of creek...marked Oak Tree at the junction of the creek forming the southern boundary of the village reserve with Conjola Creek - signed by C. Murray and the mark of Susan Murray (Lot 142)

20/12/1854. Conveyance between Charles Murray of Ulladulla ... and Susan ... has contracted with the said <u>Phillip</u> Murray ... absolute sale to him ...110 pounds ... paid by the said Phillip Murray ...105 acres ...unnamed at the Big Swamp near Ulladulla - the Kendalls 1,280 acres and on the west by part of the east boundary of Kendall's land...' (Lot 117)]

Pioneer dairyfarmers

It was dairying that became the principal form of agriculture very early in the district's history.⁸ As family stories relate that the Murrays were dairy

farmers in the early days, it is likely that by this time – in the mid-1850s – they were running Avondale as a dairy farm. However, in those days, every farm family had cows, milked by hand, by father, mother, children or bachelor uncles. This was usually done in slab bails with dirt floors, bark or shingle roofs, wide verandahs and cobblestone yards. 9



Sketch believed to be the *Avondale* dairy 10

Sponsoring family members

Many hands were needed to clear the land, plant and harvest crops, milk the cows and all the other jobs to be done by hand in those pioneering times. It was hard work but at least they were working on their own land. According to Australian historian, Patrick O'Farrell, the 'overwhelming weight of testimony sent back to Ireland' showed the Irish immigrants were thankful for the decision they had made, and, further, they were happy to assist relatives left behind, sending them money or sponsoring their passage to New South Wales. This would be especially so when news of the potato famine that struck Ireland in 1845 reached Ulladulla.

To this end, Charles Murray Senior sought to bring out some family members from Ireland. He may have received a letter from Ireland that his sister and husband in Fermanagh had passed away leaving their family as orphans. Not only could members of this family help on the Murray landholdings, emigrating would give them an opportunity to make a better life for themselves.

In the Shoalhaven, as in other pockets of New South Wales, Irish settlers tended to set up chain migration patterns, which rapidly increased the size of the family groups. And so it was that, on 5th October 1854, Charles Murray sponsored, as emigrants, five members of the related Magee/McGee family from Templecairn, Fermanagh. As their sponsor, he paid £22.10s towards the cost of their passages.

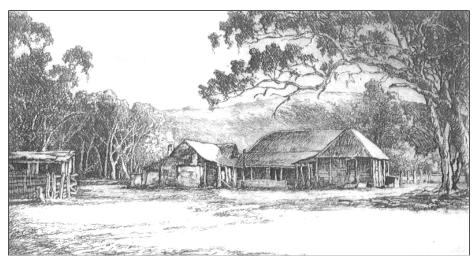
The McGee family

The five young McGees arrived in Sydney per Hilton on 2nd October 1855. It stated on their 'Certificate of Entitlement' that they had relations in the Colony - 'an uncle - Charles Murray living at Ulladulla', and that their parents were both dead. Their mother's name was given as Dorinda Murray - evidently a sister of Charles Murray Senior. The ages of the Magees in 1854 were stated as - James (25), Francis (22), Thomas (17), Charles (14) and Mary (12). They eventually joined their pioneering uncle and cousins at Armstrong's Forest. [For 3-generation descendant report - See Appendix B].

<u>Constable Brown's Diary¹¹</u>

During the 1850's, a diary was kept by Bernard Brown who was the local police constable between 1849 and 1862. Constable Brown roamed the Ulladulla district by horseback serving out summonses and performing other police duties in the area. His comments on local people contain a wealth of information for family historians. His entries about some members of the Murray family, living at Yatte Yattah (or Armstrong's Forest) and Conjola at the time, make interesting reading, describing events in their day-to-day lives.

It seems likely, from his notes, that travellers were wont to use the Murray homestead as a lodging place or guesthouse. Brown's diary entries often contained comments to the effect that he and others slept there on their journeys around the district. Also, Charles Murray Junior, in a legal document some years later, stated that at one time he was owed money by 'lodgers'.



Believed to be a sketch of Avondale homestead, Yatte Yattah 13

The following entries are selections from Bernard Brown's diary written during the year 1855, which contain references to the Murrays and related families.

January 2: Made for Mr. Murray's place in the evening and slept there. Mrs. Jones came there on her way home and slept there.

April 7th: Slept at Mr. Murray's this night. A lot of Broulee people arrived shortly after returning from the races. Young Robert McCauley nearly got drowned in attempting to cross some river by the Pylon (?) house.

April 8th: Sunday, left Mr. Murray's this morning for Mr. Warden's 27th May: Spent the afternoon with Mr. and Mrs. P. Murray [Phillip & Rosina?] Mr. and Mrs. McLean [Andrew & Ellen?] ...

2nd June: Mr. Murray had a large sale of cattle which sold very well, but the horses there was no sale for.

Son James Murray marries

On 12th June 1855, Charles and Susan Murray's eldest son, James, married Annie McCawley of Moville, Donegal, Ireland, at Wollongong. Constable Brown mentions the bride and family festivities in his diary notes.

16th June: Mr. and Mrs. McLean called here, came from Wandandyan this morning ...Went down as far as Adam's Wharf this afternoon to see if the Steamer is in.

23rd June: Saw James <u>Murray</u> at Thomas's with his wife. He fixed to dine with us and go on as far as Wandandian tomorrow, so as to reach Ulladulla on Monday.

25th June: Got back to Mr. Murray about 6 o'clock this evening. The bride and folks arrived about 10 tonight unexpectedly.

29th August: Got to Mr. Murray's about 5 o'clock, spent another merry and pleasant night as they had a tolerable party there.

30th August: Started from Ulladulla about 9 o'clock. Mr. and Mrs. Davis, Mrs. McCan [McLean?] and Mr. C. Murray and self - accompanied to the station by Mrs. J. Murray, Miss Murray and Mr. Tonay (?).

Arrived home about 8 o'clock.

12 October: Went up to Hyam's this afternoon and on the Bank of the River met Old <u>Murray</u> and old Dawson. The latter returned and slept here.

Son Charles Murray Junior marries

When his youngest son married, Charles Murray Senior proceeded to convey land to him, as he had done with his two older sons. On 28th February 1856, Charles Junior married Elizabeth Clare Conyngham at Sydney. A few months after the marriage, on 27th May 1856, Charles Senior conveyed to his third son two lots (80 and 38 acres) of land. This land, originally known as the *Duck Hole*, was later named by Charles Murray Jr as *Avondale*.

27/5/1856 Conveyance (Book 45 No. 610) Charles Murray Senior to Charles Murray Junior of a parcel of land (80 ac.) '... commonly called or known by the name of the Duck Hole...bounded on the east, south and partly on the north side by Crowra [sic] Creek and on the east by land in the occupation of Phillip Murray...', and another parcel of 38 acres or thereabout,'... lately purchased from the Crown by the said Charles Murray Senior. ¹⁴ [See Appendix F for full text]

Recreation

The numerous family weddings would have afforded happy celebrations for the pioneers and in October of that year, 1856, the first concert in the district was held in a barn at nearby Croobyar, decorated for the occasion and attended by 150 people. It is easy to imagine that among the concert-goers were Murray family members and their neighbours. From Bernard Brown's diary comments regarding festive evenings at the Murray farms, it is highly likely that one or more members of the family possessed the necessary musical talents to take a turn to perform.

Music and singing around the piano were well known diversions of the early Irish pioneers. A piano or 'fiddle' was a prized and well-used possession in those days, as was a repertoire of items to contribute to musical evenings in their homes. Many newspaper cuttings and concert programs exist to attest to the musical and singing talents of Charles and Susan Murray's grandchildren. It is likely that these talents were nurtured as they were growing up at Armstrong's Forest and Conjola.

Picnic parties, also, were popular in those days. A photograph from the James Murray's Conjola family album shows an elegant group of young people, somewhat overdressed by today's standards, enjoying a picnic at the Yatte Yattah waterfall.¹⁵



From Conjola Murray Family Album - Agnes (Mayer) and Edward Murray at left

Another diversion mentioned by a visitor to the area in the 1850s was the manly sport of 'hunting'. Hermann Lau, a visitor from Germany during 1854-1859, wrote a book published in Hamburg in 1860 about his four years in New South Wales, where he spent part of the time on the south coast. Lau's journey along the coast included Ulladulla. He said, 'I went to visit the Murray Family near Ulladulla - they owned several properties, where I joined the men for several days working on the land.'

A digest of Lau's book published in English in 1991, includes, after substantial commentary on the local aborigines, the following remark -

"Lau often went hunting with members of the Murray family, who lived on several farms to the north of Ulladulla. He was with the Murrays when he found and killed a carpet snake". 16

Herman Lau may have been a lodger for a while at *Avondale or Rissmore* during his visit to the area. No doubt, for the Murray men, whatever they were in the habit of hunting, rifle shooting was a much needed skill in those days and would lead to them becoming useful members of the locally formed *Ulladulla Rifles* some years later.

The land sales continue

Still in the year 1856, Charles Murray the Elder was busy added to his growing land holdings by purchasing four more lots.

• 3/11/1856 Crown Grant to Charles Murray of 40 acres (following sale as

Lot 42 in pursuance of Proclamation dated 23/2/1856). Land described thus:

... at Gooloo - commencing on the Gooloo Creek at a point bearing East seventy eight degrees thirty ... south and distant seventy one chains and thirty links from the South East corner of C Murray's fifty acres and bounded on the West by a line bearing South Eleven chains, on the South by a line bearing East Twenty seven chains on the East by a line bearing North twenty chains to the Conjola Lagoon and on the North by the Lagoon at the Gooloo Creek upwards to the commencing point. Being the land sold as Lot 42

• 3/11/1856 Crown Grant to Charles Murray of 40 acres (following sale

<u>Lot 43</u> in pursuance of Proclamation dated 23/2/1856) -*Land '... at Bunnair ... being the Land sold as Lot 43 ...'*

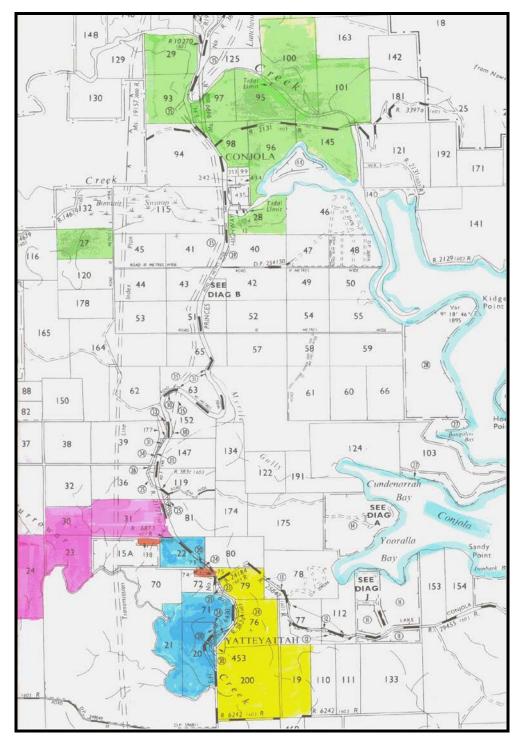
• 3/11/1856 Crown Grants to Charles Murray of 38 ac 1 rd and 30 ac 1 rd following sale as lots 45 and 44 respectively, in pursuance of Proclamations dated 23/2/1856)

Lot 44 described thus:

Thirty acres one rood ... near Currowar Creek ... distant Forty one chains and thirty links from the North West corner of C Murray's one hundred and five Acres ... being the Land sold as Lot 44 ...

Lot 45 *described thus:*

Thirty eight Acres and one rood ... on Currowar Creek - Commencing on the Currowar Creek at the South West corner of C Murray's fifty acres... and thence by that Creek downwards to the South West corner of C Murray's Fifty Acres aforesaid. Being the Land sold as Lot 45...



Original Murray landholdings - Yatteyattah & Conjola

[Blue: Charles Snr and Jnr; Yellow: Phillip; Green: James; Pink: McLeans]

Growth of The Settlement

By this time, 1856, the settlement around Armstrong's Forest and the port of Ulladulla had a total population of four hundred. There were stores and churches, and a public house, but no magistrate, or constable, or school, and the nearest doctor was fifty miles away. There were still no bridges, or formed roads north to Shoalhaven, or south to Broulee. The journey from the Harbour to the Settlement was via Croobyar Road. Farm produce was still being trundled along the miles of primitive tracks by packhorse, horse and cart, bullock dray and even wheelbarrow to the Harbour where rowboats ferried them to waiting ships and steamers.

Charles Murray the Elder (as he was called in the early days) was also assisting his extended family in their various business and farming enterprises. Charles and his son, Phillip, helped Mary's husband, John McCarthy, obtain a liquor licence on 21 April 1857 for the Steam Packet Inn at Greenhills, Shoalhaven. This included a reference attesting to John McCarthy's 'good fame and reputation' by 'Charles Murray Senior and Phillip Murray of Ulladulla' – as well as 'a recognizance in the sum of fifty pounds each.' So Mary McCarthy's father, Charles Murray and her brother, Phillip, not only became John McCarthy's guarantors, but helped financially as well. The public house venture was a mixed blessing, as will be later shown.

The orphaned McGees were also becoming part of the extended family. Less than a month later, on 19th May 1857, 49 acres of land was let on a clearing lease agreement between Charles Murray and two of the McGee nephews he had sponsored as emigrants two years earlier -

[land] ... situated in Ulladulla bounded on the west by Phillip Murray's 105 acres of land. To the said Thomas and Francis Magee for the term or time of 10 years from the above date to fell and burn off in a clean and workmanlike manner the said 49 acres and by themselves to fence all around the whole 49 acres within 7 years from this date with a good substantial hardwood three rail fence and they are not to sublet the said land or any part thereof without the written consent of the said Charles Murray...

Maybe Charles Murray used his old Osborne Garden Hill clearing lease agreement as an example when drawing up this agreement with his Magee nephews. [That would give the '10-year' timing credence, from 1839-1849, before the Murrays moved from Wollongong to the Ulladulla area].

In 1859 there were up to 20 people living at Ulladulla town whilst nearly 200 people lived on the fertile farming lands that surrounded the Settlement and north to Conjola with 154 names on the local electoral roll.¹⁹

Post Office for Milton

The postal records of Milton commence with a petition dated 8th January, 1859, from residents of the Ulladulla district²⁰. They complained that the Post Office in the township of Ulladulla (which consisted of 20 adults] was inconvenient for the 400 adults in the Settlement of Milton, 6 miles distant, having to travel weekly a distance of forty eight miles for their letters and papers. The petition was signed by 88 people, and those names included extended family members - A. McLean, Walter McLean, Charles Murray Sen, Charles Murray Jnr, Francis McMahon, Edward McMahon, Francis McGee, and Thomas McGee.

1860 Disasters

The year 1860, was probably one of the worst flood years ever with serious flooding in February, May, July, August and November. The floods were bad all along the South Coast and the distress was sufficiently widespread to bring both government relief and private charity.²¹ In the Milton Ulladulla Directory for 1860 there were two entries for Charles Murray Senior - as a registered voter and landowner and also as a donor to the Shoalhaven Flood Relief.

Tragedy of a more personal kind was also to hit them. On the 29th March, 1860, Charles Senior and Susan would have been much saddened by the early death in Sydney of their eldest daughter, Mary McCarthy. She was only 32 years when she died, leaving behind four young children as orphans. Her husband John, had, also, tragically predeceased her by only a few months.

Birth of Milton town

The private township of Milton had been established by John Booth in 1860. By 1862, at Shoalhaven, some 4,000 acres had been chosen by free selectors whilst the following year, land between Conjola and Milton was also taken up. However, it appeared that nobody wanted what was considered then to be the 'bad land between Milton and Ulladulla harbour'. In the meantime, the desirable land near Milton must have been increasing in value for the pioneering landholders. Towards the end of 1865, Charles Murray Senior sold some of his land near Milton to a neighbour, Robert Cork. Almost 10 years after purchasing his 40-acre lot at Bunnair, a conveyance was drawn up, on 1st February 1866, between:

Charles Murray the Elder of Ulladulla and Susannah Murray his wife and Robert Cork Farmer for the price of Eighty pounds, all that piece or parcel of land ... containing by admeasurement forty acres ... at Bunnair ... being the land sold as Lot 43 ... and granted by the Crown to the said Charles Murray by Deed Poll or Grant dated the 3rd November 1856.

Daughter Margaret Murray marries

Youngest daughter, Margaret (28), living in Redfern, Sydney, married Daniel Gallagher, son of the late Mr. Patrick Gallagher of Ballyshannon, County Donegal, Ireland on 20 October 1864 in Sydney.

Bushfires and more floods

After a particularly hot dry summer, on 24th December 1868, great bushfires swept through the district and the tradespeople of Milton had to go out to assist the farmers to fight the fires. The local press recorded that Charles Murray Senior, his nephew Thomas McGee and others suffered heavy losses. There would, no doubt, be very little celebrating done in many homes in the district that Christmas.

After years of drought, which included the horrific bushfires in 1868, the rains finally came in 1870. In fact, it was a year of devastating floods and stormy seas with record rainfalls reported all over Australia. The Milton district was seriously affected this time by the floods. In some homesteads and dairies the waters rose more than knee-deep.²² For those pioneer immigrant families, such as the Murrays from County Fermanagh, who had found their way to Ulladulla in a bid to make a new life, that life was often a struggle to come to terms with this new and often hostile environment.

The Ulladulla Volunteer Rifles

Such volunteer corps had started in the latter half of the 19th century as the result of fears of invasion by Russia and France bent on building colonial empires. Ulladulla went on to establish this voluntary militia unit which was composed of men who enthusiastically enjoyed the fellowship of drilling in uniform and of competitive rifle shooting. The names of Charles Murray's sons, Charles Jr, James and Phillip were listed regularly in the Milton-Ulladulla Directory from 1869-1875 as privates in the Ulladulla Volunteer Rifles (UVR). Many other local young men had also joined up, including their cousins Thomas and Francis McGee,

schoolteacher Patrick Downey and Brother-in-law, Charles McLean, who became a champion rifle shot. It seems that Ulladulla had a team of crack shots!

Newspaper clipping from Trove 23

Ulladulla Tuesday In a match which took place on Monday between the No. 1 Volunteer Rifles, Sydney and Ulladulla, Sydney made 420 (Blade top score 48);

Ulladulla 489 (McLean 47)

Death of pioneer Charles Murray the Elder

On 19th June 1872, Charles Murray the Elder died at the age of 80 years from 'cancer of the asophagus'. He had completed his struggle with the forest and the elements. After transporting his family from one side of the world to the other, he had succeeded in leaving his children with the Irishman's dream - many acres of their own fertile land. At the end of a hard-working and productive life, he was survived by five of his six children. These children, as well as his McGee,

Johnston, Haughey and other nieces and nephews²⁴, now had growing Australian-born families of their own to carry on his dream.

According to his death certificate, Charles the Elder was buried in the 'RC Section Avondale Ulladulla'. Witnesses were Andrew McLean (his son-in-law) and Patrick Downey, who was at that time the teacher at the nearby Roman Catholic Denominational School. Children of Marriage listed on his burial details were - Living: James 49, Phillip 47, Charles 40, Ellen 43, Margaret 37; Deceased: Mary 33.



Believed to be Charles Murray the Elder²⁵

The Growth of Milton

With many farms established around the Settlement, by 1875, the township of Milton was taking off and providing the district's residents with banking services, blacksmiths, builders, general stores, Post Office, a bakery, three hotels and four churches - Roman Catholic, Church of England, Congregational, and Wesleyan/Methodist. This historic township, established in 1860, had become the commercial centre for the entire district by 1875.

Death of Susan Murray

Charles Murray's widow, Susan ('Susanna' on her death certificate) survived her husband and lived for a further five years. She was probably residing, towards the end of her life, with her second son Phillip and daughter-in-law Rosina. She died at 'the residence of her son Phillip Murray, Armstrong's Forest, near Ulladulla' - on 9th May 1877 of 'decay of nature'. She was buried on May 11th at the 'Roman Catholic Cemetery, Armstrong's Forest, Avondale, Ulladulla'. The burial witnesses were her son Charles Murray and nephew Charles McLean. Place of marriage was given as 'Kesh County Fermanagh, Ireland'. Children of marriage - Living: James 53, Phillip 51, Ellen 48, Charles 46, Margaret 44; Deceased: Mary).

As the Armstrong's Forest / Yatte Yattah cemetery, where Charles and Susan Murray were buried, no longer exists, and their headstone has disappeared, a plaque has been affixed to his son James' Headstone at the Murray family cemetery on the *Rissmore* Conjola property where James' descendants still reside in 2014.

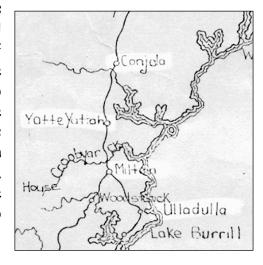


The plaque

The Armstrong's Forest story

Why this area was known as 'Armstrong's Forest' is an interesting story, as

that place name no longer exists on any maps of the area. An illuminating letter from local man, Percy Hale Sheaffe, who signed himself as JP and described himself as Captain of the aforementioned Ulladulla Rifles, followed up an 1873 petition for a post office by the residents of 'Armstrong's Forest'. In his letter, he throws some light on how and when the area, which was known by this name and, thereafter, came to be changed to the name 'Yatte Yattah' and thereafter was referred to as such on maps.

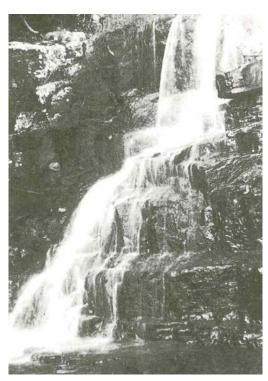


'As a petition has been sent to you respectfully asking for the establishment of a Post Office for this vicinity, sometimes called Armstrong's Forest (from a stockman's name and the fact that years ago it was, but is no longer Forest), may I respectfully beg to suggest, in your naming the proposed Post Office, if kindly granted, the retention of the native name by which the locality is also generally known of Yatteyattah, anglice [a Latinism meaning in English] Waterfall from a picturesque cascade quite near the site of the proposed Post Office. I would beg to remark that the name Yatte Yattah of four syllables or ten letters is simpler than Armstrong's Forest which requires sixteen letters. Expression of the proposed Post Office of the proposed Post Office.

Meaning of Yatte Yattah

The aboriginal meaning of *Yatte Yattah* is generally given as 'water tumble down'. It was noted that the writer of the aforementioned follow-up petition called his property Waterfall Farm. The Yatte Yattah waterfalls are situated in what remains of a beautiful rainforest. Apparently, these waterfalls used to be a favourite place of interest to local people and their visitors and, in the late 1800s, Sunday picnics there were a regular thing. The celebrated poet Henry Kendall was not the only local poet. Many people over the years have been inspired by the sight of the falls, and so it was that an unknown poet of days gone by put pen to paper and left us these stanzas to celebrate the spectacle.

Do you know those dells with wattles gay That smell so sweet at the break of day When the magpies pipe by the silv'ry spray In the cool cool glades out at Yatte.



Yatte Yattah Waterfall



Then come with me when the kookas call, Where the fern trees wave by the waterfall, For there's joy in the bush for one and all In the cool cool glades of old Yatte. ²⁸



¹ BAYLEY, William A. *History of Shoalhaven*, Nowra: NSSC, 1965.

² The Milton Ulladulla & District Historical Society. East of Pigeon House, Milton 1981 p.3.

³ SKARRATT, A.C. *Milton-Ulladulla Directory*, Milton: A.C.Skarratt, 1993.

⁴ SRNSW Land Records 51/8424, 28Aug 1851.

⁵ KENDALL, 1989, p.51.

⁶ CRAGO, Maxwell Roy. Residents of the Illawarra District 1855-56, Wollongong, 1980, p.76.

⁷ The *Avondale* at West Dapto was originally granted to Dr. William Elyard R.N. who sold it later to Henry Osborne of *Marshall Mount*, which adjoined.

⁸The Milton Ulladulla & District Historical Society. *Nulladolla*, 1988, p.35.

⁹ *Nulladolla*, 1988, p.35.

¹⁰ Original sketch held by John David Murray originally owned by his Grandfather Louis Ignatius Murray (1872-1938). [Possibly a sketch by Edward Warner (1879-1968) Australian Printmaker].

¹¹ Bernard Brown Diaries held by Nowra Library Family History Group and Mitchell Library

¹² Bernard Brown Diaries.

¹³ Original held by John David Murray originally owned by his Grandfather Louis Ignatius Murray. Maybe sketch by Edward Warner (1879-1968).

¹⁴ It is impossible to identify the 80 acre parcel by the bounds description in the conveyance – (John Cooke)

¹⁵ Original photo held by Kath Cox, Ulladulla, descendant of James Murray of Conjola.

¹⁶ "Herman Lau and his sojourns (1854-1859) in Sydney, Goulburn, Braidwood, Araluen, Moruya and Shoalhaven", *Studies in Australian Bibliography*, No.35, Book Collectors' Society of Sydney. A digest of the book that Hermann Lau wrote and published at his own expense in Hamburg in 1860. [*Vier jahre in Australian: selbsterlebnisse und reisebilder aus der Colonie New-South-Wales*] (Four years in Australia: personal experiences in and travel scenes from the Colony of New South Wales) p.214-215. A xeroxed copy in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

¹⁷ Milton-Ulladulla & District Historical Society. *Nulladolla*, 1988 p.13-14.

¹⁸ SRNSW Publicans' Licences No. 7/1508 Reel 1239 Page 284.

¹⁹ DUNN, Cathy, Marlin tales: a history of hotels in Ulladulla, Milton NSW: Cathy Dunn, 1998, p.13.

²⁰ Milton PO History, p.2-3 (copy at SAG – Pamphlet folders)

²¹ GIBBNEY, H.J. *Eurobodalla: history of the Moruya district,* Sydney: Library of Australian History in association with the Council of the Shire of Eurobodalla, 1980 p.29

²² McANDREW, Alex. *Congenial Conjola*, Epping NSW, 1991, p.78

²³ The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW: 1842 - 1954), Wednesday 24 April 1878, page 5.

²⁴ See Appendices A-D

²⁵ Original photo held by Kath Cox, Ulladulla.

²⁶ DUNN, Cathy. (1998) p.16.

²⁷ McANDREW 1991, p.49.

²⁸ McANDREW 1991, p.49.

FROM ULSTER TO ULLADULLA

PART II



MARY

ELLEN

CHARLES

MARGARET